

THE RECORD OF AMERICA

BY

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A

NOTE

The story of America has been told many times. At first it was the story told by those who had taken part in founding and settling the country. As the years went by and the numbers of those who came to our shores increased, the story became more varied and more complex. Legend and tradition became confused with actual fact. After a time, a pattern for the writing of our history was established. Incidents were accepted as true, fact was confused with fiction. Heroes of small contemporary significance assumed a more than proper importance; events of little importance were described and embellished. So it came about that the writing of American history became a more or less conventional and stereotyped performance. It is safe to say that only in our present century have the writers of American history undertaken to present the facts of the past more nearly as they actually occurred and to give these facts the relative importance which they should possess as viewed at long range.

In this book, fittingly called *THE RECORD OF AMERICA*, the authors survey the three hundred and more years of our history with scrupulous attention to the long and careful research which has been given to the stream of our development, but also mindful of the conditions of the immediate present. The political life of a country is only a small part of its history. That is a part and a very important part, but the development socially, economically, and culturally is equally and sometimes more important. It is, therefore, the record in its fourfold significance that has been the ideal of the authors of this book.

Illustrations of some of the significant conceptions which have developed during the last half century are, 1) the new meaning of the frontier as affecting American government and character building; 2) the very important study of the Constitution, the events surrounding its adoption and the questions of interpretation during the past 150 years; 3) the relative importance of wheat and cotton as determining factors affecting not only the Civil War but also England's action toward the Confederacy during that period; 4) the importance of the unbiased and unprejudiced discussion of the Revolution and especially its counterpart

in England at the same time; 5) the interpretation of the Puritan migration to New England as having economic, as well as religious, importance; 6) a new view of the "states rights" argument as being not the exclusive doctrine of the South but rather a doctrine advanced by practically all the states when self-interest conflicted with federal policy; 7) the emphasis on the Monroe Doctrine as the cause of much of the distrust of the United States in Latin America; and finally, 8) a new questioning of the conception of democracy.

A part of this thoroughly sane and modern treatment of the historical material is its manner of presentation in units and topics. This arrangement makes it possible to present an idea in logical sequence. It makes possible a continued story by grouping the important facts about one general topic and studying them in their proper relation. To teacher and student it offers a greater incentive to examine books and to compare and collate authorities. It subordinates memory and develops the reasoning power of students by encouraging them to think of history as a living force affecting our own times.

As a help to teacher and student, there is placed at the beginning of each unit an introductory paragraph, setting forth briefly and cogently the main ideas of the unit. At the beginning of each topic are stated the aims and objectives which the student should have in the study of the topic. At the close of each topic there is a list of learning devices which should make it possible for the student not only to fix more firmly in his mind what has been read but to go forward to further study and to further thought.

Every writer of American history must acknowledge his indebtedness to well-known and not-known predecessors who have contributed through the years to the writing of the story and to making it more nearly dependable and truthful.

THE PUBLISHER.

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INTRODUCTION

The American Dream

IN the Introduction—The American Dream—you will see how the roots of the present are buried in the past. You will be told that our forefathers in Europe were denied the rights and liberties that we have to-day—right to participate in governmental affairs and liberty of conscience in religious matters. You will learn how these forefathers came to the New World to do the things and have the things denied to them in the Old. You will see how our country gave birth to the American Dream and will follow that dream in its relation to changed political and economic conditions.

To-day you see the American Dream—and the democracy of America that made such a dream possible—on trial. You are told that it may be impossible for such a dream ever to become true, or that if it is to come true the boys and girls of our schools must make it so. This is the challenge to you.

THE AMERICAN DREAM

1. *What the American Dream Is*

The New World is comparatively close to Europe. The United States has been unusually fortunate in its location, as well as in its size and natural wealth. There are several reasons why it is the best located of all the lands that lay open to Europeans when the great colonizing movement of the seventeenth century got under way.

Although separated from Europe by the Atlantic Ocean, a much wider barrier in the early days of small, slow sailing vessels than now, the eastern coast of North America was within easier reach of the English, French, and Dutch than any other new lands they could occupy. This helped in getting supplies and immigrants, and in keeping touch with the thought and culture of an old civilization.

The oceans are both barriers and bonds. As the nations of the world have grown closer together, the Atlantic Ocean on the one side and the Pacific on the other have protected us from a too dangerous nearness to possible enemies. One has only to think of such countries as Germany and France to realize what a blessing it has been that we have been able to go our own way and develop our own life with security.

These two oceans have not only been defenses, but they have also borne a large part of the commerce of the world. This part of the earth on which our ancestors settled, facing eastward to Europe and westward to the Orient, was most fortunately located for trade with both.

Our climate and soil make us virtually independent. Another great advantage of location is climate. The United States enjoys the best climate for white men of any equally large area on the globe. A greater variety of products can be raised here than in any other country, indeed almost all we need, except a few things which are grown only in the tropics. A number of other countries are larger than ours. Even on the two American continents, Brazil and Canada each has more square miles of land, but much of their land is of no use to the white man because it is either tropical jungle or frozen waste. Our portion of the world has also proved to be immensely rich not only in fertile land, but also in other resources—timber, iron ore, coal, and oil; gold, silver, and other precious metals.

Our country gives birth to the American Dream. As we shall see later, though our riches have enabled us to do much, the dream of growing rich quickly has likewise had its bad effects. It has raised big problems for us, some of which we are trying now to solve. Fortunately, it has not been the only dream which has inspired those who have come from foreign lands or who have been born among us. Many happily not only have longed to make more money, to own more property, or to be more comfortable, but also have dreamed of being able to live a better life in every way. They have wanted a chance to make the most of themselves and to develop all their capacities.

Down through our history they have come here, and have struggled afterwards for greater liberty. They have sought freedom to manage their own affairs, freedom to think and freedom in religion; freedom to rise in self-respect and the respect of others; opportunity to educate themselves and their children, to take part in governing themselves. And in these later years they have come to feel the need of economic security as being more important than many of the other prized elements of the dream.

They have wanted to find and build a country in which they could be looked upon for what they were and what they could make of themselves. They wanted a country in which the prizes and a good life would go to those who could win them and not just be given to those who happened to be born rich or titled or otherwise privileged. This is "the American Dream."

2. Early Problems and the American Dream

The roots of the present are deeply buried in the past. Our problems have been many. America is a new country comparatively, but it must be remembered that those who settled it, or came later, nearly all came from *old* countries and brought with them habits and ways of looking at things. The roots of America go deep into Europe, not only into England but into Germany, Russia, Italy, and other countries, and, for the negro race, into Africa.

Class lines are closely drawn in England. Most of those who came at first were English, although a few Dutch and Swedes settled along the Hudson and Delaware Rivers. England was the freest country in the world, with the possible exception of Holland. This does not mean that every Englishman could have a voice in the government of the nation. Society was graded down from the royal family through the nobility, the gentry, and the middle classes to the laborers. Prac-

tically all Englishmen were expected to remain in the classes in which they had started. It was so hard as to be almost impossible to do anything else, especially for the men and women at the bottom.

Class lines at first are loosely drawn in the New World. Life in the American wilderness broke down this rigid system. The farm laborer in England could only dream of owning a farm. On arriving in the colonies or after a few years, even though he had to work a certain time to pay for his passage, he could realize such a dream. Any hard-working man could readily set up a home of his own, so there was no steady supply of labor for hire, except later when slaves had been brought into the South.

In England the difference between classes had been fixed, but this tended almost to disappear in America. Here servants and labor were not so easy to get or to keep, and nearly all lived in homes of their own which for the most part had to be built by themselves or with the help of neighbors. Few of the aristocracy came to America and the "best" families in the New World could boast only of coming from the gentry. Even these had to adopt a New and not an Old World attitude toward their humbler neighbors in the little settlements, where a strong arm and a clear head counted for more than a pedigree and wealth could not always buy labor.

Class lines begin to form in the New World. If from the beginning there have been in America no such hard-and-fast social barriers as in Europe, nevertheless certain human conditions asserted themselves, and as the colonists grew in wealth and population, a sort of provincial society tried to model itself on the English. Royal governors and even New England legislatures granted huge tracts of land to those who knew how to find their way to privileges denied to others. In one way and another men acquired riches. The rich naturally tend to marry one another and to work together. Gradually a sort of untitled "aristocracy" began to set itself up in all the colonies, which claimed not only social superiority but a right to economic and political power. As the comparatively narrow strip of land between the sea and the Appalachian Mountains filled up, the poorer Americans began to feel themselves pushed out from the older settlements and from the better lands in that region. The same thing happened to the large numbers of Irish, Scotch-Irish, and Germans arriving during the forty years or so before the Revolution.

Jefferson makes clear the American Dream. After independence had been won from England, the Federalist party reflected the

sentiment of the upper groups that the country should be ruled by "the rich, the wise, and the good." In the election of 1800 that party was practically destroyed and Thomas Jefferson was elected President. Probably Jefferson did more than any other of our leaders to make the American Dream clear to the ordinary man. His phrases in the Declaration of Independence had rung in all men's ears and have never passed



By courtesy of Mrs. Chalmers Wood

AN EARLY VIRGINIA HUNTING SCENE

From a contemporary frieze found in an old Virginia mansion. (From *Hounds and Hunting through the Ages*, by Joseph Thomas, M.F.H.)

from the American consciousness. He did not believe that all men are equal in the sense that they are equally honest, wise, able, capable of higher education, or fit to govern others. He did believe that they should all be equal before the law and as far as possible have an equal chance to make the most of themselves, and he was strongly opposed to special privilege for some at the expense of others.

The American Dream is faced by changed conditions. Ever since this early period, there have always been two forces in our national life—one force which tends to set up privileges and other barriers to the rise of the ordinary man, and another force which tends to do

away with these barriers and keep the field clear for all. The latter force has until recently got its greatest strength from the life of the farm and the frontier and from the abundance of free land. The social part of American history is chiefly made up of the story of the constant struggle of those two forces against each other for mastery. We may consider the struggle as that of the Old World view against the making of the American Dream real in our New World life.

The rise of the people against the aristocratic Federalists in 1800, the rise of the West to power under Andrew Jackson in 1828, the later western movements, such as that of the Farmers' Grange against the railroads, were all at bottom efforts on the part of the ordinary American to save from being destroyed what he believed of the true American life. With the disappearance of the frontier and free land, with the increase of industrial and business life, and with more than half our people now living in cities the problem has changed.

The newer leaders who have tried to save the basis of our Americanism have each found the problem more complicated. If some of its aspects have changed, it still remains really the same. It is to find some way of keeping certain individuals, groups, or classes from getting such a permanent hold on privileges that the gates of opportunity will close to those who otherwise might be capable of rising and being of use to the general life of the nation.

Economic questions seriously affect the realization of the American Dream. It is possible that the problem cannot be solved. Even Jefferson feared that it could not if there arose such conditions as we now have; that is, a huge population living largely in cities as employees instead of in their own homes on the land, great numbers of foreigners who would not be used to American ways, and enormous accumulations of wealth which would tend to corrupt both private and public life.

But we need not despair. If at times foreigners have come in faster than they could be absorbed into the national life, vast numbers of them have made good citizens. It must be remembered that in the past the new comers of many races were shamefully exploited by both our business leaders and our politicians. Great racial groups, especially such as speak foreign languages or belong to races with which we do not readily intermarry, do add to the difficulty of solving certain social problems as compared with a nation which is all of one race. Nevertheless, the laws now restricting immigration will do much to enable us to unify our Americans in the next generation or two.

Economic life in early England is simple. When the first settlers came here, the economic structure of England rested mainly on agriculture. There were certain large and important trades, such as the wool trade, and under Queen Elizabeth the shipping trade made great

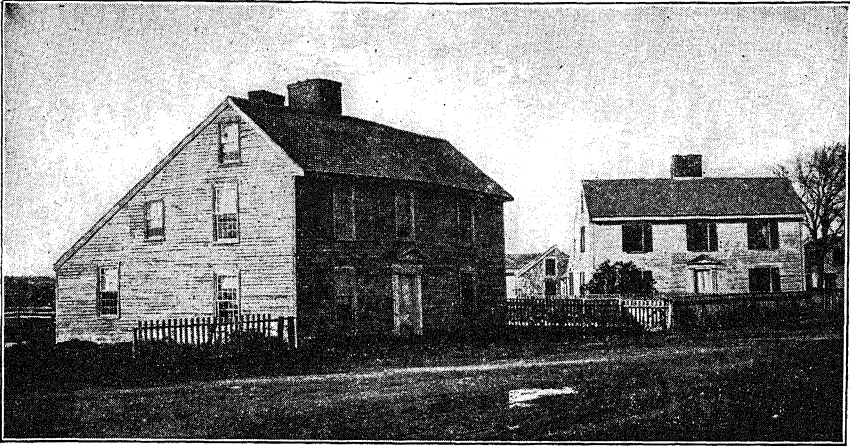
advances. There were many kinds of arts and crafts. The men working in them were bound together into organizations called guilds and worked under certain rules as to prices, wages, and quality of work. There were no steam engines, no machinery, no coal mining. Most businesses were small, with closer relations between employer and employed than are possible in the large businesses that are common to-day.



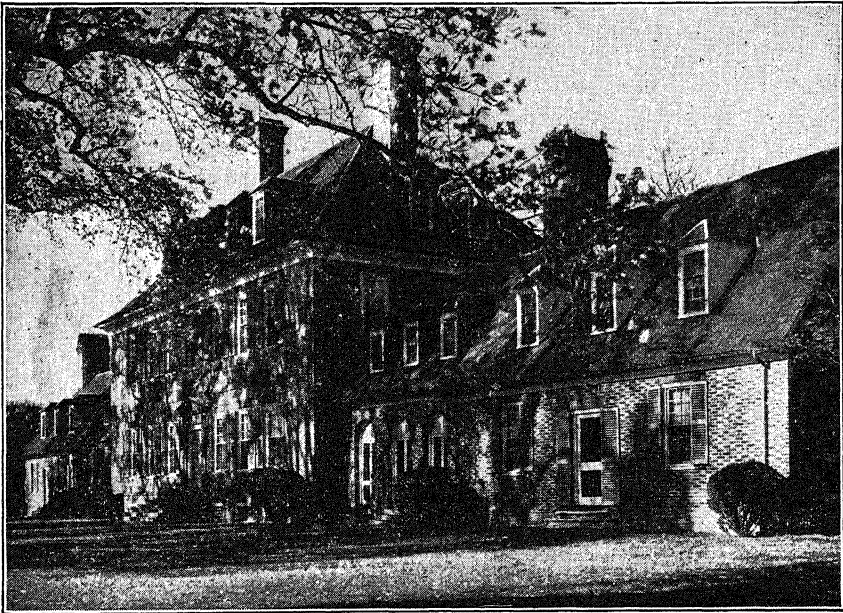
THIS PICTURE FROM AN OLD MANUSCRIPT
SHOWS TWO APPRENTICES BEING EXAMINED
BY THE MASTER OF THEIR GUILD

Economic life in the colonies is very simple. Simple as the economic life of the home country was, it became more so at first in America. The two most pressing problems in the new country were shelter and food. Practically every person had to take a hand in raising crops and in building houses. In 1800 about nine

in every ten Americans were farmers. For the first two centuries almost every enterprise of every sort remained small. The ease with which an enterprising man could get a home of his own made it harder to hire and keep labor. For this and other reasons the farms were small, tended chiefly by the owners and their families, except in the South, after slavery increased. There on great plantations not only were crops raised, but also almost everything was made which was needed for daily life—clothes, furniture, nails, and other things we buy in shops. There was plenty of hard work but little or no real poverty, and people could



THE BIRTHPLACE OF JOHN ADAMS AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
AT BRAINTREE, MASSACHUSETTS



CARTER'S GROVE (RESTORATION) AT WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA
The North and the South produced different homes and ways of living.

get along with almost no actual money and yet be sure of a reasonable amount of comfort.

The Industrial Revolution begins in England. About 1800 there began in England what is known as the "Industrial Revolution." It was a real revolution, that is, a great change, in the daily lives of all the people. With the use of steam followed by many other inventions, the many sorts of goods could be made more cheaply and rapidly than by hand. As factories gradually came into existence, many changes occurred. On the one hand, fortunes were made by those who had capital and put it into the new industries as owners. On the other hand, a new class arose, which grew to be a very large one, people who worked for daily or weekly wages. As these workers did not have homes or farms of their own, they came to be wholly dependent on the employers. It is difficult for us to realize what great changes this brought about in the lives of all the people.

The Industrial Revolution spreads to the English colonies. The change from the old ways of making things to the new brought hardship to multitudes, but so many new things could be made by machinery, and the old hand-made things could be made in such great quantities and so cheaply, that the introduction of machinery really created work for far greater numbers than could find employment under the former system. So the population increased with extraordinary rapidity. Like almost every movement which has started in Europe, this revolution spread to America, at first chiefly to New England, which in time became largely a manufacturing section. From the beginning, the mills or factories used many women as operatives, American farmers' daughters of good class. The owners, however, wishing to reduce costs brought in labor from Europe. Most of these laborers were poor and all were unused to America. They would work for lower wages than the Americans of the older stocks; so gradually, from the 1840's on, we developed in our industries a great class of immigrant operatives.

The Industrial Revolution creates new and serious problems. By changing the simple economic society of the eighteenth century, the Industrial Revolution created many new problems for us. It enabled the country to grow with amazing swiftness. Without railroads, steamboats, and machinery of other sorts, our progress in settling the West would have been far slower, though perhaps more healthy. Largely to this revolution we also owe the rise, in the latter part of the last century, of our huge cities and the great flood of immi-

gration. We also owe to the revolution the creation and concentration of vast wealth. There were differences in wealth before, but there was no such gulf between a rich planter and a poor farmer in the South or between the members of different classes in the North as there is now between, say, the head of the United States Steel Corporation and a workman in one of its plants.

The Industrial Revolution has made for greater inequality of wealth. In our early society a man who was honest and willing to work was fairly certain of a reasonable degree of comfort and security. This is no longer so. The ordinary American has come to feel helpless against the enormous power of concentrated wealth in the hands of individuals or corporations. A man of extraordinary ability might still make his way; but most men are not extraordinary and for the ordinary man who yet wished to work and be honest the doors have seemed to be closing on the American Dream. During the depression following the crash of 1929, some corporation presidents were getting a million dollars or more a year in bonuses in addition to their salaries while millions of Americans could not find jobs.

Along with the many economic problems which we share with the rest of the world, the problem of a fairer distribution of wealth created by capital, labor, and managerial ability working together is especially an American one. It is so not only because the distribution has become more unequal in America than in almost any other country but also because we claim that greater equality of opportunity should distinguish America from other countries. The true American does not claim that all men should have equal incomes but that privilege should not be given to certain men or groups to restrict the opportunities of others to acquire a fair share in the total social product.

Our government steps in to-day to control economic forces. The individual came to feel more and more powerless, whether it was the Western farmer battling against the railroad rates of two generations ago, the citizen of a generation back fighting the monopolies of the "trusts," or the citizen of to-day caught in the world-wide economic troubles. Therefore he has steadily called upon the government for more control over the economic forces of society. We have gone far from the Jeffersonian doctrine of democracy that that government is best which interferes least with the citizen.

Political questions in colonial days are simple. During all our colonial period our political problems also were simple. In 1770 there was a string of small colonies scattered along the Atlantic coast,

the largest of which had the population of the city of Washington to-day. Each was independent of the other and related only to England. As regards the latter, the political questions were sufficiently clear and simple to be discussed intelligently by any farmer or mechanic. This was also true of the internal politics of each of these small communities. Personalities and problems were pretty well known by all who had any voice in affairs, though more had the right to vote than in England. It should be noted, however, that this right was not given to all free white citizens until well into the nineteenth century.

Political questions become more difficult with the formation of our government. With independence and the formation of the new government of the "United States," the problems at once became more complex. Instead of thirteen small local governments there was now a great united community of over 3,000,000 people scattered over a territory which it took six weeks to traverse from end to end.

Some questions, as the funding of the national debt, tariffs, relations to foreign countries, were new and more difficult than the voters had had to deal with before. Those who founded the government and carried it on in the beginning, not excepting Jefferson, the most democratic of all, did not believe that all citizens were capable of settling all questions wisely. Jefferson believed deeply in the ordinary man and also in the effects of education, but most leaders placed their faith in the system which was devised for a "representative" government. The people were not to have a voice directly in national matters, but to choose representatives in a sort of graded series who would be more competent to decide for them.

To endure, a democracy must strive for the good of all. Either such a form of representative government or a pure democracy clearly demands that the people and their representatives must place the good of the whole above their individual interests, and that there must be a general unselfishness, wisdom, and honesty in relation to public affairs. In the nineteenth century, the prevailing theory was that if all individuals acted for what they thought their own best interests the result would somehow work out for the best for all. This has proved a false theory. Unhappily, however, it is hard for most human beings to put the good of the whole against their personal gain. All modern democracies have been subject to this difficulty but America has had its peculiar temptations.

Most Americans of ability prefer business to public life. Never before in the history of the world has there been a greater

opportunity for so many people to get rich quickly than in America in the past hundred years. Both the chances and the prizes have been tremendous. On the other hand, government salaries have always been very low in comparison with what some men could make in business. In the South, which remained agricultural and built up a sort of English social life, men did, until the war with the North, take part in both local and national life. In the North, the opportunities in business were so great that most men of great ability preferred to turn politics over to those whom they might control while they devoted themselves to the more profitable and bigger "game" of business.

The professional politician arose, the "boss" and the man who could "deliver" votes at the polls or in the legislatures. The professionals were greatly helped in building up the "machines" by the great numbers of foreigners, largely in the bigger cities, who could be controlled. Especially after the election of Jackson, the doctrine of "to the victor belong the spoils" became firmly embedded in our minds. A party victory meant turning out the office holders of the opposite party and rewarding the successful party workers with their jobs. Politics offered so little of a permanent career that fewer and fewer men of first-rate ability and high honesty went into public life.

Power in the hands of a few tends to stress rights instead of duties. At the same time, while economic power has been concentrating in the hands of fewer great business magnates, so has the political power been concentrating in the hands of the bosses and professionals.

Yet since the beginning more governing power has been turned over from time to time to the people. The people now practically vote directly for the President, though they were never expected to do so when the Constitution was written. By various devices, such as the direct primary, attempts have been made to take the making of nominations for office from groups of politicians meeting in a "caucus" and give it to the people at large. Other plans for giving the people more direct control, such as the initiative, referendum, and recall, have been tried.

These efforts have not on the whole, however, been successful, and the average citizen in a nation of almost 140,000,000 people has come to be rather hopeless of his ability to change things for the better by his individual vote. Until the eighteenth century much was always heard of the *duties* of men and citizens, but since about the time of the Declaration of Independence it has been their *rights* which have

been stressed and little has been heard of *duties*. Partly in consequence of this and partly under the temptation of the chances in all branches of life to acquire wealth rapidly, one of the most marked tendencies of our later democracy has been to form groups to bring pressure on Congress to gain something for themselves without considering the rest of the people.

3. *Present-day Problems*

Political and economic problems are closely connected. It is often said that the real problems of the present day are economic and not political. However, as the economic problems have become great and dangerous, the tendency throughout the world is to count more and more on governments in helping to solve them, whether through Socialism, Fascism, or our own type of democracy. If governments are to solve the economic problems, it would seem to be of the utmost importance what these governments are, how wise and honest are those who run them, and how they get and hold office. The political changes in Europe have clearly shown how closely connected are the political and economic problems.

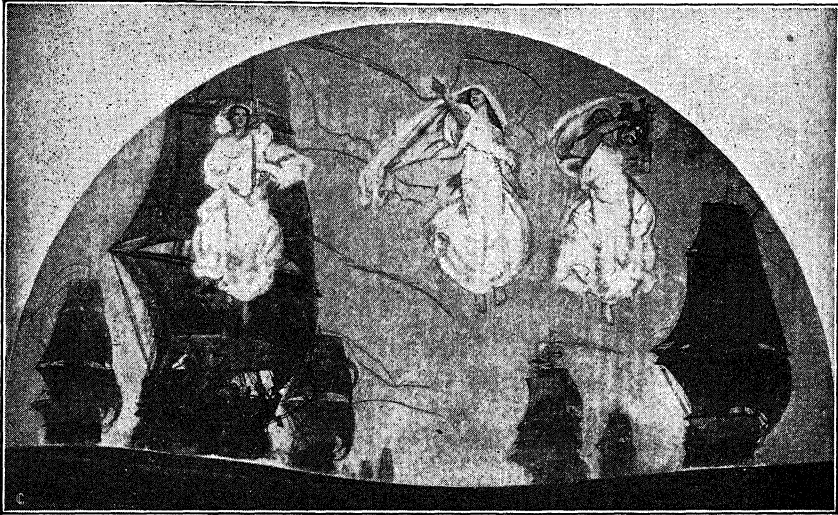
In a democracy it comes back to what the people as a whole want. If the people want an honest government they can get it, but if all the way up from the little man to the magnate, each group prefers to get what it wants regardless of the way of getting it or the interests of others, then we shall never have honest government, never end organized crime, and never be able to solve economic problems under any form of government.

America has made a remarkable advance in solving her cultural problems. America has been faced also by great cultural problems. These cultural problems have been closely connected with the American Dream. Perhaps we can take pride in the way we have tried to solve them, and in part succeeded. The task has been greater than that of any other nation. Roman civilization was brought to England almost two thousand years ago. There are inns and garden lawns there five hundred years old. England is so small it could be floated on the waters of Lake Superior and Michigan and nowhere touch their shores, yet it has taken twenty centuries to humanize and build up the culture of to-day in so tiny a bit of land.

Our continental territory, not including Alaska, is sixty times the size of England. We have had to conquer it from nature and human foe, to people and cultivate it, in about three hundred years, one-sixth

the time that England has had. It is true that we had had the culture of the Old World to build on; but on the other hand the mere physical task of spreading from a narrow fringe of settlements on the Atlantic coast over a continent 3000 miles wide would seem enough in itself.

Our country is built upon a religious foundation. But from the very beginning the settlers did ask more than just growth in terri-



By Edwin Austin Abbey

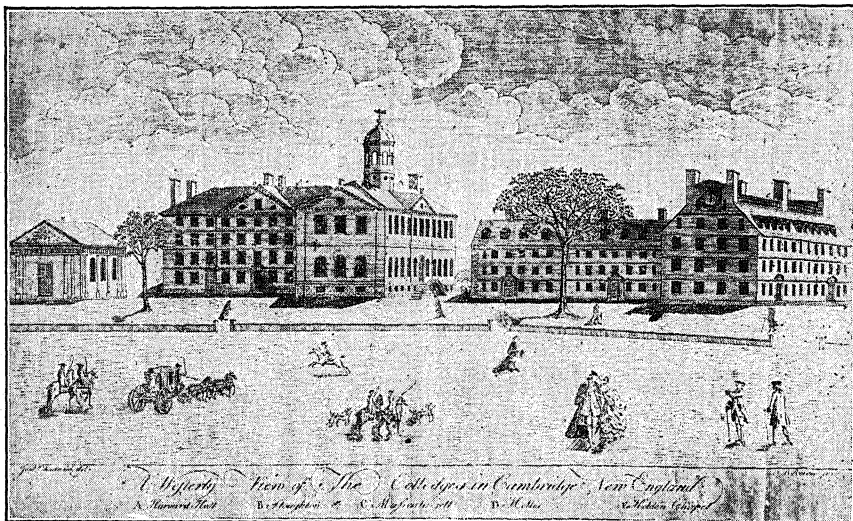
From a photograph © Cameron and Curtis

THE SPIRIT OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

From the painting by Edwin Austin Abbey in the State Capitol at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

tory, population, and wealth. The period of first immigration from England was one of great religious activity in Europe. As always the many trends of thought across the sea were reflected in the life of our own people. By the time the United States was formed from the colonies, a surprising number of sects had come to America—the Puritans in New England, the Quakers in Pennsylvania, Roman Catholics in Maryland, Episcopalians in the South, besides the Scotch-Irish Calvinists, the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and others. America for the most part was deeply religious. In the new settlements, where there were few books, listening to preaching and the reading of the Bible were two of the strongest cultural influences.

Our country believes in educational opportunities for all. Most of the early colleges, beginning with Harvard, were founded to provide clergymen for the settlers. As time went on, the building of colleges by most of the denominations was an important feature of our educational system. Education, at first connected with religion, took hold of the ideals of Americans. Later we came to depend



HARVARD COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

From left to right the buildings are: Holden Chapel, 1737; Hollis Hall, 1762; Harvard Hall, built in 1766 upon the site of the original building which had been destroyed by fire; Stoughton Hall, the gift of William Stoughton, presiding judge at Salem witch trials, which was torn down and replaced in 1805; Massachusetts Hall, 1720.

From the engraving by Paul Revere, in the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

upon it to make wise and good citizens. As the American Dream took more definite shape, we believed in the right of the individual to an education for the sake of the fullness and richness of his own life. No other people has ever given so lavishly of both private and public funds for institutions of learning. To-day not only are there many and well-endowed private schools, colleges, and universities scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific but the system of public schools, state colleges, and other free institutions give unprecedented opportunity to all classes.

Mere book learning does not necessarily produce wisdom and culture

but ready access to books can afford the basis for them. If the Americans have worshiped education through public schools, they have also led the world in providing free public libraries.

These three cultural influences—the churches, the schools and colleges, and the free libraries—have been developed at the same time that we have had to turn a wild continent into a habitable land. In contrast with the accumulations in Europe of beautiful man-made things—buildings, paintings, statues, and much else—for centuries our country was savage and empty. The sort of culture which comes from living with such things could not be had in a wilderness; but for many decades the creation of free museums of art has gone along with the free libraries, until in most of our larger cities and many of the towns the public has opportunity to see some of the treasures of art, though even now we cannot compete with Europe.

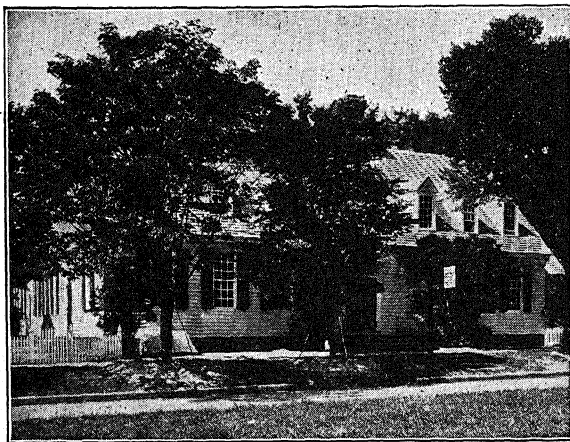
With Europe, though perhaps to a greater extent, we share in the educational possibilities for good or evil of the periodical press, the moving picture, and the radio. These have been developed since the founding of America, and Americans have had a major part in developing them.

The United States has built up a character of its own. Throughout our history there has been constant interchange of influences between the Old World and America. It was natural that Europe, without the need of felling forests, building roads, and doing all the rest of the pioneering work which had been done there many centuries earlier, should be freer to develop culture, and that we should be largely influenced by her in that respect. Little by little, however, like a boy growing to manhood, we have developed a character of our own.

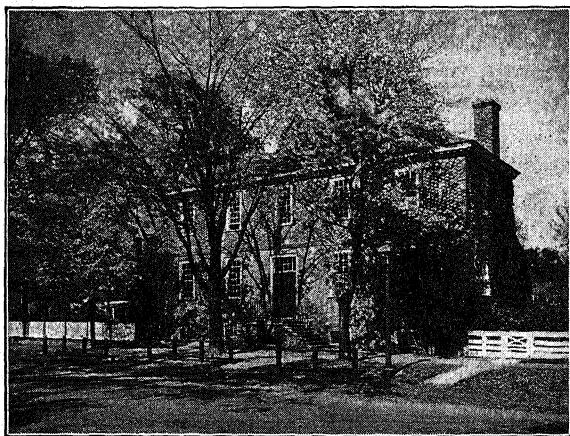
There have been four marked stages in this process. First, when we won our independence in 1776 to 1783; second, when we grew more conscious of our separate destiny following the War of 1812; next, when we became a world power after the war with Spain in 1898; and finally, when all the results of the World War made us realize our particular responsibilities and duties as Americans. American painting, music, drama, letters, and thought no longer mainly reflect European tendencies, but are to a large extent genuinely native. The collecting of early American furniture and folk art, the rapidly growing interest in our own history, the gathering of our own folk-lore and songs, are all signs that we have become an independent people culturally as well as politically.

Science and art are universal, and no nation should, in a spirit of

false nationalism, shut itself off from the best which others have to give. Like an individual, however, it must use all things to build a mind and character of its own.



THE RALEIGH TAVERN, RECONSTRUCTED ON ITS
ORIGINAL FOUNDATIONS



Photographs from Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

THE LUDWELL-PARADISE HOUSE

The restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, is evidence of America's interest in her history and folk-art.

The United States gains faith in the American Dream. The American Dream has been a distinctly American contribution to the world. It has been to millions of our people even more than a dream, a faith that has ever kept us restless and aspiring, as we have seen some of it come true and more appear within our reach. Although we have largely fallen short of the ideal, we have made the Dream to a great extent a living thing. We have not solved the social problems, but we have built a society in which the ordinary man has had more of a chance to rise and make the most of himself than in any other country. We have not solved our economic prob-

lems, but we have in our short three centuries given the mass of common men in our own country a standard of physical well-being and

independence which the world has never seen before. We have not solved our political problems, yet we have led the way to giving every person a voice in the management of his own affairs, and the French Revolution and the great Reform Bill in England were largely due to what we had first done in America. We have not solved our cultural problems, but we have opened the freedom of cultural opportunity to all—freedom of worship in free churches, freedom of education in free schools, and freedom of the world of thought in free libraries.

The future of our country lies in the hands of our boys and girls. These are no small things to have accomplished while also having to build roads, factories, farms, homes, and hospitals and to provide all the infinite number of other things for modern life on a continent where in 1600 there was probably not a single white man north of Florida and Mexico.

America has long been known as "the Land of Opportunity." What that opportunity may be in the future, and whether our democracy may succeed or fail in solving the many problems pressing upon us will largely depend on the minds and characters of our citizens, the future voters who are now boys and girls in high schools studying this or other books about our past history. We should know that story not only because it is a great story in itself but also because we cannot understand the present or plan for the future unless we know how we became what we now are.

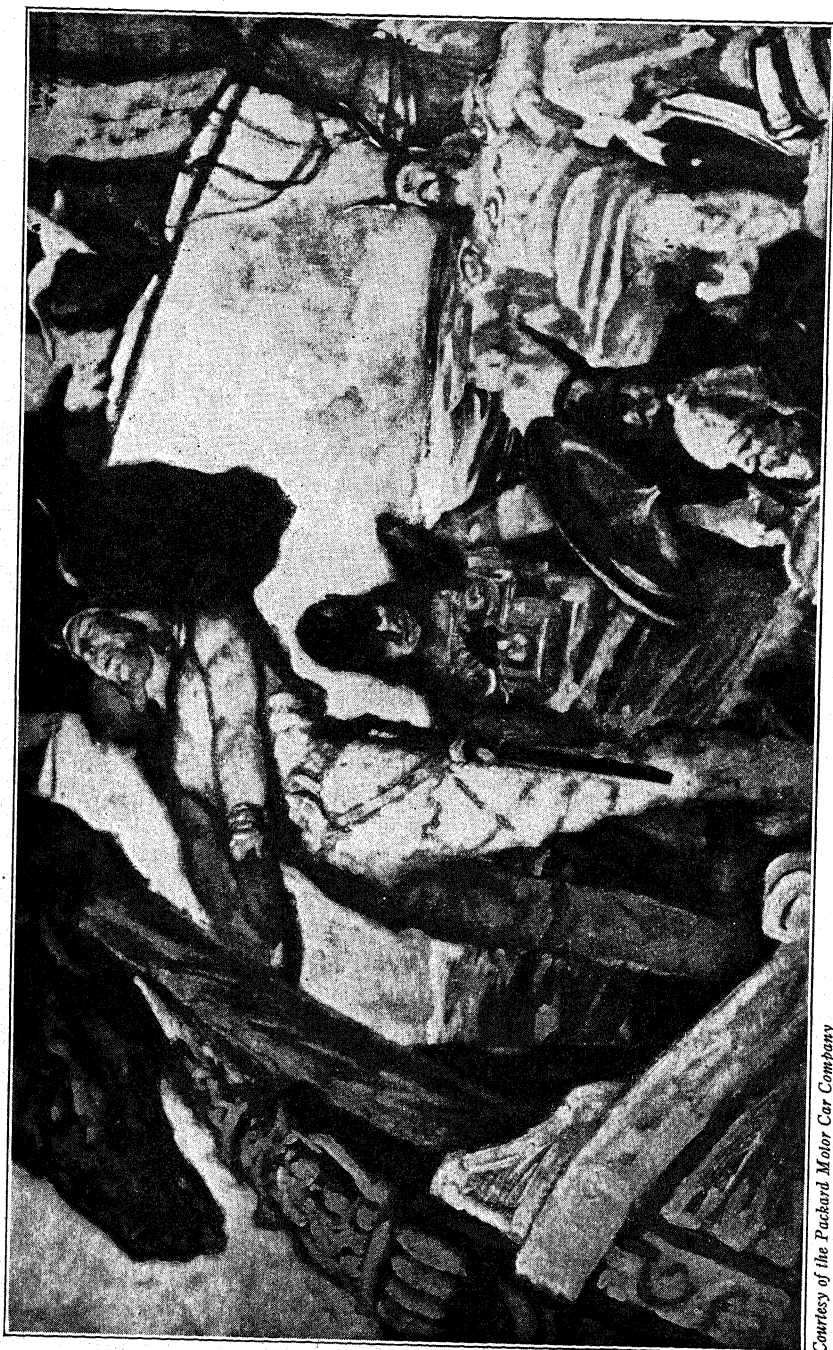
In the pages of this book the story of this thrilling development will be told, how we have tried to solve the political, economic, social, and cultural problems that have confronted us, how our trying to solve them has moulded us into what we are, and how this knowledge can help us to meet the unknown problems which lie before us.

UNIT I

UNIT I tells the story of the discovery, exploration, and settlement of the New World. In this Unit you will see the European background of American history—how Old World conditions were ripe to bring a New World into existence. You will understand how many factors—economic, religious, and political—were at work sending settlers to the New World.

You will see, too, how the European nations, especially England, France, and Spain, became rivals in America and how they fought for the supremacy of the newly found continent. You will learn how England defeated France and Spain in this struggle and came into possession of vast areas in America. The question of imperial organization and control of her new lands brought England into conflict with her colonists. Out of this conflict of ideas came a conflict of arms by which the colonists gained their independence.

You will follow our forefathers in making a constitution and you will see how many compromises they had to make before they could found a new nation.



Courtesy of the Packard Motor Car Company

THE NORSEMEN, COURAGEOUS AND DARING, WERE THE FIRST TO REACH THE SHORES OF AMERICA

UNIT I

HOW OUR COUNTRY WAS FOUNDED

TOPIC I

HOW EUROPEANS DISCOVERED AND SETTLED THE NEW WORLD

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

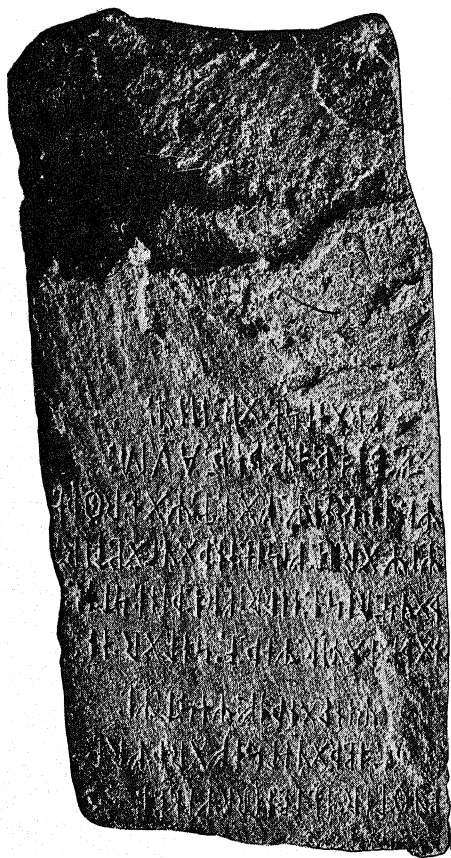
1. To understand the European conditions that caused the discovery of the New World.
2. To look at the physical features of America and the life of its aborigines.
3. To see the reasons why the European nations colonized the New World.
4. To follow the course of the settlement of the English colonies.
5. To understand the relation of the English colonies to the mother country.

1. *A New World Discovered*

Our history is about four hundred years old. Our history, unlike the records of the great powers of the Old World, begins with marked abruptness. In Europe, race has given place to race, and civilization to civilization. In tracing back, the record merges into myth and legend. Our own roots do indeed lie deep in the past of the European nations from which came the multitudes of immigrants who, with their descendants, have peopled the United States. Many of our institutions, like our language, come from England. We must take account of influences from the many lands whence our people came. But the passage overseas, our later breaking of political ties, and our failure to mingle with any native population have served to limit our history to a comparatively short period of time. Our history really begins with the first discoveries and settlements along our coasts, little more than four centuries ago.

The Norsemen discover the New World. Nearly five hundred years before that beginning, Europeans may have landed on our shores. About 982 Erik Thorwaldson, sailing from Norway, discovered Green-

land, and a colony was later planted there. His son, Leif Erikson, and others discovered lands farther west. Efforts have been made to locate their landings all the way from Labrador to Long Island Sound but we cannot be sure of any of the places suggested.



THE KENSINGTON STONE

Courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

Some remains, such as the old mill at Newport, Rhode Island, have long since been proved to belong to later periods. Learned discussions over such inscriptions as those on the Dighton Rock in Massachusetts have proved nothing. One of the most interesting of these relics, and one which seems to have some real claim to authenticity, is the "Kensington Stone" found in the roots of a tree at Kensington, Douglas County, Minnesota, in 1898. The inscription indicates that the point where it was found marks the southern limit of an expedition of Norsemen who came overland from Hudson's Bay in 1362.

The summing up of the evidence in 1935 would seem to give this record the best claim to being the earliest monument of white men in our country. These Norse voyages apparently had nothing to do with the later authentic discoveries.

The European nations carry on trade with the East. The European world of the fifteenth century, the heir of the older world of Greece and Rome, was hemmed in by barriers of sea and desert or by the dreaded hordes of the East. The geography of the world outside was as little known as it had been in the days of the Roman Empire.

It was a world, however, with which Europe had some commercial

relations, the greatest and most profitable trade being with the mysterious "East." From China, the Spice Islands, India, and many lands, the spices, pearls, jewels, rugs, and silks found their way by trade routes. These routes had their western ends in ports of the Mediterranean, scattered from Constantinople to Alexandria.

The Turks disturb Europe's trade with the East. In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries, the warlike hordes of the Ottoman Turks spread out from their center in Asia Minor. Steadily pursuing their conquests, they passed the Bosphorous and captured Constantinople in 1453, and by 1522 had overrun Egypt. All the ends of Europe's greatest trade routes thus fell into their hands. The Turks did not prohibit all trade. However, in the long period of conquest owing to war, new taxes and other hindrances gravely affected the trading life of Europe.

This hindering of the business of the European peoples came at just the period when they were beginning to feel a great rebound of energies. Due to the steady northwestward thrust of the Turks, this superabundant European energy was compressed within a small area. To the south, the warlike Mohammedans and the Sahara desert set an impassable barrier. To the west and north were unknown or frozen seas, mysterious and terrifying. On the east, European energy was rapidly rising but walls seemed to be closing in on it. It was as though a liquid were being brought to the boiling point in a container which was contracting. Vent or explosion was inevitable. Thanks to ocean exploration a vent was found, and within four centuries European civilization was to spread over the whole globe.

The Portuguese find a water route to the East. In the fifteenth century, Portuguese explorers sought a way to the Orient by sailing eastward after rounding the barrier of Africa. And they started this while the eastern trade routes were still quite open. They hoped to tap the trade at its source and to do away with the land routes and the Turks. After two generations of advance, Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Before being forced to turn back by a mutinous crew, he had proceeded far enough to make sure that the goal lay just beyond.

In 1498 Vasco da Gama, following Diaz, reached India and saw the welcome domes of Calicut. After a voyage of 18,000 miles he returned to Portugal with a rich cargo and even more precious knowledge.

Columbus rediscovers the New World. Certain that the East could be reached by sea, and believing that the world was round, Colum-

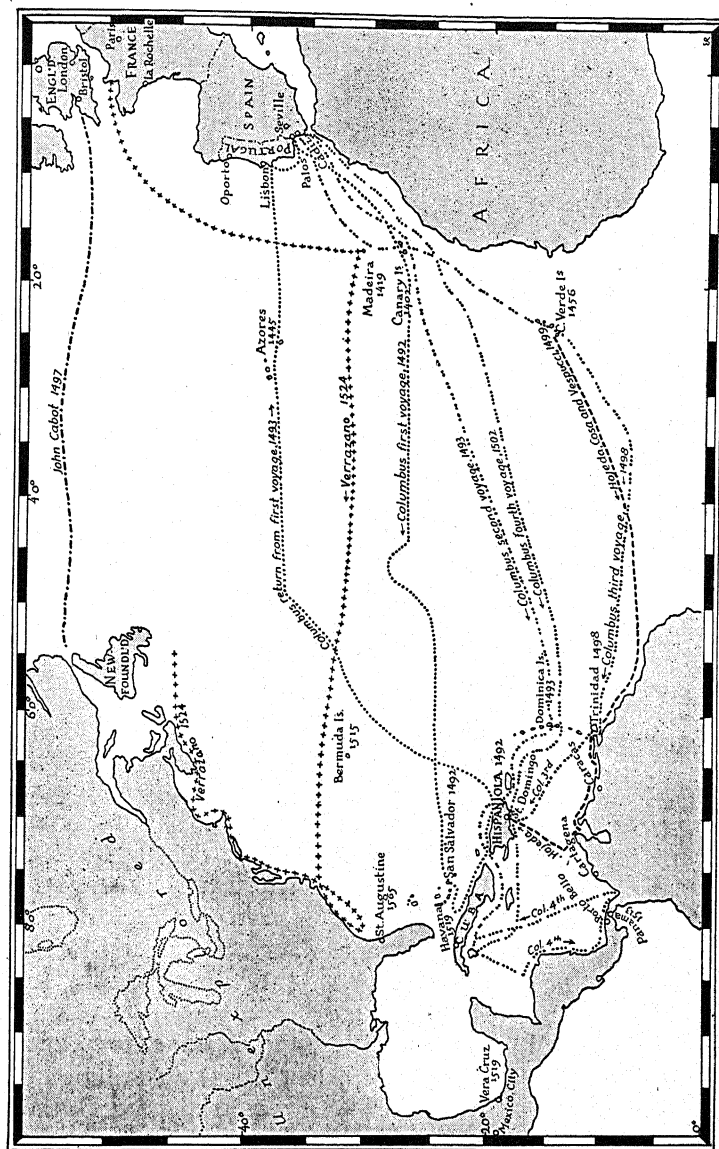
bus thought he could reach the Indies by sailing west. He hoped to save the long journey around Africa. Had the globe been as small as he thought and had the then unknown American continents not blocked his way, he would have outflanked the Portuguese, as they had outflanked the Turks. At last, helped by the Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, he set sail from Palos, August 3, 1492, with his crew of eighty-nine in three tiny vessels, the *Pinta*, *Niña*, and *Santa Maria*.

With the days passing into weeks, and the weeks into months, he and his companions voyaged westward until on the evening of October 11 a flaring light was seen as though on a shore. The next morning the explorers landed on the beach of a small island. This we cannot accurately identify but it is thought to be one of the Bahamas.

Columbus belongs forever with the small and select band of men who by vision and indomitable will have influenced the course of our history. Even to his death, after later voyages, Columbus continued to believe that he had reached Cathay or "the Indies," as the Orient was called. In reality he had found a New World in which Europeans could live.

European explorers follow in the wake of Columbus. Once it was known that land could be reached by sailing westward and, quite as important, that a return was possible, Columbus had many successors. In 1497 John Cabot, an Italian like Columbus, sailed from Bristol in the employ of the English King Henry VII. He landed on the Canadian, Newfoundland, or Labrador coast. England later based her claim to the North American continent on the discoveries made by Cabot. Another famous English explorer was Sir Francis Drake, one of Queen Elizabeth's famous "sea-dogs," whom the Spaniards called "the master thief of the western world." Drake plundered many of the Spanish ships and took their valuable cargoes of gold and silver. He was the first Englishman and the second explorer to sail around the world, 1577-1580. At about the same time that Drake was robbing the Spaniards of their wealth in the New World, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, were exploring our eastern coast with a view to establishing a permanent English colony in America. In this, however, neither was successful.

Portugal, Spain, and France, as well as England, sent out many expeditions to explore the New World. In 1501 Americus Vespuccius, an Italian in the employ of Portugal, sailed along the coast of Brazil. He wrote much about his voyage and as a result of his letters the New World was named America in his honor. In 1513 Balboa discovered the



VOYAGES OF EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY

Pacific Ocean and took possession of it and the lands it touched for the King of Spain. Magellan, a Portuguese employed by Spain, sailed around the world, 1519-1522. The Spaniards Cortez and Pizarro conquered Mexico and Peru, from which Spain was to acquire fabulous wealth. Within the limits of our own country the Spaniards were busily exploring during the sixteenth century, Ponce de Leon in Florida, Cabeza de Vaca in Texas, as also de Soto in the southeastern and Coronado in the southwestern parts of our present nation. Moreover, Verrazano, sailing under the flag of France, explored our shores from possibly Carolina to Newfoundland, to be soon followed by Jacques Cartier in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Unsuccessful efforts were also made to make settlements, such as the great colonization party led by the Spaniard de Ayllon probably to the shores of the Chesapeake in 1526, and the attempt by Menendez de Aviles to found a Jesuit mission on the Rappahannock. The French, under Ribault, tried to establish themselves in the Carolina region, but it was in Florida that the first lasting settlement was made on our eastern coast at St. Augustine, for the possession of which both French and Spaniards fought.

2. The Land and the People

The physical features of our country are adapted to a unified civilization. If the continent was not the longed-for Cathay, it was to prove, perhaps, the most perfect abode for a great nation. Its structure adapts it to a unified civilization. Along the Atlantic coast is a plain rising until the various hill and mountain ranges known as the Appalachian system are reached. On the Pacific the mountains come nearer to the shore, and then continue eastward in magnificent range after range. Between these eastern and western mountain ranges lies the vast valley of the Mississippi, more than 1000 miles wide, which has been called the most magnificent abode for man ever prepared by nature.

Our topography, climate, soil, and other natural resources make possible a variety of work. Our climate varies in different parts, but there is no large section in which white men cannot work the year through. Few places ever have tropical heat and nowhere is an important sea port frozen in winter. Both coasts have good harbors, some of them among the finest in the world. The stony and somewhat sterile soil of New England and its broken ground surface, jutting far east-



ward out to sea, have lured its people rather to commerce and industry than to agriculture. The position of New York City, at the mouth of the Hudson River, which provides an almost sea-level route into the great West, has brought to that city the largest net tonnage of sea-going and coastal shipping of any port in the world. The Great Lakes, with their many ports, are highways of trade.

The rich farm lands of New York and Pennsylvania merge into tobacco lands of the Old South and on to great cotton fields of the Gulf States. There in the South, too, are forests of valuable timber. From east to west the great central valley of the Mississippi River and its tributaries is divided into the fertile and easily cultivated prairies, and the more western plains. The conquering of insect pests, dust storms, loneliness, summer droughts and winter blizzards, has become one of the great sagas of human adventure and endurance. Over the ranges of western mountains, which have yielded their treasures of gold and silver, lie the Italian-like scenery and fruit crops of California, and the apple orchards and the magnificent forests of Oregon and Washington.

Here and there deposits of oil, notably in Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, Texas, and California, or convenient combinations of coal and iron ore, as in western Pennsylvania, were to determine the location of vast industries.

The scenery of our country is unexcelled. The scenery is of great variety. There are bits of New England which with their lush meadows and great elm trees are hard to distinguish from similar bits in old England, while the older country has nothing to equal the delicacy of white birch woods in the spring or the glory of birches and maples in the flaming autumn. From these we can pass to the solemn gloom of the great pine forests of the South, or the cypress swamps and hanging moss; to the marvellous colors of the Arizona deserts; to the vast canyon of the Colorado, 5000 feet deep and 300 miles long; to the infinite stretches of prairie comparable only to the sea, where the furrow on a farm may begin at our feet and go on and on over the horizon in line of seeded wheat; to gem-like lakes hidden in wild mountain valleys; to where snow-capped mountains slope down to the blue of the Pacific. The distances are such as Europe does not know, and it is the vastness of the land, still largely empty, which impresses us as we travel through its spaces.

The early explorers know little of our country. All of this was unknown to the earliest explorers. A little later, when an English king

was to give to companies charters for settlements westward "from sea to sea," he did not know the extent of the new land. When the earliest settlers attempted to secure an uncertain foothold on the coast, a virgin forest covered the entire continent from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Like their Saxon ancestors of a thousand years before, the English in America were to be forest dwellers and to become used to dealing with the problems of living in forest conditions.

The Indians do not intermarry with our English forefathers. The European discoverers in this country found a race of copper-colored people whom Columbus had called "Indians" from the belief that he had found the eastern "Indies" which he had been seeking. The earliest ancestors of these people may, perhaps, have come from Asia by way of Bering Strait or even across a land bridge which may have existed in an earlier geologic age. Nothing, however, can be determined with the evidence now at hand.

In any case these primitive Americans have little to do with the America of to-day. Unlike the original Britons, whose blood became freely mingled with the blood of successive invading hordes of Saxons, Danes, and Normans to make the English of our time, the Indians never mixed their blood with that of the English settlers to any extent.

The Indians have had little influence upon our history. Though the history and culture of Mexico cannot be understood without consideration of the natives, this is not true of our history. The aborigines have, however, left their traces. To them we owe not a few words such as sachem, wigwam, totem, and others, but also almost all of our most beautiful and most interesting names of places, rivers, and lakes. The earliest settlers, also, were greatly helped by the Indian's knowledge of woodcraft, and by learning his use of important native foodstuffs, such as Indian corn or maize. Such influences were slight as compared with those of other races elsewhere who have really fused their blood, culture, and language with those of a conquering race.

The white man himself regarded the Indians as the same sort of obstacle to his advance and success as the wild animals or the difficulties of climate or soil. Unfortunately, until very recently, we have treated them as we have all other things hindering our steady advance across the continent.

The Indians vary in their mode of life. The Indians varied much in the level of their culture. There were none in our country who had reached the high stage of those in Mexico and Peru. East of the Mississippi in the forest which covered that section, the natives lived

by hunting, fishing, and agriculture, moving about from place to place within limits broadly defined for each tribe. Those on the plains roamed over wide stretches and lived chiefly on the meat of the bison, of which there were herds in almost unbelievable numbers. Indeed, the extraordinary amount of animal life of all sorts seemed to the settlers inexhaustible. The half million or so of Indians within the entire United States, with their primitive weapons, made little impression on what was an animal paradise.

Farther west were Indians with a different culture, such as those along Puget Sound, expert in the use of wood and in general artistic ability; or the cliff-dwellers and others of the Southwest who were advanced in agriculture and in the arts of pottery and weaving. The Navajo and other rugs are still made there and used in many American homes. It is probable that as our American culture becomes more sharply defined the influence of the art and designs of the Southwest Indians and of the natives of Mexico and Central America will increase.

The Indians vary in traits and character. Although the character and traits of the various tribes differed, we may say in general that the Indian was neither the noble being painted in Fenimore Cooper's novels nor the demon so often thought by those who were pushing him off his hunting grounds. He was inclined to be lazy, though capable at times of enormous energy and endurance. In his own home life he was apt to be sociable and talkative with a good sense of humor. The tradition that he was always silent and dignified came from the fact that his etiquette required that he should so appear on ceremonial occasions. On some occasions he could make speeches which rose to a high pitch of eloquence.

The white man and the Indian do not understand each other. The Indians were divided into tribes. The land which each tribe considered to be its own hunting ground was owned by the tribe as a whole, individuals having no personal land property. The native did not understand the English system of land-ownership and the settlers did not for a time understand the Indian system. Thus when the settlers bought title to Indian land neither side understood the other, and this made endless trouble and disputes. The treatment of the Indians in our early years makes a dark page in our country. In these later years the government has adopted a humane policy based on understanding and good will.

We turn again now to the story of the advance of the settlers.

3. *The Settlement of the New World*

The Spanish settle in the South. The new land which had been found by Columbus and his successors was no gorgeous East with silk-clad princes, teeming millions, spices, and precious jewels. For the most part, it was a forbidding wilderness inhabited by naked savages. Only where the Spaniards, encountering the barbaric cultures of the Aztecs and the Incas, had discovered treasure of silver and gold, mines, and an ample labor supply, was there easy wealth to be reaped. Quickly a transplanted Spanish culture was established, based on the riches of the older native kingdoms. The 160,000 Spaniards who, it has been estimated, were in New Spain by 1574 had libraries, printing presses, scholars, and universities long before a single Englishman was able to establish a foothold in the North. Spain's influence in the New World has been great. She has given her language, her culture, and her religion to more countries than has any other nation.

The French settle in Canada. The French, after trying colonization in Florida, whence they were driven out by the Spaniards, established a fortified post at Quebec under the indomitable Champlain, who had explored and mapped our New England coast. From that year, 1608, they continued to hold Canada until 1763. The French Empire in America was to be a sort of combined trading post and missionary enterprise gilded by dreams of empire. Since Canada appeared then to lack mineral and agricultural wealth, the Indian fur trade became the dominant interest. French traders and explorers roamed west to the Great Lakes and down the valley of the Mississippi, establishing forts and trading centers in the vast hinterland behind the Appalachians.

The influence of the French on the destinies of the continent was to prove out of all proportion to the numbers and strength of the colonies. Had France not established New France and had she not been despoiled of it by the English in 1763, she would probably have been less willing to aid the English colonies in their revolt of 1776. That revolt instead of being successful would, perhaps, have been merely one more of the innumerable suppressed rebellions in the history of the British Empire.

England surpasses the other nations of Europe. The year before Champlain built his fort at Quebec and faced the first terrible winter, from which only eight of the twenty-eight settlers were to emerge alive, a handful of Englishmen had planted the first successful English colony far south in Virginia. With a population half that of London to-day, England was to send out the swarms which were destined to

found a new English nation overseas. In some respects that little, bustling, fast-changing England of 1600 was in the lead of the European nations. France was dissipating her energy in continental wars and



ROUTES OF THE SPANISH EXPLORERS

entanglements. Spain, in spite of the huge annual supply of gold derived from her American possessions, had been steadily sinking in power and prestige. She had received a staggering blow when the English defeated her Armada in 1588. Even before that, the English sea-dogs—Drake, Hawkins, and the rest—had been yelping on her trail like wolves, and bringing down galleon after galleon laden with treasure.

When the entire "invincible" Armada had been sunk or scattered to the winds, the daring and pretensions of English seamen rose to new heights. Spain was no longer able to keep England from any New World venture.

The concentrated effort required to defeat the "invincible" Armada prevented Sir Walter Raleigh from sending aid to a small colony which had been established on Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina. In 1584 that part of the continent approximately between the St. Lawrence River and Spanish settlements in Florida was named Virginia by Queen Elizabeth; and in the same year, after the return of a party of exploration, Raleigh was made the proprietary governor of a semi-circular grant with a six-hundred-mile radius from the point of settlement. Predicting the creation of a new nation across the sea, Raleigh equipped and sent out colonists under the command of Sir Richard Grenville with Ralph Lane as deputy governor. With the pioneers were Thomas Harriot, scientist and inventor of algebraic symbols still in use; Thomas Glover, surgeon; and John White, governor and artist, who made pictures of native scenes. Discouraged by the hostility of the Indians and by the unaccustomed conditions, the settlers returned to England with Captain Francis Drake, who visited the colony following a series of raids upon Spanish-American towns. After the return of a second group, who arrived shortly after the first colonists had left, a third and final expedition arrived at Roanoke Island in 1587. It is unknown what became of them all, including Governor White's granddaughter, Virginia Dare, the first child born of English parents in America. Richard Hakluyt, compiler of many volumes of voyages and the most insistent advocate of English colonization in North America, had advised landing on the shores of the Chesapeake where, twenty years later, the first permanent settlement was to be established; and where, after these private enterprises had failed with fortunes spent upon them, a stock company of adventurers was at last to succeed.

The English are nationalistic and patriotic. England was also the first of the great nations to pass from the stage of feudalism to more modern conditions. Though both her government and society were aristocratic, her plain citizens were the freest in the world. Under the Tudors,¹ who were English to the core in all their aspirations, there had been a great outburst of conscious nationalism and patriotism. Henry VIII had declared the English church independent of the Pope.

¹Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth were the principal sovereigns of the Tudor family, who ruled England from 1485 to 1603.

Robust individualism was rampant and took many forms. There were men of action like Drake, Raleigh, and Frobisher. There were brilliant men of letters, with Shakespeare at the head, who are still the glory of English literature. This individualism extended to more ordinary folk, business men intent on extending trade, and independent-thinking citizens deciding for themselves the problems of their spiritual life.

Puritanism becomes a powerful force in England. Puritanism was one of the forces of the period. The word has been used in many meanings, but we may here consider it as applied to the movement against what were considered errors, abuses, or evils in the ecclesiastical or moral life of the time. Protestantism, when it had denied the authority of the single Catholic Church, had opened the way to individualism in the interpretation of the Bible as the Word of God.

The Puritans were made up of all sorts of minds, from those of great noblemen, like the Earl of Warwick, or thinkers, like Milton, to illiterate cobblers or farmhands. Their protests against the manners and morals of non-Puritans were of all degrees of intensity. Some wished to reform church or society from within; others, the Separatists, felt they must withdraw entirely. Too radical religious beliefs were held by the government to be dangerous to the safety of the state, since the King was the head of the state church, and uniformity of religious belief and practice was expected.

The more extreme Puritans, therefore, suffered some persecution and feared worse. Moreover, among Protestants themselves, the demand to the right of individual interpretation of the Bible did not lead, as might have been expected, to tolerance. The individual, having found for himself what he believed to be the truth, all too often felt compelled to force it on other men, and to found sects or societies in which it alone should be recognized.

Economic conditions in England change. About the beginning of the seventeenth century profound economic changes were also in progress. Among other things, the steady and vast flow of gold from New Spain had thrown the prices of goods and labor into confusion. Some classes were rising and others were falling. Many of the great feudal estates had been broken up. More people were now engaged in trading and small manufacturing. Such changes were rapidly upsetting long-established conditions in the nation. There was much unrest and unemployment among the laboring and lower middle-classes. The upper middle-class of "gentlemen" who could not adjust themselves to

the new order were slipping down. Others, making use of the rather abundant capital due to the great increase in Europe's gold supply, were making ventures in new trades overseas and were growing wealthy.

Many "companies" were being formed to permit groups of these men to join in trading to Muscovy, the Levant, India, Guinea, and elsewhere. Such companies were typical of a new form of economic adventure not only in England but in France, Holland, and other countries. In some cases they were formed to buy land and to colonize it, as in Ireland. In others they were primarily trading companies. But, in lands where governments could not be depended on for protection, this meant also control of the trading station established at the end of a trade route in a foreign and frequently uncivilized land.

England is ready for colonization. Thus all the conditions were ready for England to begin the attempted exploitation of some part of the New World. Briefly, there was in England an enormous reservoir of energy seeking an outlet. There were many people, only a part of whom were being drained off by the colonizing projects in Ireland, who were discontented with their religious, social, or economic situation at home. Much unemployment on the one hand was offset by the accumulations of new capital on the other hand. This capital was in the possession of energetic and adventurous merchants seeking profitable investment and accustomed to take large risks for corresponding gains.

England turns her attention to the settlement of America. Spanish profits from America had been colossal, but Spain was no longer powerful enough to act as the growling dog in the manger in such parts of the New World as she did not actually occupy. France, although she had explored our Atlantic seaboard, had been interested mainly in Canada and the fur trade of the interior. The Portuguese had been excluded from North America by the Papal Bull of 1493. The Pope drew a line of demarcation from pole to pole, one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. He gave to Portugal all the heathen lands that might be discovered east of the line and to Spain all such lands west of it. The next year the line was shifted westward. As a result of the Papal Bull, Spain could lay claim to all the Americas except the eastern part of Brazil. The enterprising Dutch had shown no interest in Western schemes or exploration. With the formation of the East India Company in 1600, the great English chartered companies had reached all other attractive trading regions,

but not yet the New World. Consequently, the next step in commercial expansion pointed to North America.

England charters two trading companies. On April 10, 1606, King James I granted a charter to two groups of capitalists. The members of one group were mostly residents of London, and those of the other group came from Plymouth.

Subsequently the Plymouth group was merged in the London Company which established the first permanent settlement of America, marking the beginning of English colonization that was destined to extend to both hemispheres and all continents.

The London Company sends a colony. Despite the objections of the Spanish, who claimed the whole of North America regardless of the discoveries of Cabot, the London Company sent out three small vessels, the largest of which, the *Sarah Constant*, was but 100 tons. All were under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, one of the six masters of the Royal Navy and subsequently Admiral. Those on board, to the number 120, represented a cross section of the British people, from Captain George Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland, to laborers and artisans. Setting out in December, 1606, by the West Indies route, the settlers did not reach the shores of the Chesapeake Bay until April 26, by the old calendar. Others who provided leadership in establishing the colony were Edward Maria Wingfield, first president of the Virginia council; Bartholomew Gosnold, who had served under Raleigh; John Ratcliffe, destined to be slain in Indian ambush; John Smith, adventurous explorer and pioneer cartographer; John Martin, who became the most successful planter; and the Reverend Robert Hunt, who ministered to the spiritual needs of the colonists.

Jamestown is founded, 1607. The first landing on Virginia soil was marked by an Indian attack in which Captain Gabriel Archer was wounded. For protection against a Spanish surprise assault, the colonists sailed a considerable distance up the river they named the James. where, on May 14 (24. N.S.) they disembarked upon a small peninsula which so "thrust out into the depth and midst of the channell" as to enable the sailors to moor the ships to the trees. On this site, which was to prove the cradle of the American people, services were held by the Reverend Robert Hunt, and "in the name of God" the settlers began to erect fortifications and dwellings, naming the settlement Jamestown.

The Virginia colonists endure untold hardships. Unfortunately, the peninsular site, while supposed to offer special protection against Indians, was subject to the attack of even more dangerous foes, the

malaria-bearing mosquitoes in nearby marshes. Quinine was then an unknown remedy, so that between Indian attacks, malaria, and many ills due to inexperience with unaccustomed conditions, 144 out of 197 immigrants perished by the following January. Soon after landing, Newport and some of the men explored the upper reaches of the river as far as the present site of Richmond. En route Newport was hospitably entertained by several Indian chiefs or werowances, although at Jamestown other savages attacked the settlement and killed or wounded a number of defenders.

Since England had long been dependent upon the Baltic countries for glass, soap ashes, lumber, and naval stores; and on southern Europe for wine, salt, iron ore, and tropical fruits, the mother country now hoped to get all of these from Virginia; and it was also hoped that gold and other precious metals might be found such as the Spaniards had discovered in South America. With high expectations, therefore, it was recorded "the spade men fell to digging, the brick men burnt their bricks, the company cut down the wood, the Carpenters fell to squaring out, the Sawyers to sawing, the Souldiers to fortifying, and every man to somewhat." Some mistook a quantity of iron pyrites for gold ore; some set out pineapple plants brought from the West Indies; while others, more practical, gathered sassafras or prepared clapboards as cargoes for the returning ships.

The Virginia colony survives. In addition to these numerous natural difficulties, the colonists were handicapped by one of the conditions imposed upon them, which was that property and produce were to be held in common. It was not until this plan was abandoned that the settlement began to prosper. This prosperity was not fully established, however, until a method was found for curing Virginia tobacco so that it would stand shipment to England. Here at last was found a paying crop for export, after failure to produce silk, to manufacture glass, and to discover ores and other commodities in profitable quantities. To John Rolfe, who had suffered shipwreck at Bermuda in the hurricane immortalized by Shakespeare in *The Tempest*, belongs the credit for preparing the first successful shipments of the Virginia leaf; while his marriage to Pocahontas, daughter of the great werowance Powhatan, brought to the colony a period of peace with the Indians that enabled the settlement to extend its borders.

It has been estimated that by 1625, over 1000 white persons were living in Virginia; but to secure this result four times as many had perished from the causes above stated. In what was known as the Great Massacre of April, 1622, the Indians surprised the settlers in their homes or at work in the fields, and but for a last-minute warning given by Chanco, a native convert to Christianity, might have wiped out the colony.

Arrival of indentured servants.

There was great demand for laborers and artisans which was supplied, in part, by the importation of those who sold their services for a period of years in return for their transatlantic passage. These indentured servants, of considerable importance in our history, were of all grades. Some came from jails but that means little, as men were then imprisoned in England for very minor offenses and even for trifling debts.

When their term of service was completed, they could claim land and start life anew in the New World. Under the strain of maladjustments in the economic condition of England, many persons of good standing at home took advantage of this way to make a new beginning. So the word servant, which included schoolmasters, younger sons of good families, and others, is misleading. As the trade became organized, wicked captains of ships began to kidnap boys and girls on the streets in England and sell their time in America.

In 1619 twenty negroes were introduced into the colony. Since records of their release from service of at least several have been found, it appears that all were brought into the colonies as indentured servants. Slavery, as it existed in Virginia and other colonies, was a subsequent development.



THE ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST WOMEN
AT JAMESTOWN

From a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

The Virginia charter grants liberty to the colonists. The original charter granted by King James in 1606 was followed by others in 1609 and 1612. The last was revoked completely in 1624, when Virginia became a royal colony. There ensued, however, no disturbance to property rights or popular liberties. The first charter, happily, in words which the Americans were always to cherish and remember, had provided that the colonists and their descendants "shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities within any of our other dominions, to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within this our Realm of England or any other of our said dominions." That promise of liberty had been the original basis on which Englishmen had first been induced to settle in America.

The House of Burgesses is the first representative assembly in America. For the first decade, however, the colonists had had little voice in managing their own political affairs. In April, 1619, Sir George Yeardley arrived as governor from London with new instructions. Thereafter the people were to have a share in their government and twenty-two burgesses were to be elected from nine "plantations" and three "cities" to form the lower house of the new legislature. Actually, at first, there were eleven little local organizations, variously called "city," "borough," "hundred," or "plantation," each represented by two burgesses in the lower legislative house. This body, a council of six as an upper house, and the governor, made up a type of government that was to be familiar in its broad outlines, though with local variations, throughout colonial America.

In July, 1619, the legislature met and political self-government was formally inaugurated on the American continent. A significant but less happy event in the same year that the Burgesses thus started at Jamestown was the arrival of a Dutch ship whose captain sold twenty negroes as indentured servants, presaging the later beginning of slavery and the slave trade.

Virginia continues to grow. While the London-Virginia Company had not succeeded in paying monetary dividends to its English subscribers or members, its accomplishments in establishing a representative assembly in the New World created an invaluable precedent for all the Anglo-American colonies. Plans for the conversion of the Indians were under way as well as a public school and an American college to be known as Henrico, for the support of which the Virginia assembly had set aside some 10,000 acres. The Indian massacre of

1622 wrecked these auspicious beginnings and among those slain was George Thorpe, the manager or president of the College, who gave his life in the cause of education. In spite of these misfortunes, the colony continued to grow, so that in 1635 the House of Burgesses dared even to depose a royal governor. The English character, as well as the English race, had established itself in the New World.

Colonizers turn their attention to the New England coast. Meanwhile efforts of the Plymouth Company to found a colony in New England, including one experiment of wintering in Maine with inadequate resources, had not succeeded. Every year, French, Spanish, Dutch, or English ships were found along our shores fishing, fur-trading, or exploring, and the New England coast had become well known. In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman in Dutch employ, discovered the river that bears his name. In 1614 Captain John Smith mapped the Massachusetts coast and explored it. Virginia was thirteen years old before the first band of settlers was to effect a permanent lodgment in the North, and then by accident.

The Pilgrims sail. In 1606, the year when the first emigrants embarked on their ships for Chesapeake Bay, another small group, made up of the Separatists, fearful of being able to continue their religious life in England, had emigrated to Holland and settled in Leyden. Being English, they were not happy living among foreigners; they feared for their children, and found it hard to make comfortable livings. For these and other reasons, they determined to try their fortune in the New World. Since the Virginia colony had proved successful, they decided to settle near it. Having secured financial backing of capitalists in London, 102 passengers crowded into the *Mayflower* and set sail from Southampton in the summer of 1620. Only a third of these, under the lead of William Brewster, were "Pilgrims" from Leyden, the rest being settlers picked up in London or elsewhere and sent over by the capitalists.

The Pilgrims draw up a covenant and land on Cape Cod. It was November before they sighted Cape Cod and, after running into dangerous shoals, they decided to disembark at some favorable spot near at hand. It was thus by chance that the famous landing at Plymouth was made. Finding themselves outside the limits of the Virginia government, with no charter of their own, they decided before landing to draw up a covenant to be signed by all the men. The covenant—the famous *Mayflower Compact*—bound those on the *Mayflower* to obey such government as might be created.

During the first few years of this second American settlement many of the troubles which the Virginians had encountered were met again— heavy sickness, occasional attacks from the savages, and economic difficulties until private ownership replaced the partly communal form of economic life forced on them by their capitalist backers. Neither the disorders nor the trials were so severe, however, as they had been in the



THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH

From the painting by G. H. Boughton.

southern adventure, and the little democracy governed itself with notable success.

Chief among the leaders was William Bradford, a Puritan at once determined and lovable, a man of strong will, high courage, sound sense, and, although a farmer's son, of scholarly tastes. His *History of Plymouth Plantation* is the earliest contribution of importance to American historical writing, and still has the charm of few American books. The peppery-tempered but loyal little soldier, Captain Myles Standish, was the sword of the colony.

The Puritans settle Massachusetts for economic and religious reasons. In the eastern section of England Puritanism was particularly strong among a group of influential families and clergy, and in

that same section economic distress among the lower middle and laboring class was unusually acute. In 1628, a group of men of that district, some of them already interested in a fishing company at Cape Ann, secured a patent for land running from three miles north of the Merrimac River to three miles south of the Charles, a strip about sixty miles wide and 3000 long, as it ran to the Pacific Ocean.

They despatched John Endecott with about sixty persons to take possession and prepare for a colony. There was already a little settlement at Salem and there Endecott wintered. The next year 400 people were sent out, and a royal charter was secured for a Massachusetts Bay Company, much the same as the other company charters. This provided that the members of the company, known as "freemen," should constitute the "General Court" which was to meet quarterly and once a year to elect a governor, deputy-governor, and board of assistants. The "Court" was also given power to make such rules, or laws and ordinances, as should not be repugnant to the laws of England.

Events in that country were moving rapidly, and the future was becoming dark. The King in anger dissolved Parliament and was to rule without one for the next eleven years. Nine of the popular leaders had been imprisoned in the Tower. Important Puritan, and what we might call to-day "Liberal," families were deeply anxious, and were considering the New World as a possible asylum.

The Puritans send their charter to the New World. Probably on account of this situation, the influential men in control of the Massachusetts Bay Company decided upon taking a unique step in the history of English company colonization. They determined to send the actual charter to the colony itself. By doing this they transformed what was intended to be a mere trading company charter into what they came to consider the constitution for an almost self-governing state. The step was to prove of great importance in the relations of Massachusetts to the British government and in the development of colonial political thought.

The first governor elected, in England, was John Winthrop. He was a gentleman of good family and position who had found himself unable to keep up his accustomed scale of living under the altered economic conditions of the time. He was also a Puritan. In his case, as in most others, various motives induced him to go out to the American wilderness. The letters of himself, his wife, and children, reveal a singularly affectionate and cultured family life, and it must have been with heavy hearts that they left their old Suffolk home.

The Puritans establish a theocracy in Massachusetts. In 1630 Winthrop sailed for Massachusetts with a band of nearly a thousand colonists, who settled what later became the towns of Charlestown, Boston, Medford, Watertown, Roxbury, Lynn, and Dorchester. In 1634 he estimated the total population at 4000, and Massachusetts had become the most powerful settlement on the entire North American coast.

The new colony was as strong in convictions as in numbers. The Massachusetts leaders, both layman and clergy, were of the strictest sect of the Puritans and gave the tone to the whole community. They attempted to make their state a theocracy with themselves as the sole interpreters of the Word of God in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. In 1631 the General Court declared that only church members could be admitted as freemen, that is, could have a vote in the government. The leaders hoped that by this device they could maintain strict control, political as well as religious. They had come to the New World to worship as they chose and they had no intention of being interfered with by those of different belief whether in England or within their newly established settlements.

John Endecott exemplified best the dogmatic, harsh, unyielding type which the movement produced. But even gentler and sweeter characters like those of Winthrop or the Reverend John Cotton grew less broadly humane under the conditions of life in the theocracy. The Puritan leaders distrusted democracy. But if too often they seemed intent on making the wilderness blossom like the thistle instead of like the rose, they developed around the core of "the New England conscience" a character which was to form an invaluable strain in the nation of the future.

The liberal element in Massachusetts opposes the oligarchy. For many generations there were to be two strands in the history of Massachusetts—resistance by the colony as a whole to any encroachments by England, and resistance by the more liberal elements among the colonists themselves to the ruling oligarchy, who believed not that the people should rule but that they should *be* ruled by the specially elect of God.

For a while, the leaders refused to allow the people even to see the charter, and carried matters with a high hand. Finally, it was decided, after a mild uprising against Winthrop and the other leaders, that the General Court, made up of delegates from the towns, should meet four



times a year, and that it alone should have power to pass laws, elect and remove officials, lay taxes, and grant lands.

Almost from the beginning, the Congregational form of church had been adopted in Massachusetts. By this system each church was independent of all others, chose its own pastor, and was composed only of

Christenings

make not

CHRISTIANS,

OR

A Briefe Discourse concerning that name *Heathen*, commonly given to the INDIANS.

As also concerning that great point of their CONVERSION.



Published according to Order.

London, Printed by Jane Cox, for I. H. 1645.

A FACSIMILE OF A REPRINT OF
THE ORIGINAL TRACT WRIT-
TEN BY ROGER WILLIAMS IN
1643

Contained in *Rhode Island His-
torical Tracts*, 1st Series, No. 14.

such persons as could satisfy the rest of the congregation of their religious condition. They were bound together by a covenant. From this church group and the political organization of the town the New England social system was built up. To these should be added the village or town school, which was soon introduced. These three ideas are to be found throughout our history wherever New England influence has penetrated. The tendency of all three was profoundly democratic, but this in no way altered the attempt of the leaders, such as even Winthrop and Cotton, who were opposed to democracy, to prevent its application to civil government.

Roger Williams founds Rhode Island. Many complaints had been made in London about affairs in the colony when its peace in America was disturbed in 1635 by the ideas of Roger Williams. Williams had a gentle and winning personality, and soon fell into

difficulty with the Massachusetts leaders. Besides preaching religious toleration he added certain dangerous doctrines, claiming, for example, that title to American soil was vested in the Indians and not in the King.

After a trial he was sentenced by the Massachusetts authorities to be banished the following spring. Having heard he was to be shipped to England, he escaped from prison in mid-winter and made his way through the snows and bitter cold of a New England January to Narragansett Bay. There he founded the new colony of Rhode Island, for which he obtained a charter in 1663.

Thomas Hooker founds Hartford. Meanwhile others wished to emigrate from Massachusetts. The beautiful valley of the Connecti-

cut attracted some of these. In 1635, a law was passed that no one could leave Massachusetts without consent of the authorities, but it was finally decreed that the Reverend Thomas Hooker and a band of settlers might go. By the end of the following year there were probably 800 people at Hartford and neighboring places. Thus our western migration from the "settled East" had begun.

Dislike of the government of Massachusetts, as well as the attractiveness of the rich Connecticut meadows, was probably the cause of the exodus. When the form of government of the new settlements was under consideration in 1638, the settlers had no charter. Hooker preached a famous sermon. He argued for fixed laws and popular control of the government and magistrates. Those who have the power to elect, he claimed, have the power to control, and "the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people." Then a constitution was drawn up, called the "Fundamental Orders."

When the "Fundamental Orders" were accepted as the basis of government, they contained no reference to the King. This was probably a reaction against conditions in Massachusetts. They provided that the governor should not be eligible for re-election and that there should be no religious qualification for the franchise.

Ann Hutchinson's followers settle in New Hampshire. In the same year, 1638, in which Hooker was preaching his liberalism at Hartford, New Hampshire received its most important early accession to population in a group of refugees from Massachusetts. This emigration came as a result of the trial and banishment of Ann Hutchinson, and the fining or disfranchisement of many of her followers. Mrs. Hutchinson preached doctrines contrary to the beliefs of the Puritans, and was found guilty of heresy. Leaving Massachusetts, she and her family went to Rhode Island where there was freedom of worship. Other



THOMAS HOOKER

From the memorial window in Center Church, Hartford, Connecticut.

settlements were made in New Hampshire. It became a separate colony.

Puritans from England settle New Haven. When this affair was at its height, an important body of settlers arrived in Boston from England headed by the Reverend John Davenport and several wealthy laymen. Resisting entreaties to remain in Massachusetts, they decided on New Haven as the site and settled there in 1638. Like Hooker and his followers they had no charter, but unlike them they entered into an undemocratic covenant. They made church membership essential for freemen and entrusted all government to an elected body and governor who for many years had absolute authority. For various reasons the colony, although it grew, never prospered, and in 1661 was absorbed by Connecticut.

The colonists defeat the Indians in the Pequot War. New England was thus rapidly expanding. It was able to do so in comparative safety as a result of the terrible Pequot War in 1637. This was the story of white aggression and racial hatred which was, unhappily, to be repeated on almost all of our frontiers for two and a half centuries. The chief incident of this first New England war was the surprise attack by the Puritans, under the lead of Captain John Mason, on the main village of the savages. In the dark, with a strong wind blowing, the two entrances to the stockade were guarded to prevent any escape, and then a torch was applied. Five hundred Indian men, women, and children were burned to death.

The colonists form a confederation for protection. The fear of a general Indian uprising led to the formation of a league in 1643 among the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut. Under the name of the New England Confederation this league functioned feebly for forty years, and was of slight importance. Its chief significance is in showing how easily these colonies, which were beginning to plant themselves without charters or thought of King or Parliament, were slipping toward a belief in entire political independence in managing all their own affairs. A step toward intellectual independence also was taken by Massachusetts in 1636 when Harvard College was established to train up a godly ministry.

The Puritans pass severe laws against the Quakers. In 1656, two Quaker women, from England by way of Barbados, arrived in Boston. At once persecution began, and as others came it was increased in severity. The penalties included, besides the selling of Quaker children into slavery in the West Indies, the imprisonment, beating, and

torturing of their elders, and even the hanging of three men and one woman. At the request of Massachusetts all the other New England colonies, with the exception of Rhode Island, passed severe laws against the Quakers, though none tortured or killed them.

To the request of Massachusetts Williams replied that the Rhode Islanders had no laws against any one declaring his religious beliefs, whatever they might be. He also said that he believed the doctrines of the Quakers tended to the subversion of civil government. But he added that if they were allowed to preach in peace and were not persecuted, they would gain fewer adherents by their sayings than they would by suffering and martyrdom. The General Assembly of Rhode Island added that the colony prized freedom of conscience "as the greatest happiness that men can possess in this world."

New England makes rapid progress. In the forty years since the passengers on the *Mayflower* had landed on the shores of Massachusetts, New England must have seemed to its old inhabitants to have made astounding progress. Literature had begun. Bradford and Winthrop had written valuable histories, Williams in Rhode Island and Hooker in Connecticut had wrought out the ideals of the rule of the people, and of intellectual toleration.

The ordinary citizen, living on his farm owned outright, untroubled by any relics of feudalism, untaxed save by himself, saying his say to all the world in town-meeting, had gained a new self-reliance. Wrestling with his soul and plough on week days, and the innumerable points of the minister's sermon on Sundays and meeting days, he was coming to be a hard nut for any imperial system to crack.

All were not farmers, though most were, and a merchant class of larger or smaller traders was springing up in the seaports and in villages along navigable rivers. These traders carried on a commerce with the mother country, the Wine Islands, Africa, for slaves, the West Indies, and their fellow colonists to the south.

Maryland is founded as a refuge for persecuted Catholics. In 1632 the foundations for yet another colony were laid next to Virginia. Lord Baltimore, a Catholic peer, received a charter from King Charles which permitted him to found a settlement where Catholics would be tolerated, named in honor of the queen, Maryland. Baltimore could make laws only "with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen or the greater part of them or their representatives."

The Dutch colonize New Netherlands. From 1610, the year following Hudson's discovery of the river named for him, Dutch trad-

ers had frequented its mouth to traffic with the Indians. In 1614 they founded a fort and a small trading post on the site of what is now Albany. In 1623 the Dutch West India Company, a trading company like the others that have been mentioned, planted a small settlement on



Courtesy of Hughes and Company

LEONARD CALVERT, BROTHER OF LORD BALTIMORE AND FIRST GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, BARGAINING WITH THE INDIANS FOR LAND

Manhattan Island, where a few huts had been built some years before. The Dutch claim to New Netherland, with its principal town of New Amsterdam, was not clearly defined but included New York and Long Island, New Jersey, and Delaware. Of course it was not recognized by the English.

The Dutch capture the Swedish settlements but are in turn conquered by the English. The Dutch were, in fact, rather late claimants, though their brief history in America was picturesque enough. Many prominent New York families like to trace their ancestry back to them. Their stay was a troubled one, for they were in almost constant dispute not only with the advancing New Englanders

in Connecticut and eastern Long Island, and the Virginians in Delaware, but also with colonies of Swedes which had settled at Wilmington and surrounding points. The latter were finally conquered by the Dutch in 1655, but nine years later an English fleet arrived at the mouth of the Hudson and forced the Dutch governor, the redoubtable Peter Stuyvesant, to surrender.

The Dutch had not believed in self-government by their colonists and the history of New Amsterdam had been turbulent. The small town early acquired its modern cosmopolitan character, and it is said that eighteen languages were spoken on its streets in the Dutch period. Except for a few words adopted into our language, some local social customs and many romantic legends, the Dutch influence, however, has not been great in the development of our institutions and culture.

English promoters found New Jersey. In honor of the Duke of York, the King's brother, to whom the territory had been granted, the colony and town were renamed New York, and the Dutch sway within the present United States came to an end. The two favorites to whom the Duke of York granted the land between New York and Delaware Bay founded East and West Jersey—now New Jersey. The two colonies soon came largely under the control of the Quakers.

The Carolinas are founded. Charles II, who had returned to the English throne in 1660, after the death of Cromwell, was only too willing to use the vast lands of America as grants to noblemen. Just as he granted the Dutch territories to his brother, so also he granted to a group of eight nobles the lands south of Virginia now included in North and South Carolina. Colonization was rather slow, but Charleston was settled in 1670, and grew rather rapidly. French Huguenots found refuge there from the persecutions of Louis XIV. Rice growing, introduced in 1693, resulted in a great increase in slavery, rapid fortunes, and much wealth and leisure. These were to make South



EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES

Carolina, within a few generations, perhaps the leading American colony in æsthetic culture and social charm.

William Penn founds Pennsylvania. The last colony founded in the period of this topic was Pennsylvania, with its charter granted to



PETER STUYVESANT, THE LAST DUTCH GOVERNOR OF NEW NETHERLAND

From the painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

the Quaker William Penn in 1681. Planting his chief town of Philadelphia on the bank of the Delaware, he expressed the wish that each house should always be surrounded by a garden so that the city might remain "a green country town," and "always be wholesome." That was an ideal of city planning which, until too late, we have most unhappily forgotten.

Notable also in Pennsylvania under the leadership of Penn, alone among all the colonies, was the benevolent and honorable attitude adopted and maintained toward the Indians. Treaties were not only made but kept. The relation of Penn to the savages forms one of the few episodes in the long annals of our treatment of the native which no Americans would wish to have blotted out.

Although as we shall see in the next topic there was soon to be a large influx of Germans into Pennsylvania, the colony had been founded mainly as a retreat for Quakers. Thus one more sect found refuge



WILLIAM PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

From an engraving made after the painting by Benjamin West.

among us, adding to the fast-growing complexity of our life even in this period.

4. Relation of the English Colonies to the Mother Country

England grants religious freedom to her colonies. Having traced briefly the founding of the English colonies, let us now note one or two aspects of American development thus far.

First of all, in the colonies, as contrasted with England itself or with the French or Spanish empires in America, there was the great diversity in both race and religion. Within two generations after the English had got a permanent foothold we have already found large groups of Dutch, Germans, Swedes, and Huguenot French coming here for the purpose either of bettering themselves socially and economically, or of escaping from persecution.

This diversity was greatly to increase in the future, but at its begin-

ning the United States became both a hope and a refuge for people of many races. There was also the marked variety in religion. Although all the colonies were under English rule, Catholics, Congregationalists, Lutherans, Church of England adherents, Quakers, and others could all find rapidly growing and prosperous communities in which they could make their homes, and be unmolested. The intolerance of individual colonies should not obscure the remarkable religious freedom that had come to exist within a group of colonies of a single European power. It could have been found at that time under neither French nor Spanish rule.

New England develops small farms and the compact type of settlement. For reasons chiefly of soil, topography, and climate, there had also come rapid and clearly marked differences in the social and economic life of the various colonies. In New England the physical factors in agriculture tended to make small farms which could most profitably be tilled by the head of a family with the help of sons or a hired man. The system of small holdings tended in turn to continue the compact type of settlement which had naturally developed from the New England form of migration, groups of families closely knit together by common membership in a church. The small farm, the church, and the town meeting all worked against a loosely scattered mode of settlement in New England.

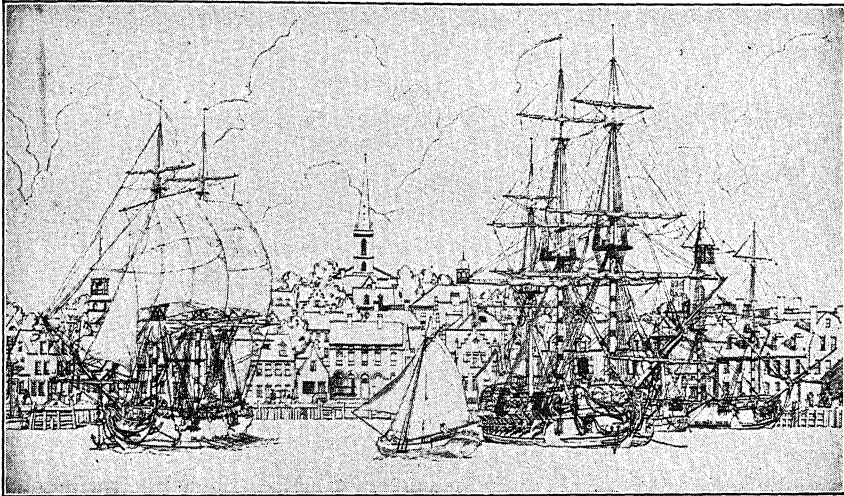
New York is dominantly commercial. New York had started purely as a trading post. For more than a century, the huge land grants of the Dutch patroon system, the fur trade for the only colony which had easy access to the interior of the continent, and the magnificent harbor, all were to determine its character as mainly commercial, although there were many farms along the Hudson, while the other colonies were dominated by agriculture.

The Southern colonies develop the plantation system. Passing southward to Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, we find agriculture again holding sway. In them the staple crop of tobacco demanded larger landholdings than in New England. Tobacco culture brought about a more scattered way of living, as well as a demand for that black slave labor which was economically unprofitable on the broken and stony surface of New England. These effects were not all felt in the South during its earlier period, but were to be of great importance after 1700.

England grants much political liberty to her colonies. Another characteristic of the English colonies, as contrasted with those of any

other nation at that time, was the extraordinary amount of liberty granted to the individual colonist. Neither France, Spain, nor even liberty-loving little Holland dreamed of giving her colonists when they left the mother country anything like the freedom which England granted to hers.

Charles II was assuredly no lover of democracy or the liberty of



NEW YORK CITY IN COLONIAL TIMES

A detail from a sketch for a mural painting for the New York Trust Company
by Griffith Baily Coale.

the common man. Yet the charters which he granted for the colonies of New York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, and Carolina contained the clause that the proprietor could make laws only "by and with the consent of the freemen."

All Americans under the proprietary charters were thus given much liberty in self-government. The circumstances of distance from the mother country and the inability to be properly represented in Parliament were to raise special and difficult problems for our ancestors in America, as well as for the government in England. Nevertheless, in studying the story of our struggle against the English Government, it is only fair to bear in mind that ours were the freest colonies in the world during all of our colonial period.

The European nations advocate the "mercantile theory." According to the generally accepted theory of the seventeenth century, colonies existed chiefly for the benefit of the mother country. According to the economic theory of the time, real wealth was believed to consist in a store of the precious metals. That state was thought to be richest which accumulated the largest store, either by mining or favorable trade balances. Thus developed the "mercantile theory." It demanded that a country should always have a balance in its favor to be settled by imports of gold.

When Europe broke its barriers and the period of over-seas empires was inaugurated, the theory of empire was naturally based on this theory of wealth. In order that an empire should be as independent as possible and owe others as little as possible, each sought to be as nearly self-contained as might be. This was true in both the supplies of its needed raw materials and the markets for its finished products.

The English colonies are expected to furnish raw supplies to England and to buy English goods. The colonies, plantations, and trading posts of the British Empire were supposed to supply the raw materials for British manufactures and such other materials, for food or other needs, as could not be produced in the British Isles. Thus England had its fisheries on the Newfoundland coast, the tobacco and rice colonies of our South, the sugar islands of the West Indies, its fort in Guinea protecting its slave trade, and its settlements in India, Sumatra, Java, and Celebes for the products of the Far East.

On the other hand, the colonists were supposed to increase the market for British manufactured goods, and to buy these with the money which they received from the sale of their raw materials. The increase of colonial population, beyond what was necessary merely for producing and shipping home the lumber, sugar, tobacco, and other raw materials, was considered of value solely from the standpoint of increasing the number of consumers of British goods. According to this elaborate scheme, England was to remain the center of manufactures, banking, and military resources. The colonies were to confine themselves to the rôles of producers of raw materials and consumers of English manufactures.

England, for her part, is to furnish protection to her colonies. In a world of empires competing for over-seas territories, the duty of protecting colonies and of guarding the trade routes fell to the navies of the home countries in Europe. When in 1650 and

1651, under Cromwell, and in 1660 and 1663, under the returned Stuarts, England passed Navigation Acts placing restrictions on the colonies trading with the outside world, this was not deemed tyranny. It was looked upon as a reasonable regulation in exchange for protection and for the development of the imperial trade. This theory of empire was not simply English. It was universal at that time.

Misunderstandings arise between England and her colonies.

This great empire, which had come into existence almost haphazard, had no co-ordinated system of government. Especially during the troubled years of Cromwell's Commonwealth, the American colonies had been left much to themselves. They had got into the habit of going their own way with little or no thought of the governing power at the center of empire. Massachusetts had even dropped the King's name from its legal writs. The years between the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660 and their fall in 1688 were marked in America by constant efforts to reassert royal authority and increase royal control over the colonists. Some of the efforts were logical and reasonable in theory, but all proved irritating in practice. Many of the royal governors were incompetent or dishonest.

Bacon champions the cause of the oppressed in Virginia. In 1676 the people of Virginia broke into revolt against Governor Berkeley. Tobacco was not only the staple crop of Maryland and Virginia but also served as currency in the absence of coin, and frequent trouble arose from fluctuations in value. Before 1675 there had been for some time much distress in the colony owing to the low prices of what was at once crop and currency. This was due in part to overproduction and in part to the fact that the navigation laws cut the settlers off from markets save those of England. They complained that they were merely the slaves of the English merchants. Matters came to a head when the governor and the tidewater gentry declined to move to protect the frontier settlements against serious attacks by the Indians. The poor people found a leader for armed revolt in Nathaniel Bacon. Although the rebellion collapsed in a few months with Bacon's death from fever, it was not unsuccessful. The King recalled Berkeley in disgrace, appointed one of the "rebels" governor, and remedied some of the grievances. The uprising has a special interest as indicating the small cleavages beginning to appear in the colonies between rich and poor, between old settlement and frontier.

New England becomes a thorn in the side of old England. New England never fitted into the mercantile theory. With the excep-

tion of some timber, she produced no raw material needed by England. Her fishing fleets competed with those of the home country. Having no staple crop and always driven to find means of paying for her imports from the mother country, she tended to encroach on English manufacturing to supply her own needs, and to trade not only with the West Indies within the empire but illegally with islands and countries outside it. Many complaints reached the King that the New Englanders were disobeying the laws of trade, that they were persecuting the Quakers and others, and that they were beginning to consider themselves as practically independent.

Massachusetts loses her charter and becomes a royal colony.

In 1676 Charles II sent to Massachusetts as collector of customs at the port of Boston and special investigator a certain Edward Randolph. Randolph was almost insanely prejudiced against the colonies, particularly the Puritan ones, and his reports for many years painted the colonists in the blackest colors. By 1684 he had succeeded in having the Massachusetts charter forfeited in England and the commonwealth transformed into a royal colony. Writs were also issued against the charters of Connecticut, Rhode Island, the Jerseys, and Delaware. Pennsylvania narrowly escaped. Although Stuart rule was nearing its end and these cases were never determined against the colonies, another scheme was put into execution.

Edmund Andros becomes governor of the "Dominion of New England." From the standpoint of administration there was much to be said in favor of uniting certain groups of colonies into larger units. King Charles tried the plan in part, and in 1686 Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston with a commission to rule over all of New England. New York was added two years later to the consolidated province, as were also the two Jerseys.

The new administrator was honest but without tact, and in any case occupied an impossible position. He greatly increased his difficulties by unnecessary stirring up of trouble over such matters as censorship of the press, land titles, registry fees, and the enclosure of the common lands. The powers granted him were so broad that he might have been a veritable tyrant had he so desired.

Under the plan for a "Dominion of New England," however, all popular assemblies had been done away with and the governor was to rule and tax only with the advice and consent of the council. After the colonists' long experience in self-government any such effort to rule them from above was insane folly, but the end was near.

The overthrow of the Stuarts in England is reflected in the colonies. In March, 1689, young John Winslow arrived in Massachusetts with news that the Stuarts had been overthrown in England and that William of Orange and his wife Mary had been proclaimed sovereigns of Great Britain. The information also reached the other colonies and was received with popular rejoicing. In Boston, Andros, Randolph, and other royal officials were thrown into jail to await the new King's command.

In New York, Francis Nicholson, Andros's deputy, fled to England and the populace arose under an impetuous German leader, Jacob Leisler, who ruled that province for two tumultuous years.

In Maryland also there was an armed revolution, colored by the religious animosity between Catholics and Protestants. Apart, however, from these three ripples that lapped our shores from the great storm overseas, the colonists waited in peace to learn what the sudden change in English rule might hold in store for them.

When James II dropped the Great Seal of England into the Thames as he fled to France, the Stuart dynasty and tyranny were ended. The new monarchs, William and Mary, were not absolute, and from the nature of the revolution which had brought them to the throne, the influence of Parliament and of the merchant class in England was increased. The colonies gained much by the change but not as much as they had expected.

The Stuarts had contemplated a colonial system in which the supreme power would reside in themselves. They proposed that it should be administered in the provinces by governors and councils appointed by them with no bothersome popular assemblies. That dream was dropped into the Thames with the Great Seal.

The English government tightens its grip upon its colonies. The colonial charters which had been threatened by James were safe under William. However, the new one granted to Massachusetts in 1691 indicated a new trend. Under it the province became a royal colony, with a governor appointed by the King, an assembly elected by property owners, and a council elected by the assembly with the governor holding a veto power over nominations and legislation. Freedom of conscience, however, was provided for all Protestants. The old Puritan theocracy was denied further control, as a property and not a religious qualification was provided for the franchise.

The eighteenth-century policy of colonial administration was to be marked by the desire to reduce all the colonial governments to a more

or less uniform status of royal provinces. The royal officials, from governor down, were to be expected to maintain the prerogative. And Parliament was to take a more active part in passing laws designed to regulate trade and other imperial concerns within colonial borders.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Adams, *The Founding of New England*, chs. 13-16; Andrews, *The Fathers of New England*; Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*; Bourne, *Spain in America*, 133-174; Channing, *History of the United States*, I, chs. 1-5; Chitwood, *A History of Colonial America*, chs. 2-17; Connor, *History of North Carolina*; Fisher, *The Quaker Colonies*, chs. 8-11; Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, I, chs. 4-6; Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*; Goodwin, *Dutch and English on the Hudson*; Greene, *The Provincial Governor*; Hart, *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts*, II, chs. 1-14; Howell, *History of Georgia*; Jerne-gan, *The American Colonies*; Osgood, *Seventeenth Century*, II, chs. 5-7; Thwaites, *France in America*; Tyler, *England in America*, chs. 1-2; Wil-son, *History of the American People*, I, ch. 1; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, V, ch. 4; Wood, *Elizabethan Sea-Dogs*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *American History Leaflets*, nos. 1, 3, 7, 9, 16, 25, 27, 29, 31, 36; Hart, *Contemporaries*, I, chs. 3-25; Hill, *Liberty Docu-ments*, chs. 1-6; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 1-14; Ma-jor, *Select Letters of Columbus*; Muzzey, *Readings in American History*, 7-71; *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 17, 20, 29, 33, 39, 71, 87, 90, 102, 115-119; Olson and Bourne, *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot*; West, *A Source Book in American History*, 178-245, 267-278, 290-364; Wright, *A Source Book of American Political Theory*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Austin, *Standish of Standish*; Brooks, *In Leisler's Times*; Catherwood, *The Story of Tonty*; Coffin, *Old Times in the Colonies*; Cooper, *Mercedes of Castile*; Hawthorne, *Twice-Told Tales*; Irving, *Knickerbocker's History of New York*; Kingsley, *Westward Ho!*; Lane and Hill, *American History in Literature*, ch. 1; Longfellow, *Court-ship of Miles Standish*; Munroe, *White Conquerors of Mexico*; Parker, *Seats of the Mighty*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 14-15; Thackeray, *The Virginians*; Wallace, *The Fair God*; Whittier, *John Underhill*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why are the discoveries of the Norsemen of no great significance?
2. How did the Turks disturb Europe's trade with the East?
3. How did the Portuguese find a new route to the East?
4. What was the significance of Columbus's discoveries?
5. Describe the physical features and climate

of that part of the New World included in the United States. 6. Describe the mode of life of the Indians. 7. Why did the Spanish colonize in the New World? The French? 8. What conditions in England favored colonization of the New World? 9. What is meant by Puritanism? 10. Tell of the founding of Jamestown. 11. Describe the growth of Virginia. 12. Why did the Puritans come to America? 13. Describe the government of Massachusetts. 14. For what is Roger Williams noted? 15. Why was Maryland founded? 16. Tell of the founding of Pennsylvania. 17. Compare and contrast in as many ways as you can the New England colonies, the Middle colonies, and the Southern colonies. 18. Show that England granted religious and political liberty to her colonies. 19. What is meant by the "mercantile theory"? 20. Show how the "mercantile theory" would ultimately cause trouble between the colonists and the mother country. 21. What is the significance of Bacon's Rebellion? 22. Why did New England not fit into the "mercantile theory"? 23. How did the overthrow of the Stuarts affect the colonists? 24. How during the eighteenth century did England propose to tighten her grip upon the colonies?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Leif Erikson's expedition, Vasco da Gama's expedition, discovery of the New World, Spanish and French colonization of the New World, the founding of English colonies in America, the restoration of the Stuarts, the overthrow of the Stuarts.
2. PROJECT: Compare Spanish and English achievements on the American continents in the extent of territory covered and cultures introduced that still prevail.
3. PROBLEM: What are the probabilities of other explorers' discovering America soon after 1492 if Columbus had not made the voyage?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the Puritans were justified in exiling from Massachusetts those who refused to accept their religious teachings.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The teachings of Roger Williams.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you were an indentured servant on a Virginia plantation. Write a letter to your relatives in England describing your life in the New World.
7. DIARY: You were one of the members of the London Company that settled Jamestown. You kept a diary of your daily activities. Read to the class your diary for your first week in the New World.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Erik Thorwadsen, Bartholomew Diaz, John Cabot, Verrazano, Champlain, Drake, William Bradford, John Endecott, John Winthrop, John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Lord Baltimore, Peter Stuyvesant, William Penn, Nathaniel Bacon, Edmund Andros.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 982, 1453, 1492, 1497, 1607, 1620.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Unified civilization, geologic age, stage of feudalism, conscious nationalism, robust individualism, indentured servants, royal colony, political self-government, House of Burgesses, communal form of economic life, ruling oligarchy, specially elect of God, rigid theocracy, "mercantile theory," tidewater gentry.

11. MAP WORK: *a.* Draw a rough outline map of the world and show on it the following expeditions: Diaz, Vasco da Gama, Columbus, Cabot, Verazano, Drake. *b.* Draw a rough outline map of the United States and place on it the physical features named under "The Land and the People." *c.* Draw a rough outline map of North and South America and tint the sections settled by Spain, France, England, and Holland. *d.* In a map talk point out how the Turks interfered with the commerce of the European nations. *e.* In a map talk point out the following places and set forth the historical significance of each: Constantinople, Calicut, Newfoundland, Quebec, Jamestown, Plymouth, Charlestown, Boston, Hartford, New Haven, New Amsterdam, Philadelphia.

12. GRAPH WORK: Make a time line for the years 982-1689. On one side of the line place events that happened in the Old World and on the other side events that happened in the New World.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE AMERICAN INDIANS: Adair, *History of the American Indians*; Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific Coast*, II; Farrand, *Basis of American History*, 195-271; Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*; Wissler, *The American Indian*.

2. SPANISH COLONIZATION: *American History Leaflets*, no. 13; Bourne, *Spain in America*, 158-174; Channing, *United States*, I, 59-85; Harris, *Discovery of North America*; Lummis, *Spanish Pioneers*.

3. THE FRENCH EXPLORERS IN AMERICA: Hildreth, *United States*, II, 97-122; Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, ch. 2; Shea, *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi*; Thwaites, *France in America*, ch. 4; Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*.

4. LIFE IN EARLY VIRGINIA: Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*; Fiske, *Old Virginia*, II, 174-269, 370-400; Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*; Hildreth, *United States*, II, 173-182, 233-240; Lodge, *English Colonies*, 24-40.

5. THE PURITANS: Brown, *The Pilgrim Fathers of New England*; Campbell, *The Puritans in Holland, England, and America*; Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*, 98-140; Neal, *History of the Puritans*; Palfrey, *New England*, I, 101-132.

TOPIC II

ENGLAND WINS CANADA AND THE OHIO VALLEY

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To know the conditions that brought on the intercolonial wars between England and France.
2. To see how the Seven Years' War was a world war.
3. To understand the significance of the defeat of France by England in the Seven Years' War.

1. *The Three Indecisive Wars*

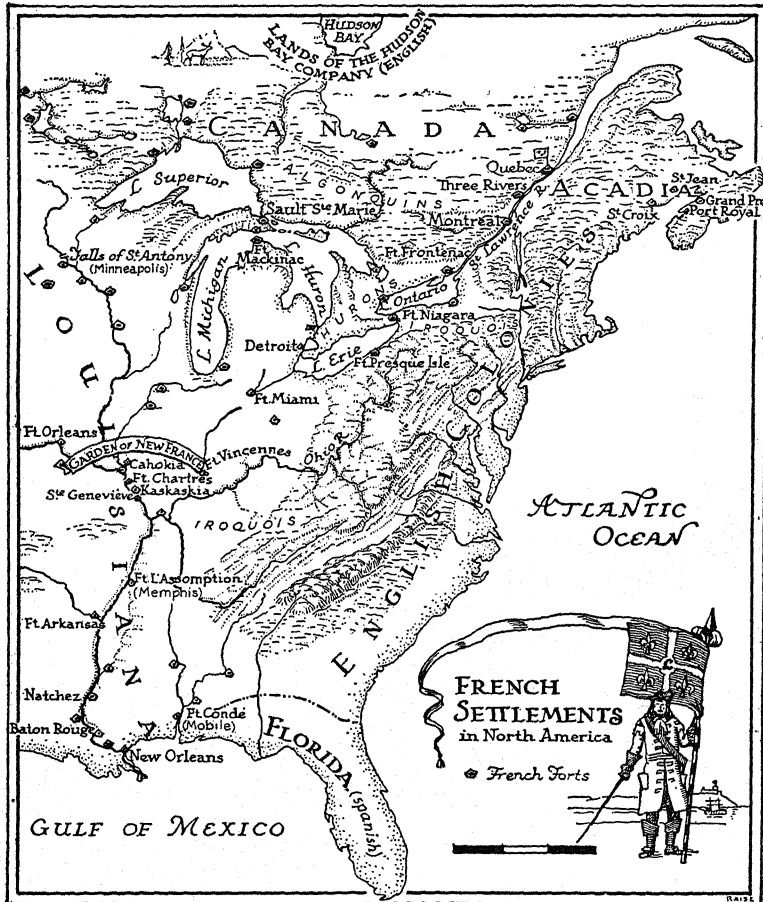
England and France go to war and their American colonies become involved. The period from 1690 to 1763 was notable for three main currents of events. First, in America itself, there was a shift from the mere planting of new colonies to the consolidation and expansion of those already planted, with much increase of population and new racial admixtures. Second, in England, there was logical and understandable, if unwise, effort to consolidate the colonial administration to bring uniformity. Third, on both sides of the water, there was the long duel of England and France, which resulted in 1763 in forcing France from Canada and the West.

The fall of the Stuarts in England at once precipitated war between England and France, which involved the colonies of both empires in America. To the south of the English colonies, there was Florida, where were the hostile Spaniards. North of New England and New York, and everywhere to the west of the Allegheny Mountain chain, were the French.

English America occupied merely a narrow strip of coast, a thousand miles long and only two or three hundred miles wide, much in shape like Chile to-day. To the east was the sea, and to the west the wooded heights of the mountain frontiers. Between these two were our towns or scattered farms and plantations.

Racial pride or prejudice had prevented any general friendly relations between the English settlers and the natives. Moreover, in most of the colonies the fur trade was of minor importance. The English were mainly farmers and home-builders. With the exception of the Iroquois in central New York, the Indian was for the English neither a business

partner nor a military ally. He was considered a dangerous animal, like the panthers, wolves, and wildcats, or a nuisance like the stones and tree stumps, to be cleared away before advancing settlements.



The French had no racial dislike for the natives. They became like brothers to them and took Indian wives. The French were traders, adventurers, explorers, not settlers, and roamed thousands of miles in the interior of the continent, making friends of all the Indian tribes, and erecting forts and trading posts. By about 1700 they had established these as far west as Minnesota and up and down the Mississippi River and its tributaries. The French did not hesitate to use the Indian

braves as allies in war. This was what made the mere 12,000 French so formidable to the English.

The French and Indians harass our cities. The war, begun in Europe in 1689 between two civilized nations, was almost immediately echoed back from the American forests by the war-whoop of the savages. With much cruelty, parties of French and Indians fell on our settlements at such far-separated points as Portland, then called Falmouth, Salmon Falls, and Schenectady, New York. The New England colonies and New York, burning with desire for revenge, called a joint meeting to plan a common campaign against the enemy. But, as was almost always the case, they were unable to co-operate efficiently.

An expedition sent out by Massachusetts under Governor Phips got as far as attacking Quebec unsuccessfully, but the French and Indians continued to harry the New England frontier. When peace was declared in Europe in 1697, "King William's War," as it was called in America, had been entirely indecisive on our side of the water.

England gains French territory in America. Peace was of short duration, and in 1702 began the struggle which European historians call the "War of the Spanish Succession" and which we call "Queen Anne's War." Lasting until the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, it was of much the same character as the preceding one.

England, however, tried to assist the colonists by sending out naval expeditions to help in the conquest of Canada. The Spanish, being allied with the French, raided our Carolina settlements from Florida. New England suffered most, however. The attack on Deerfield in 1704, when fifty French, with a couple of hundred Indians, killed more than that number of its inhabitants and carried off a considerable part of the population as captives, was merely one of the best known of many episodes in our border wars.

Unfortunately, the attempted co-operation between the British fleet and the New Englanders in several successive years brought losses and irritation to the colonists, owing mainly to the incapacity of the British commanders. Nevertheless, when peace was signed England had several notable gains in America. Besides the Hudson Bay region, Acadia, which became the province of Nova Scotia (New Scotland), and Newfoundland were ceded to her by France. Spain granted her special privileges in the slave trade, which greatly increased that traffic and was not unimportant as a factor in fastening slavery later on our South.

England and the colonists capture Louisburg but it is returned to France. Co-operation was much more successful in the War

of the Austrian Succession or King George's War, 1744-1748. In 1745 a joint attack was made on the strong fortress of Louisburg by the British fleet under Commodore Warren and an American force, largely made up of men from Maine, under command of William Pepperell. Maine was then a part of Massachusetts. The colonials and



Courtesy of the New York Historical Society

THE FLAG CARRIED AT THE SIEGE OF LOUISBURG

English worked together in harmony for once and captured the French stronghold.

Unfortunately, the favorable effect of this victory on American sentiment was largely destroyed by the fact that in the treaty of peace England returned to France the fortress, which all the colonies had taken great pride in capturing. Under the conditions of the moment England, always thinking of the empire as a whole, could do nothing else. The Americans, however, naturally felt that their efforts had been thrown away and their interests sacrificed. Yet England made a heavy payment in cash to Massachusetts to reimburse her for a large part of the cost of the expedition.

2. *The Decisive War*

England and France clash in America. A much more important struggle was now imminent. The various treaties between England

and France had never settled the questions between them. The desires of the two empires were clashing in many parts of the world, but our own story is confined to America. Here also the two contestants were closing in on each other. By 1750 New France had a scattered population of about 80,000 while the English colonists along the Atlantic coast numbered about 2,000,000.

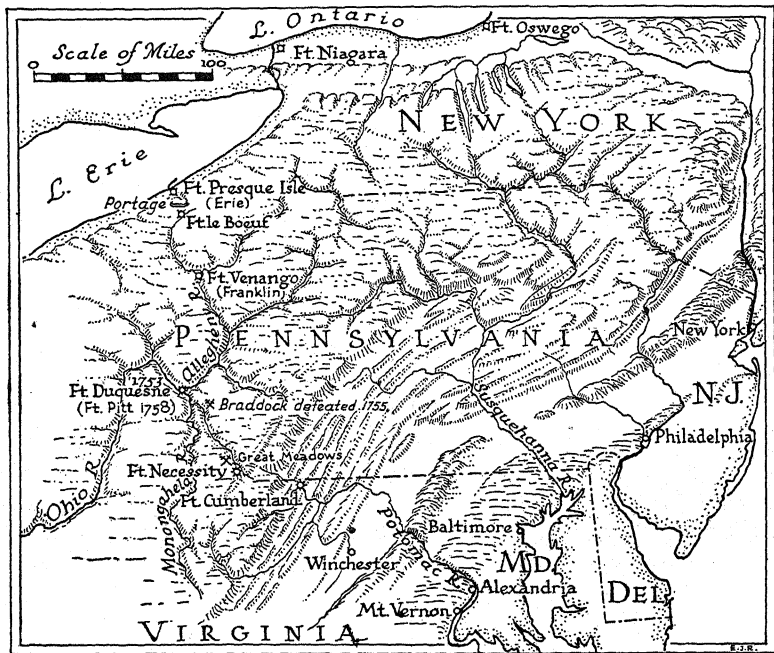
The English Government was beginning to look westward across the mountains to the fertile lands beyond. A group of Virginians, including two brothers of George Washington, had obtained a grant to 200,000 acres of land south of the Ohio River, and another large land company, also west of the mountains, had been organized. Besides, the French, whose posts and settlements extended up and down the Mississippi Valley from New Orleans to Lake Superior, had been working eastward. They also coveted the Ohio Valley and the country between the mountains and the Mississippi.

In 1753 the two currents met. After some preliminary parleys, an expedition was sent out by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia under command of George Washington, then a lad of twenty-one. The French were too strong for him, and he surrendered to the enemy at Fort Necessity on July 4, 1754. The question was now clearly raised. Was the whole of the country west of the mountains to remain in the possession of the French and their Indian allies, or was it to be open to settlement and development by the English colonists? That was the *American* problem.

The struggle between England and France is world-wide. The *imperial* one was far wider. England realized the desperate nature of the struggle. The world was at stake—not simply the American continental colonies, but the rich West Indies, the balance of power in Europe, the African trade, India, the wealth of the Orient, the lives of empires. Every resource would be needed and would have to be strained. How far could the Americans handle alone their own end of the affair? United they had great potential strength, but could they, jealous as they were, unite?

The colonists meet in a congress at Albany. England suggested that an intercolonial conference be called to consider the question from the standpoint of a joint Indian policy, for it was the Indian allies of the French that counted rather than the French themselves. Twenty-five delegates from seven colonies met in the old City Hall at Albany in 1754, the most distinguished gathering of native American ability that had yet been seen.

Among them, there were Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts, later to be bitterly hated as a Tory, at this time regarded as one of the best and greatest of Americans; James De Lancey, a man of great



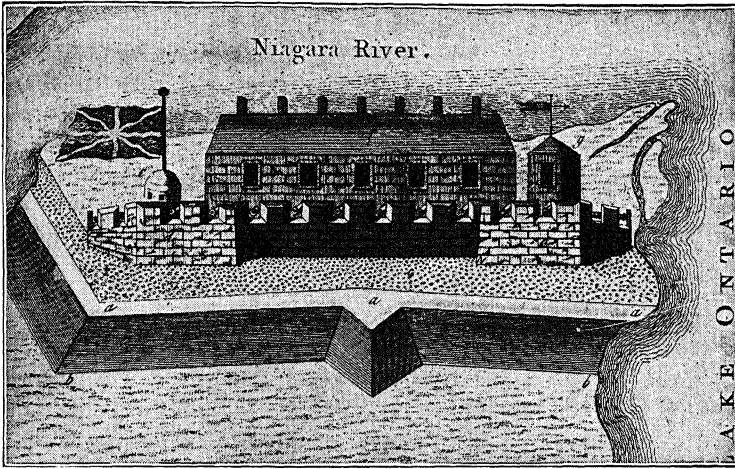
THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

wealth and Lieutenant-Governor of New York; Benjamin Franklin from Pennsylvania; Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island; and others, all notable in their colonies. The Indians were also there, "King Hendrick" of the Mohawks, representing the Six Nations. He complained bitterly that the French were men, building forts everywhere, the English were "like women, bare and open, without fortifications anywhere."

A treaty was made with the Indians, but the plan of union advanced by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts failed. A plan proposed by Franklin was agreed upon by the convention but did not meet acceptance generally when referred for approval back to the several colonies.

General Braddock is defeated by the French and Indians. The following year England sent over two regiments of regulars under command of General Braddock. They were to strike at the French by

capturing Fort Duquesne at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. The story of his defeat and death in the wilderness and the saving of the remnant of his army by Washington is well known. Braddock was a brave officer but obstinate, lacking in tact, and, though of long experience in European warfare, he was disdainful of advice by the Americans.



From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

FORT NIAGARA, AS DRAWN BY SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON IN 1758 AND CONTAINED IN HIS PAPERS

William Pitt brings victory to the English. The years 1756 and 1757 were full of disasters for the English in America but after the great William Pitt swept away the lesser politicians in England and became Prime Minister, the trend of events changed swiftly.

In 1758, 41 British warships and 11,000 troops, with only a few Americans, recaptured Louisburg. Colonel Bradstreet captured Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario. General Forbes with 1200 Highlanders and four times that number of colonials marched against Fort Duquesne, to find it abandoned by the French. The place was renamed Pittsburgh. In his attempt to attack Canada by the Lake Champlain route, General Abercrombie failed, but the following year, 1759, Fort Niagara, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Quebec were all taken from the enemy by British forces. The capture of Quebec, guarded by Montcalm, was effected under Wolfe. More than twice as many New Englanders took

part in the attack on Havana in 1762 than in the capture of the French city.

England defeats France and Spain in the Old World and the New. Although Spain had come to the aid of France, England was victorious in all quarters by 1763. France's naval power was temporarily destroyed. She had lost India. And in the Treaty of Paris she ceded all of her possessions in North America east of the Mississippi to England except two small islands at the mouth of the St. Lawrence river. By a secret treaty she also ceded to Spain under the name of "Louisiana" all her claims west of the river. Her North American empire had crumbled to dust.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1763*, chs. 1-9; Bradley, *The Fight with France for North America*; Channing, *History of the United States*, II, 546-599; Colby, *The Founder of New France*; Drake, *The Border Wars of New England*; Finley, *The French in the Heart of America*; Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*; Sloan, *The French War and the Revolution*, chs. 4-9; Thwaites, *France in America*; Wood, *The Fight for Canada*, 346-360; Wrong, *The Conquest of New France*, chs. 4-11.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Grant, *Voyages of Samuel Champlain, 1604-1618*; Hart, *Contemporaries*, II, chs. 19-20; Lincoln, *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 179-300*; *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 9, 41, 73, 163, 187; Penhallow, *The History of the Wars of New England with the Eastern Indian, 1703-1713*; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, I; Toner, *Washington's Journal*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Cooper, *Last of the Mohicans*; Craddock, *Old Fort Loudon*; Guenin, *Montcalm*; Longfellow, *Evangeline*; Otis, *Hannah of Kentucky*; Repplier, *Père Marquette, Priest, Pioneer, an Adventurer*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 102-106; Wallington, *American History by American Poets*, I, 110-125; Wright, *Life of Wolfe*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What were the three main currents of events in our country from 1690 to 1763? 2. Compare the resources of England and France at the beginning of the intercolonial wars. 3. Describe the method of warfare carried on by the French and Indians. 4. What territorial changes were made as a result of the first three of the intercolonial wars? 5. Why did not England and her colonies have better co-operation in these wars? 6. Why were not the first three intercolonial wars decisive? 7. What was the purpose of the Albany congress? The results? 8. Describe General

Braddock's defeat. 9. Tell of England's final defeat of France. 10. What is the significance of France's defeat in the Seven Years' War? 11. What might have been the effect on our history had France defeated England in that war?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The Albany congress, Braddock's defeat, capture of Quebec, treaty of Paris.
2. PROJECT: Show how the outcomes of the French and Indian War helped lay the foundation for the American Revolution.
3. PROBLEM: How did England have both an American problem and an imperial problem in the Seven Years' War?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That France had a better claim to the Ohio Valley than England.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: Life of General Montcalm.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: You were a colonial soldier and witnessed the defeat of General Braddock. Write a letter to a friend in Virginia describing the battle and telling how Washington saved Braddock's army.
7. DIARY: You were a member of the English Parliament on the eve of the Seven Years' War. Keep a diary each day for a week of the things you thought and did about England's *American* and *imperial* problems.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: William Pepperell, Robert Dinwiddie, Thomas Hutchinson, Benjamin Franklin, William Pitt.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1689, 1763.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Disdainful of advice.
11. MAP WORK: *a.* On a rough sketch map of the world indicate the territory that England gained as a result of the Seven Years' War. *b.* In a map talk point out the following places and set forth the historical significance of each: Schenectady, Deerfield, Acadia, Louisburg, Albany, Fort Duquesne, Niagara, Quebec, Havana. *c.* On an outline map of North America set forth the English, French, and Spanish possessions in 1689 and in 1763.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. STRUGGLE FOR THE POSSESSION OF THE GREAT VALLEYS: *American History Leaflets*, no. 14; Hart, *Formation of the Union*, ch. 2; Hinsdale, *Old Northwest*; Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, ch. 5; Winsor, *America*, V, ch. 8.
2. THE COLONIES IN 1763: *American History Leaflets*, no. 19; Channing, *United States*, II, chs. 13-17; Higginson and MacDonald, *United States*, chs. 8-9; Lodge, *English Colonies*, chs. 2, 4, 6; Scudder, *Men and Manners in America One Hundred Years Ago*.

TOPIC III

THE COLONIES BREAK WITH ENGLAND

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To show how the mercantile system forced the mother country and the colonies to draw apart.
2. To see why England felt it necessary to reorganize her empire after the Seven Years' War.
3. To understand how the reorganization of the British Empire brought about coercion on the part of the mother country and how this ended in bloodshed.

1. The Breach between the Colonists and England

The colonists and the royal governors disagree. In all the colonies, except Connecticut and Rhode Island, the royal governor occupied a difficult position. As the representative of the King and of the central authority in the empire, he was expected to maintain the royal prerogatives. On the other hand, he was dependent for his salary, not on England, but on the votes of the colonial assemblies. Every governor, as Benjamin Franklin said, "has two masters; one who gives him his Commission, and one who gives him his Pay."

Some of the governors were excellent men, such as Spotswood or Burnet, but England had not developed that civil service for colonial administration which she now has. Many of the colonial governors were mere needy adventurers, but, good or bad, they were bound to be storm centers.

Control of the purse has always been the strongest bulwark of freedom. It was fortunate for the colonies that England left this control to them. They naturally employed it to the fullest extent. The whole history of this period is the story of financial pressure by the assemblies to secure the approval of the governors to popular measures and even to force them to disobey their instructions and the terms of their commissions.

On account of distance, and lack of direct representation in Parliament, and other conditions of the colonial status, such contests between the elected assemblies, through their power to vote or to refuse grants of money in America, and the governors from over-seas came to be

seen as not merely a contest between the subjects and the crown, but as a struggle of the Americans for their rights against the power of the mother country. Against local opposition of one sort or another it was almost impossible even for a good governor to adopt a wise policy.

There had been a constant effort to resist imperial control and to demand larger rights; and almost invariably the colonists won. Sometimes this was accomplished peacefully as in Pennsylvania, where the proprietor Penn agreed to a new Charter of Privileges in 1701, enlarging the rights of self-government. Sometimes the colonists won by a revolution as in North Carolina, where the poorer people carried on armed resistance against the authorities and wealthier citizens.

England thought of the American colonies, when she thought of them at all, as merely one part of an interdependent and nicely balanced economic empire. Our ancestors naturally thought of the colonies as their own, with which they could do as they liked and whose natural resources and trade opportunities were to be exploited primarily for their own benefit.

The Molasses Act restricts the trade of the New England colonists. Such a clash of views and interests left a landmark in this period in the Molasses Act passed by Parliament in 1733. The colonies had always tacitly acknowledged the right of that body, becoming more active in imperial legislation as the century advanced, to pass laws designed to regulate the trade of the empire as a whole. It was part of the price paid for being a member of a strong empire. The expanding commerce of the colonies, however, was beginning to be hampered by the restrictions of the Navigation Acts, and there was much smuggling with countries outside the imperial system.

From the nature of her products, New England had always fitted least easily into the mercantile scheme. She had gradually built up a trade which rested to a considerable extent on rum. Selling horses, timber, and other products to the sugar planters in the West Indies, she got in exchange molasses from which she distilled rum which she used in the slave trade. By 1730 the British sugar islands were fast running down, and the French islands were far richer and more fertile. As New England trade was being turned to them, the British West Indian planters brought the matter up in Parliament and asked for a bill prohibiting the Americans from trading with the French.

Clearly the interests of the two parts of the empire were in conflict. As a member of Parliament wrote: "Our Northern Colonies tell us, 'If we pass the Bill we destroy their Trade,' and our Southern Colonies

say, 'If we do not pass the Bill they are undone.' " There was also a larger question. Was it wise for Parliament to allow the New Englanders to build up French commercial power in the West Indies at the expense of the British? It was decided to sacrifice New England's local interest to the larger interest of the empire as a whole. A bill was passed laying a prohibitive duty on the import of rum or molasses from the French islands.

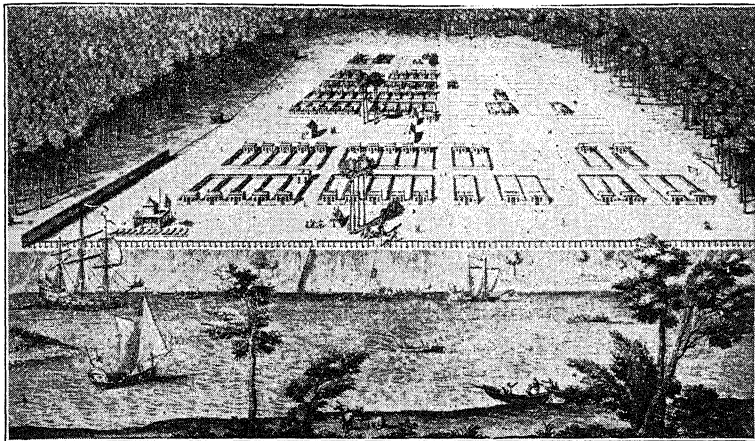
Had the law been obeyed by the New Englanders their trade would have been ruined. They naturally felt that Parliament had completely sacrificed them. The danger of Parliament interfering with American affairs had become evident. England made no serious effort to enforce the law, and the French trade went on as illegal smuggling. The lessons, however, of the danger from the power over-seas, and the ease with which it could apparently be disregarded, were not lost on our ancestors.

The colonists begin to consider themselves Americans. The growing self-confidence and self-consciousness of Americans in this period were due not only to contacts with English officers, but also to constant struggles to control governors, and easy nullification of royal orders and acts of Parliament. Another important factor was the growth of the colonies. Between 1690 and 1763 the population increased from 215,000 to about 1,800,000. Only one new colony had been founded, Georgia, in 1733. The Georgia colony had been started by General James Oglethorpe, an English philanthropist, who secured a charter with the purpose of making a retreat in the New World where poor people from the debtors' prisons might start life afresh. Being granted the land between South Carolina and the Spanish in Florida, he set to work. The colony grew slowly. Comparatively few debtors emigrated, but Scotch Highlanders and Germans both settled in considerable numbers.

What happened in Georgia was like what was happening in all of the colonies. There was little English immigration. The marvellous growth in population was due mostly to native births and to large numbers of Scotch, Irish, Germans, and to a lesser extent, Swiss. All these facts tended to make the American of 1760 feel himself more of an American and less of an Englishman.

Many come from Ireland to the colonies. In the early part of the eighteenth century there was great distress both in Ireland and Germany. In Ireland, drought, sheep-rot, and disease seemed destined to complete the ruin wrought by the political and economic policy of the

British. The Penal Laws made life almost unbearable for the majority of the population while discriminatory tariffs destroyed the woolen industry of the south and the linen industry of the north. When long-term leases for farms fell due in great numbers, stony-hearted landlords demanded double and treble rents to renew them. Many of the tenants came to America, where they arrived chiefly in Philadelphia. From



Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Historical Society

SAVANNAH IN 1734

there they poured out into the frontier counties of Pennsylvania and up the Shenandoah Valley. Great numbers reached the Carolinas.

Though they came to all of the colonies they usually went out to the frontier, where land was cheap, and made the finest frontiersmen we have known. Of the social effects of this great movement of a people we shall speak in another topic. It is impossible to calculate accurately the number who came, but historians have estimated them as high as 500,000. We may conservatively place it at 300,000 to 400,000. When it is recalled that many of these came to us with hatred for England, it becomes evident that something very momentous had happened in the relations between the mother country and the American colonies.

Many Germans, owing no allegiance to England, come to America. Germany had not recovered from the terrific slaughter and devastation of the Thirty Years' War. In the Palatinate and other provinces, as in the German cantons of Switzerland, there were intense poverty, suffering, and religious persecutions in the early eighteenth

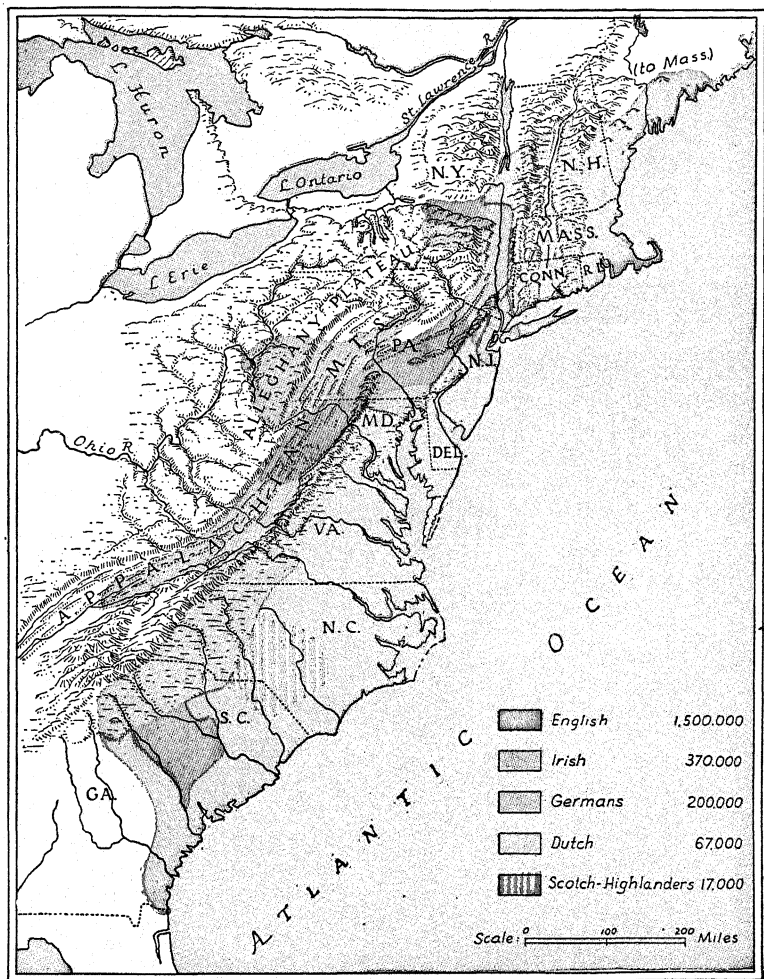
century. From this mass of human misery came another great movement of population to our shores, the Germans settling largely in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, the Swiss going mostly to Carolina. It is safe to say that by 1763 there were at least 100,000 of them in the colonies, and quite possibly many more. This stock had no hatred of England, but on the other hand no knowledge of her or loyalty to her. They knew only their new homes in America and their struggles to win them.

The colonies contain many different peoples hostile or indifferent to England. By 1763, England had won her duel with France. She owned North America from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from Spanish Florida to the Arctic Sea. But in this vast territory were the unreconciled French in Canada, possibly 300,000 Indians who were ignorant of, or hostile to English rule, several hundred thousand from Ireland with a tradition of hatred for English oppression, 100,000 Germans who cared nothing about England, perhaps 400,000 black slaves who knew nothing of her, and a sturdy population of possibly 600,000 of her own sons and their descendants who were loyal but who were chips of the old block in their love of liberty and who had been used to a greater degree of self-government in all their daily concerns than even Englishmen enjoyed at home. Here was a problem that would call for the wisest possible statesmanship.

2. Reorganization of the British Empire

England changes her theory of empire. The British Government had colonial problems of a difficult sort to solve. Even if the statesmen in England had not handled them very badly, as all English historians to-day agree was the case, it is only fair to admit that the difficulties were great at that stage of the world's political experience.

When the Peace Treaty of 1763 was being negotiated, it was bitterly debated in England whether France should be made to cede Canada or the intensely rich sugar island of Guadeloupe. This conflict of views indicated that a change was in progress in the theory of empire. According to the old mercantile theory there was no question that Guadeloupe, supplying a valuable raw material—sugar—should have been taken rather than what were considered the vast and barren wastes of Canada and the Indian-infested Mississippi Valley. This theory considered only the building up of a self-sufficing *commercial empire*. It was to be made up of the mother country and a group of colonies which would all contribute their particular share to the economic life of the



RACIAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1775

empire. Such colonies were immediate and valuable assets to England. They required no outlay except for naval protection, which England had always borne.

It was a great change from that theory to the theory of territorial empire which required that huge tracts in foreign lands should be secured with an eye to the distant future and their potential value, when populated, as markets for British goods or homes for British subjects. When England chose the huge continental empire of the American North and West instead of the immediately valuable and easily governed island of Guadeloupe, it became evident that she would have to face a new set of problems in imperial government and organization.

The two great problems were: first, how should the new domain be organized and governed, and second, as it was evident that the expense would be heavy, who should meet it and how?

England needs a new kind of government for the territory acquired from France. During the eighteenth century a standard type of colony organization had gradually developed. In most of the thirty or so colonies, there were a royal governor and council, some royal customs and other officials, and an assembly elected by the colonists. Except for the regulation of trade by Parliament, the colonies had been left largely to themselves, had raised their own taxes, and had defended themselves on land with the occasional co-operation of the British fleet and army. This was so until the end of the French and Indian War in 1763. Such a scheme could not be put into operation in the Canada-Mississippi Valley territory, where there were only a few thousand conquered French and several hundred thousand hostile Indians over whom French influence was still supreme. It was no use thinking of royal governors and popular assemblies there. What was called for were military posts and garrisons, and a unified control over the vast native population.

The Indian policies of the thirteen colonies, with the partial exception of Pennsylvania, had always been both bad and conflicting. The Indians had continually been enraged by land-hungry settlers and by the English-American fur-traders. In 1754, when the magnitude of the impending struggle had become apparent in Europe, England had asked the colonies to devise some sound Indian policy in which they would unite, but they had been unable to do so in the meeting at Albany.

The French and Indian War creates a heavy debt for England. In addition to this first problem there was also that of expense. Al-

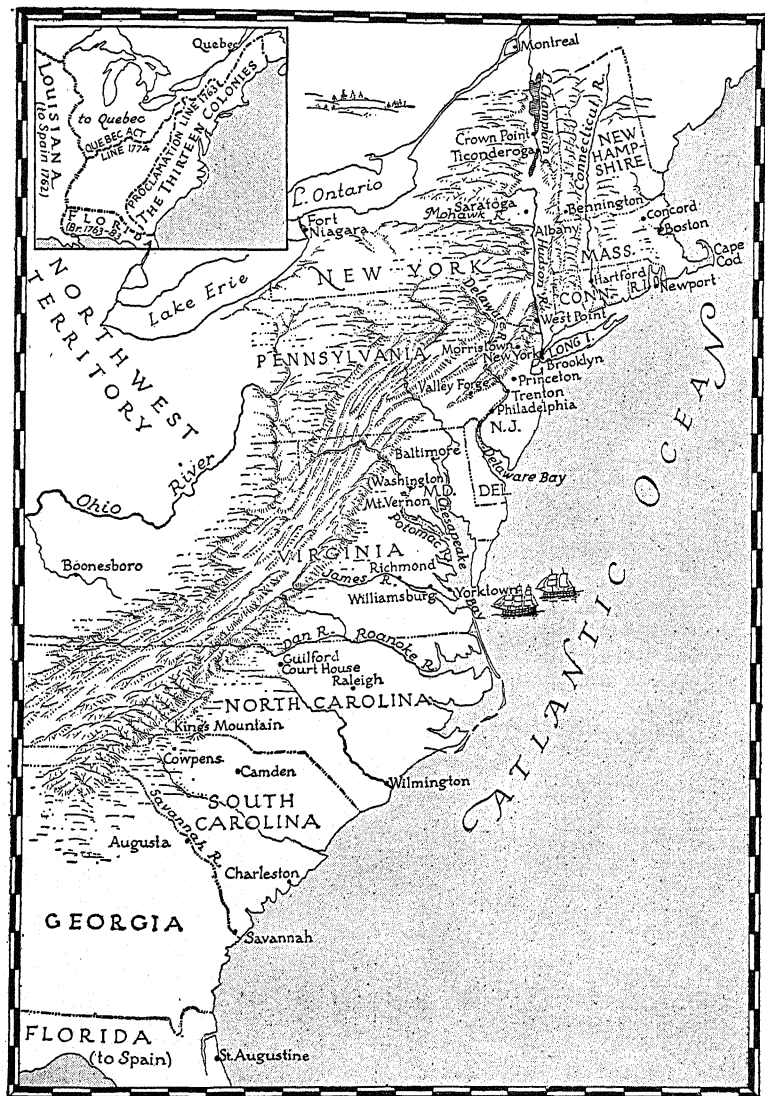
though Massachusetts had been public-spirited, each colony had shown itself uninterested outside its own borders. More than half the total number of troops and a considerable part of the expense of even the colonial troops during the French and Indian War had to be provided by England. The debt of that country had risen to the huge figure of about \$650,000,000 and the annual cost of its army and navy from \$350,000 pre-war to \$1,750,000 post-war.

In England many felt that the Americans had not done their fair share in ridding their continent of the French. They felt that the haphazard formation of western land companies, the pushing out of settlement, and the despoiling of the Indian hunting grounds would keep the newly acquired territory, which had to be governed by England, in constant turmoil. This would mean more expense.

Shelburne works out plans to handle the Indian question in the colonies. In the new British Government which came into office in 1763, Lord Shelburne at once set to work to decide how the Indian problem could be handled, whether an army would be necessary, and whether the colonies should be asked to defray part of its expense. Shelburne, who was young and was perhaps the best disciple of William Pitt, headed a group in Parliament thoroughly friendly and sympathetic toward America. The method by which he hoped to solve the difficult problem was not intended to be hostile to the interests of the colonists.

The plan called for an administration of all the western Indian lands which would assure the Indians that they would not be interfered with until honest purchases had been made. A line was to run between the English and Indians, which would be slowly moved westward as settlements proceeded based on treaties. Ten thousand troops were to be sent to maintain order, the cost to be borne at first by England and later shared by the colonists in some way that might be agreed upon as least objectionable and burdensome. Unfortunately, these plans were changed by events on the American frontier and in the English Cabinet.

Shelburne's plans are set aside. In spite of the Treaty of Peace of 1763, the French had been stirring the Indians to revolt against the English. France suggested that she was sending an army to help the Indians and pointed out how their hunting fields were never interfered with by the French traders, whereas the English settlers cleared them of game as they moved steadily westward. The incitements of the French fell upon ready ears, for the colonists had been encroaching on Indian lands. In their fur-trading also they treated the Indians unfairly. In



GENERAL BATTLEGROUND OF THE REVOLUTION AND (INSET) THE PROCLAMATION LINE OF 1763 AND THE LINE ESTABLISHED BY THE QUEBEC ACT, 1774

May, 1763, the Indians rose under an able native leader named Pontiac and in a few weeks captured all the posts in the Northwest, from Pennsylvania to Lake Superior, except Detroit and Fort Pitt.

That same summer, owing to political changes in England, the Grenville-Bedford party came into power and Shelburne was replaced by the Earl of Hillsborough, of whom even George III was to say some years later that he had never known a man "of less judgment." That such a politician should have been placed in charge of American affairs at such a critical time was the first of the colossal blunders which the British Government was to make in the next decade.

The colonists resent the Proclamation of 1763. Frightened into quick action, without ability and with inadequate knowledge of America, Hillsborough within six days prepared the Proclamation of 1763. It established a dividing line between the colonists and the Indian territory. The line so hastily adopted, running, roughly, along the Appalachian watershed, took no account of settlements already long made. Nor did it take account of territory which had been granted to certain colonies in their charters, and within which grants had been made to land companies.

Moreover, future sale by the Indians, except to the crown, was prohibited by the proclamation. Settlers who had already entered the now forbidden territory were required to withdraw. Outside of the Indian preserve, the proclamation also set up on the continent three new royal provinces—Quebec and East and West Florida. The Americans were naturally deeply resentful toward what they considered an unjustified attempt to keep them from developing the western country, which they had helped to win for the empire.

The British Government had been right in its assumption that the vast hinterland could not be left to be exploited, governed, and defended by thirteen wrangling colonies which had never been able to agree on anything. The ministers had been extraordinarily careless and clumsy, however, in taking the initial step to govern it themselves. That step taken, the second problem of cost came up.

Grenville taxes the colonies. Meanwhile, George Grenville, hostile to America, with little knowledge concerning it, and with a mind of a bureaucrat, had become prime minister. He found that it cost England \$35,000 a year to maintain American custom houses that produced only \$10,000 revenue.

As we have seen, molasses was the base on which New England commerce, at least, rested. Had the old Molasses Act of 1733 with its

prohibitive duty been observed by the colonists they would have had no money to buy goods in England. All of the colonies had difficulty in finding enough exchange to pay their English debts. Grenville, with the intention of reducing the duties on molasses so that they might be paid and collected, secured the passage in 1764 of the Sugar Act. It lowered the duties from sixpence to threepence, and imposed duties upon other imports to America, such as wine from the Azores and Madeira, coffee and the products of the East and the foreign West Indies. Moreover, he intended to see that the new laws should be obeyed. Warships were sent to the American coast. Naval officers were given power to collect duties. Prosecutions for smuggling were taken from the colonial courts and put under the jurisdiction of admiralty courts.

The colonists are alarmed by England's act limiting their money supply. An act was also passed declaring any future issue of colonial paper money not to be legal tender. Thus was extended to all America the prohibition which had been enacted against New England alone in 1751. This frightened the colonists, who, from the constant scarcity of coin, had found it necessary to issue paper. What disturbed them most was the provision that customs duties were to be paid into "His Majesty's Exchequer." This they assumed meant that the gold or silver paid for all duties and fines would be shipped to England, leaving nothing with which to pay their foreign trade balances.

It was really intended, although not worded clearly by the government, that this money should remain in America and there be used to pay one-third of the cost of maintaining the 10,000 troops whom Parliament undertook to station there. England expected to pay the other two-thirds herself.

New England has special grievances against the mother country. The fear of a gold drain affected all the colonies. The class most alarmed by the new customs duties in the Sugar Act, and even more by the prospect of duties really being collected, were the merchants of New England. Uneasiness had already been caused in that Puritan section by a rumor that an Anglican bishop was to be appointed for all North America. This made the influential body of Congregational clergy hostile to the thought of any encroachments by England on complete local liberty of action.

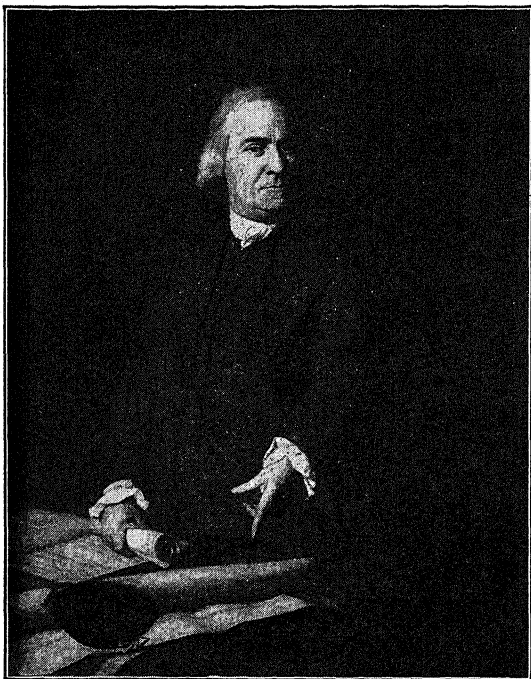
In addition, there was in Boston one of the most remarkable men of that time. Samuel Adams was the son of a well-to-do business man and had been educated at Harvard. He had no capacity for business and managed to lose the comfortable estate which he inherited. However,

the whole of his intellectual and emotional nature was bitter hostility to England, and to insistence upon the complete freedom of the citizens of Massachusetts. Almost alone among Americans of this period he seems early to have conceived the thought of achieving independence from the

empire. He was extremely proud of his home town, Boston.

He had extraordinary ability as a revolutionary leader in manipulating the opinions and emotions of the ordinary people. For the next ten years he was to devote himself to inflaming the public mind on every possible occasion, and he was kept very busy.

Samuel Adams and James Otis oppose England's acts. When Grenville's plans for the new duties became known, a town meeting in Boston appointed a committee to draw up resolutions for their representatives in the General Court. Committees of merchants in the leading seaports of several



SAMUEL ADAMS

From the painting by Copley in the Boston Art Museum.

colonies had sent over protests to England. They pointed out the disastrous effects on trade of the new laws, but Adams went far beyond this. He said: "If our trade may be taxed, why not our lands? Why not the produce of our lands, and in short everything we possess?" If taxes are laid upon the colonists without "legal representation where they are laid," he added, "are we not reduced from the character of subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?"

This was a wholly new doctrine, advocated also by James Otis in his pamphlet entitled the *Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and*

Proved, in which he suggested that the colonies be given representatives in Parliament. Hitherto the colonists had always accepted the doctrine that Parliament could pass acts regulating imperial trade and laying duties. They had merely nullified the acts by smuggling or pointed out their inexpediency without ever claiming that they were unconstitutional. The British Government could scarcely have been expected to agree with the new constitutional theories put forward by Adams and Otis. But the vigor of the radical group combined with the remonstrances of the conservative merchants should have warned the English to walk warily. Instead they made a fatal blunder.

England passes the Stamp Act. Even although England expected to pay a large share of the future imperial expenses in America, it was considered that the Americans' own share would not be covered by the new duties. So Grenville had been looking about for additional taxation. One of the simplest forms is that of a stamp tax on legal or business papers. This already was in use in England and had been discussed for some years as possibly applicable to the colonies. Grenville, in fact, had asked the opinions of the colonial assemblies about it and requested alternative suggestions as to forms that might be preferable to them. But he received no helpful advice.

Now in looking back it is clear that such a tax, being internal instead of external, might raise a storm of protest. It was a tax on everyday transactions within the country for which everybody had to buy stamps. But, little of a statesman as Grenville was, he cannot, perhaps, be blamed too heavily for not foreseeing the full effect of what he was doing. Even Benjamin Franklin, who was then in England, although he opposed the passage of the act, did not think the colonists would object, and advised two of his friends at home to take office as stamp distributors. Richard Henry Lee, the future patriot, also applied for the position in Virginia.

In view of such opinions, Parliament passed the act without the slightest thought that there would be any serious objection to it, in spite of some speeches against it, notably by Colonel Isaac Barré. The act received royal assent March 22, 1765, levied taxes of varying amounts on newspapers and almost all legal documents. The stamps had to be paid for in coin.

Patrick Henry bitterly denounces the Stamp Act. The news was received quietly for the most part in America as Franklin had anticipated. Then suddenly the storm broke. Two years before, out in the Hanover County Court House, a young man named Patrick

Henry had won a case for the people against the payment to the local Anglican clergyman of his salary according to the terms of what was called the "Two Penny Act." Henry's success won him rousing popularity in the frontier section, and, before news of the Stamp Act came, he had been sent to the legislature as a member of the House of

Burgesses. There he was regarded with fear and dislike by conservative Virginians.

On May 29, 1765, when the House of Burgesses was considering the Stamp Act, Henry leaped to his feet and proposed a series of resolutions in a fiery speech. It called forth a rebuke from the speaker, who avowed that Henry had uttered treason.

It is impossible to know how many of the offered resolutions were actually passed by the House. However, six were published in the newspapers, and, as "the Virginia Resolves," they ran like a flaming torch up and down the entire coast. It was claimed in them that the local legislature was the only body which had any legal right to tax the Virginians.



PATRICK HENRY DELIVERING HIS
SPEECH IN THE VIRGINIA HOUSE
OF BURGESSES

From a painting by P. F. Rothermel.

The colonists unite in opposition to the Stamp Act. Economic conditions were bad in America and had been made worse by the acts of the preceding year. At first the merchants had suffered most from them. But the Stamp Act brought the newspaper editors and lawyers into sharp opposition to Britain, and the whole population feared stagnation of business both from the new taxes and from the mode of their collection.

Massachusetts called for a meeting of representatives from all the colonies to be held in New York in October. America was almost a unit against the imposition of the new stamp tax. The only question was how to avoid it. In many colonies the merchants agreed not to import English goods until the law was repealed.

Organizations called "Sons of Liberty" were formed almost everywhere, mostly from the extreme radical groups. Stamp distributors

were threatened, and personal violence used against them. Mobs broke windows, burned houses, and intimidated people from using the stamps. In Boston the costly home of Chief Justice Thomas Hutchinson was sacked. All his furniture and the priceless documents which he had collected for writing his *History of Massachusetts* were thrown into the street and burned. America was in turmoil from one end to the

The TIMES are
Dreadful,
Dismal
Doleful,
Dolourous, and
DOLLAR-LESS.



of the STAMP
An Emblem of the Effect
Of the fatal Stamp

Thursday, October 31, 1765. THE NUMB. 1195.

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL;

AND

WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Resurrection to LIFE again.

I AM sorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as The Stamp Act, is fear'd to be obligatory upon us after the First of November ensuing, (the fatal 1st of Novr) the Publisher of this Paper unable to

bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient to stop a while, in order to deliberate, whether any Methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and escape the insupportable Slavery; which it is hoped, from the last Representations now made against that Act, may be effected. Mean while, I must earnestly Request every Individual

of my Subscribers many of whom have been long behind hand, that they would immediately Discharge their respective Arrears that I may be able, not only to support myself during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper, whenever an opening for that Purpose appears, which I hope will be soon.

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

From the Rare Book Room of the New York Public Library

WILLIAM BRADFORD'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SUSPENSION OF HIS PAPER DUE TO THE STAMP ACT

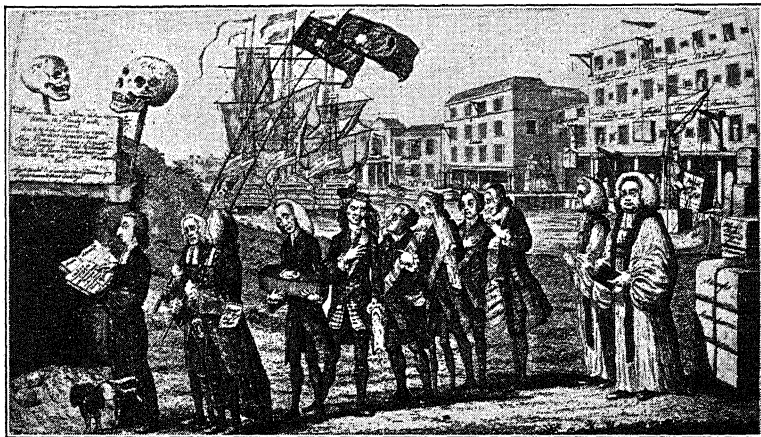
other. In some colonies business was suspended and in others carried on without use of the stamps.

The Stamp Act is repealed. One strange feature was the slight interest taken in the meeting of the Stamp Act Congress in October. Only nine colonies were represented. In spite of the difficulty of reconciling the views of the twenty-seven delegates, resolutions were passed claiming, as Virginia already had claimed, that the colonies could not be taxed save by their own assemblies where they were represented.

The people were not interested in fine-spun political or constitutional theories. With them it was rather a surge of emotion at interference

with their accustomed freedom and fear of what might come, instilled into them by such men as Christopher Gadsden in South Carolina, Patrick Henry in Virginia, and Samuel Adams in Massachusetts. "No taxation without representation," "the rights of man," and "tributary slaves" were words which burned deep into the minds of the common people. The search for a legal basis for opposition was left to the lawyers.

When in March, 1766, chiefly as a result of pressure brought to bear



"THE REPEAL." A CARTOON SHOWING THE OBSEQUIES OF THE STAMP ACT
From the original in the Emmet Collection, in the New York Public Library.

on Parliament by the English merchants, the Stamp Act was repealed, the news was received almost as emotionally as had been that of its passage. America went wild with rejoicing, and no attention was paid to the Declaratory Act passed at the same time. It asserted the right of Parliament to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever and denied their claim to taxation solely by their own legislatures.

Even Pitt, who with other statesmen had demanded the repeal in Parliament and had declared that he rejoiced that America had resisted, stated that he believed in the full parliamentary control over the colonies except to take "money out of their pockets without their consent."

England and the colonies hold different views on the question of representation. The fact is that unconsciously the two parts of the English race had drifted far apart in fundamental political ideas. The

change had come about so gradually that neither had realized it. In England, Parliament was considered to be representative not of individuals but of classes. If some members of the landed interest and of the commercial and professional classes could elect representatives, then those classes and interests were considered to be represented.

Representation, until long afterward, was not thought to have anything to do with territory or numbers. There were great centers of population in England which had no direct representatives at all. Yet these considered themselves represented because all classes in them were represented by men elected from members of their particular class elsewhere.

The Englishman thus found it hard to understand why the American landowner or merchant claimed that he was not represented merely because he did not himself vote for a member of Parliament. On the other hand, a new system had grown up with us and seemed almost the order of nature. In spite of our limited franchise and many abuses, the general theory had early developed that as new towns or counties were formed they should be given representation.

Thus the idea of representation came with us to be connected with numbers and locality. It was so much so that by this time the practice was almost universal of electing a representative from the district in which he lived. "No taxation without representation" thus meant something quite different on the two sides of the ocean, as did Pitt's taking of money without "consent."

England and the colonies hold different views on the powers of Parliament. Again, in England, Parliament, as the great body representative of the whole nation, had come to be supreme. There was nothing it could not do in legislation. With us there had developed an idea of a fundamental law, derived from our constant reference to the charters in squabbles with governors or the home government. From this we slipped easily into the doctrine of "natural rights," rights inherent in every individual simply as a human being. This was as little likely to be taken seriously by the British statesmen when demanded only by Americans as it would have been by us in 1765 if demanded by our 400,000 black slaves or by women. Finally, we had come to look upon our local legislatures as practically of the same rank as Parliament.

Environments bring about different views. The ideas of English and Americans were largely the product of their environments. It seemed natural to the Englishman at home to accept a system into

which he had been born, just as it seemed natural to the American to adapt that system to the new conditions of colonial life. A small farmer in Yorkshire who never had voted for a member of Parliament did not trouble his head about it. But a small farmer in a Massachusetts village or a Pennsylvania county who had been accustomed to personal representation in the legislature, and who afterwards moved out on the frontier to settle a new town or county, did not see why he should be disfranchised for doing so.

In a new country not only does the new environment operate on old ideas and ways of doing things, but the absence of any accumulated stock of traditions, institutions, and vested interests allows of the rapid growth of new ideas. The small town of Cheyenne, Wyoming, had electric lights when New York had only gas in its streets, and was running electric cars when New York had horse cars. This was not due to any superior virtue in Cheyenne but to the fact that it was perfectly free to install the new without considering the old, whereas in New York the new came into conflict with all sorts of established interests connected with the old.

How fast new America had moved as compared with old England is shown by the fact that it was the conservatives in America who were closest in thought to the most advanced liberals in England. Had each of these classes been in control in the respective countries, an adjustment of the quarrel might have been likely. In the mother country, however, the most conservative of the politicians held the power at critical stages, and in America the extreme colonial radicals kept stirring up trouble.

3. *Coercion and Bloodshed*

Colonial logic denies to Parliament the power to tax the colonies. Briefly, our political philosophy had become different from that of the British. Our interests seemed to us the most important in the empire, as England's did to her. They conflicted at several points. We quickly realized that even if we could send some representatives to Parliament we should merely confer supreme power on that body with only a trifling minority of members from America.

"No taxation without representation" could only mean that we must forever deny to Parliament any power of the purse over us. The difference which had been accepted in the past between internal and external taxation came to seem no difference at all when analyzed. English logic had to insist on the power of Parliament to legislate for the empire

or there was no empire. American logic led to an almost total denial of such power.

England taxes the colonies further and passes other irritating measures against them. In 1766, in a new cabinet in England, Charles Townshend became head of the Exchequer, the department which levies and collects. Undeterred by the views of Pitt, who as Earl of Chatham was nominal head of the cabinet, but was ill, Townshend at once set himself to get money out of America. Few statesmen have ever handled delicate situations in a worse way. In 1767 he secured the passage through Parliament of a number of acts, all calculated to arouse the resentment of the colonies. In one of these acts a duty was laid upon tea, red and white lead, glass, and painters' colors, designed to produce a revenue of about £40,000 a year.

In part this was to be applied to the support of the army in America and in part to paying the salaries of the colonial governors and judges, thus removing them entirely from control by assemblies. The act also provided for a new administration of the customs service and it required that every Navigation Act of the old commercial system from 1660 on, was to be enforced. Writs of Assistance (general search warrants) were also legalized, although it had been James Otis's fiery denunciation of these which had first made him a popular leader in 1761. Having sown this field of dragon's teeth, Townshend let himself out by dying. He was succeeded by Lord North as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Hillsborough occupied the new office of Secretary of State for the colonies.

Dickinson denies to Parliament the power to tax the colonies to raise revenue. Protests were sent to England and to a great extent the non-importation agreements were put into force again. In Philadelphia John Dickinson, a Pennsylvania lawyer who had received his legal training in the English Inns of Court, began publishing his famous *Letters of a Farmer*. They were reprinted everywhere and were perhaps more widely read than any of the rest of the rapidly increasing literature of controversy. He declared that laying duties to raise a revenue instead of to regulate trade was an innovation. He further said that although there was a certain power in Parliament "we are only as much dependent on Great Britain as one perfectly free people can be on another."

He suggested that three successive lines of action might be taken against England—first, remonstrance and petition; second, refusal to buy British goods; third, as a last resort only, forcible resistance to the

acts of Parliament. For the first time he suggested, not independence, but the thought that the colonies were beginning to form a nation. They are separated, he wrote, "from the rest of the world, and firmly bound together by the same rights, interests, and dangers." It was indeed danger, forced upon them by the mistakes of English statesmen, which was beginning to make them feel, in Dickinson's words, that "they form one political body of which each colony is a member."

England dissolves the Massachusetts legislature. Early in the year the Massachusetts House of Representatives had sent a circular letter to the other colonies suggesting that they all unite both in discussing the situation and in petitioning the British Government with regard to the Townshend Acts.

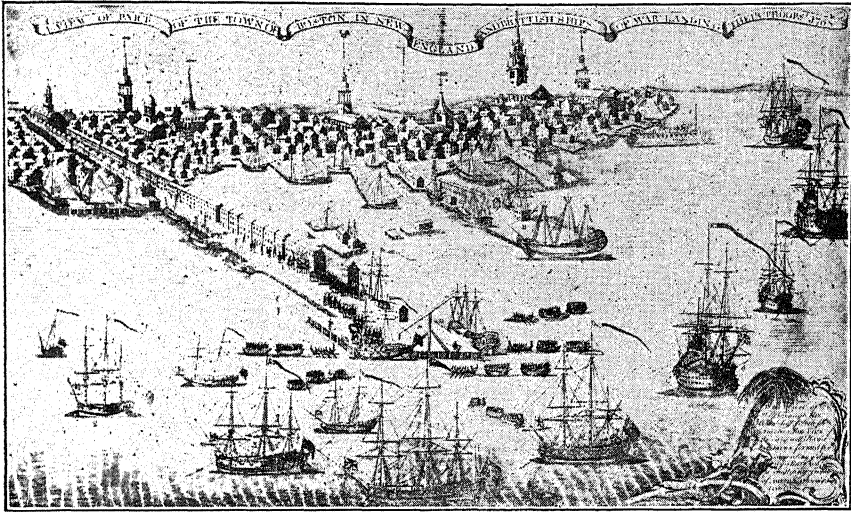
Hillsborough instructed the royal governor to demand that the House of Representatives rescind the resolutions in connection with the circular letter, and to dissolve that legislative body if it declined. He also sent instructions to the governors of all the other colonies to dissolve their assemblies if they should act favorably on the request of Massachusetts. The House of Commons backed Hillsborough and favored even more extreme measures.

Massachusetts voted in the House, ninety-two to seventeen, not to rescind, and the legislature was promptly dissolved. An extra-legal convention of delegates from all the towns then met in Boston, and adopted resolutions similar to those which under the leadership of Samuel Adams had been drawn up on many occasions. Parliament sent an address to the King asking that the inciters of "rebellion" be brought to England for trial for treason under an old law which did not apply.

George Washington opposes the actions of England. All the colonies were deeply stirred. In the Virginia House of Burgesses, George Washington introduced a set of resolutions, known to history as the "Virginia Resolves of 1769," which had been drawn up by George Mason. They marked a distinct advance in clearness of thinking over the earlier ones and proclaimed that the colonial assembly, with the approval of king or royal governor, was the only body which could tax the colonists. They also stated that the colonists had the right to petition the King for redress of grievances. They further said that to transport any person overseas to stand trial for "any crime whatsoever" was "highly derogatory" of his rights as a British citizen.

Lord North repeals all the colonial taxes except that on tea. Meanwhile, following the death of Townshend, there had been another change in cabinet posts in England. Lord North, who now became

Prime Minister, decided that the government was stirring up resistance in America for little actual gain. He therefore secured the passage of a bill in Parliament voiding all the new duties of the Townshend Acts, except that on tea, which was kept as a symbol of the right of Parliament to levy duties. The administrative machinery erected for the American customs was also retained as were the older import duties.



BRITISH TROOPS LANDING AT BOSTON IN 1768

The description reads that after landing at Long Wharf "they marched with insolent parade, drums beating, fifes playing and colors flying, up King Street, each soldier having received 16 rounds of powder and ball." From the engraving by Paul Revere in the Stokes Collection, New York Public Library.

England's actions at first divide the colonists into three groups. It is a mistake to think of the colonists as all burning with hatred of England. We must recall that although events were fast bringing about unprecedented unity of sentiment and action among the several colonies, they were still very distinct from one another. A Virginia planter, for instance, would have felt much more at home with an English squire than with a Boston merchant. Speaking broadly, however, there were three groups which severally developed the same attitude toward England in all the colonies. Two of these were comparatively small, the ultra-Loyalists, who defended all that England did, and the extreme radicals. Between them was the vast mass of Americans who wanted

above all else to be allowed to live their lives and earn their bread in peace, unmolested by new and annoying British laws or the violence of American radical mobs.

Blood is shed in Boston. America was full of combustible material, and with the growing unrest of the times it was easy to kindle this with a spark. In Massachusetts, Samuel Adams had proved a master at keeping the public mind in ferment. Opinions will always differ widely about him but he was consistently honest in his purpose. Steadily throughout the two years that the British soldiers had been in Boston, Adams had seen to it that their presence should create as much friction and be as thoroughly resented as possible. Finally, on the very day that Lord North moved the bill doing away with the Townshend duties, March 5, 1770, the long-expected clash occurred between citizens and soldiers in Boston.

A sentry at the custom house, pelted with snowballs by some young men, called out the guard. A crowd gathered, one soldier was knocked down and another beaten with a club. Mistaking a shout for an order, the soldiers fired, killing four of the crowd. The officer in command at once surrendered to the civil authorities. At the trial, in which the soldiers were defended by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., all were freed except two of the privates who were convicted of manslaughter and as punishment were burned in the hand. Immediately after the affray the two regiments were removed to Castle William by Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson. This "Boston Massacre" was long used to stir up feeling against the British, and on each anniversary passionate orations were delivered.

The conservative colonists welcome the repeal of the Townshend duties. The news of the repeal of the Townshend duties was received by the merchant class everywhere with a feeling of deep relief. They and other conservative elements decided to stop further bickering with England.

Moreover, the merchants had not liked the coercion by the radicals to force them not to import. And the conservatives had become alarmed by the disorders brought on by the dangerous turmoil of mob-rule. If they did not wish their profits interfered with or their liberties infringed by England, neither did they wish to find themselves in America controlled by the lower classes, as they considered them, whose ability to govern they did not trust. The merchants soon began importing again, and at last, after the hard years, business began to pick up.

The colonists appoint committees of correspondence. To be sure, the British Government was still intent on collecting what duties remained, and smuggling continued. Occasionally there were physical clashes with customs officers. In June, 1772, the revenue schooner *Gaspée* was seized and burned in Rhode Island waters. It was the third vessel destroyed by the people of Newport, but the British officials could get no witnesses to testify against their friends and neighbors.

In the autumn of 1772 a rumor came that England was considering the payment of judges' salaries out of the customs revenue. Samuel Adams seized on this as a new and intolerable grievance. In a town meeting he secured, not without opposition, the appointment of twenty-one men as a "committee of correspondence," which was to state the rights of the colonists "as Men, as Christians, and as Subjects," and to correspond with committees from other towns. Gradually, radicals in other colonies formed similar committees, and thus a revolutionary organization was built up throughout America.

The conservative classes do not believe that their liberties are in danger. It was not so much stupor as it was the Anglo-Saxon's mental habit not to bother about theories but to let things drift and adjust themselves so long as there was no crisis to get excited about. The country generally was prosperous. The merchants, who could afford to lose one cargo of tea in three and yet make large profits, were contented. In spite of all the radicals from Adams in Massachusetts to Gadsden in Carolina, the substantial classes everywhere refused to consider their liberties in danger. The country had settled down to calm after the storm. Then, suddenly, the English Government made what was to prove a fatal blunder.

The East India Company sends its tea to America. Until 1773 the East India Company, and not the British Government, was the ruler of India. It had been in frequent disputes with native princes, and several times in financial difficulties. The interests were vast and in 1773 an act was passed which gave Parliament a voice in administration. The company was in trouble and had 17,000,000 pounds of tea stored in London.

North, not thinking of American colonial policy, decided to allow the company to sell this tea in the colonies. The company was to pay the regular American three-penny duty but not the charges and duties imposed in England. The thought was that this would clear off the company's surplus holdings and allow the colonists to buy their tea cheaper than ever, even when smuggled.

The effect, however, was to give the company, for a time, exclusive rights in America, where the radicals at once raised the cry of "monopoly." Only certain agents in America were to be appointed to take charge of the tea. Most of them were unpopular from having taken sides against American merchants in previous troubles. What Samuel Adams had not been able to accomplish by agitation, Lord North now



THE BOSTON TEA PARTY

From the painting by Robert Reid in the Massachusetts State House, Boston.

succeeded in bringing about. He threw the powerful American merchant class over to the side of the radicals again, just when they themselves were least inclined to such a union.

Boston dumps the tea into the sea. When the first tea ships arrived under this new plan, they were not allowed to discharge their cargo except at Charleston. From some ports they were forced to return to England, but in Boston there was the famous "tea party." Governor Hutchinson, who had become extremely unpopular, refused

to sign papers permitting the ships to leave until their cargoes had been discharged. A number of public meetings were held, and feeling ran high. It is hard to say which was the more stubborn, the royal governor or the radicals. The people might have allowed the tea to be landed as in Charleston and stored in warehouses without being sold; or Hutchinson might have allowed the ships to sail. As it was he did just what Samuel Adams hoped he would do.

According to an arranged plan, when the governor's decision was made known to a great public gathering in the old South Meeting House, a band of men disguised as Indians boarded the vessels and threw the tea into the harbor. Opinion on the action was divided. Even some town meetings condemned it, speaking of "liberty degenerating into anarchy." Although John Adams applauded it, such patriots as John Dickinson and Benjamin Franklin disapproved. One of America's best friends in England, William Pitt, then Earl of Chatham, denounced it as "criminal."

England closes the port of Boston and alters the charter of Massachusetts. The work of the mobs in Boston, New York, and elsewhere was beginning to make the owners of property fearful. It caused them to withdraw their support which had been temporarily given to the radicals on account of the Tea Act. Then another blunder by the British Government caused a wave of sentiment, hostile to England, to flow over all the colonies.

If conservative opinion in America was opposed to the destruction of private property in Boston, English opinion was furious. In March, 1774, Parliament passed a bill, since known as the Boston Port Act, removing the custom house from Boston and closing its harbor to all commerce until payment for the destroyed tea should have been made to the East India Company. The tea was estimated to have been worth £15,000.

The act went into operation on June 1. On that day Governor Hutchinson sailed for England and turned the province over to the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, General Gage. The news of the severe punishment which had been meted out to the third largest port in America roused all the colonies. Resolutions of sympathy and cargoes of food from everywhere poured into the closed town.

Three other acts relating to Massachusetts were also passed by Parliament. The first of these changed the charter of that colony. It provided that the members of the council should be appointed by the crown,

that minor officers were to be appointed instead of being elected, and that no more town meetings could be held without the consent of the governor. Another act provided that officials who were charged with capital crimes might be sent to England for trial together with all the witnesses. Another act renewed in harsher terms the earlier act as to quartering of troops.

Voices were raised in Parliament against the severity of these acts. Especially Chatham pointed out that the day was coming when the colonies would vie with the mother country in arms and arts, and that the colonists should be treated as children worthy of their sire. But the members of Parliament were overwhelmingly on the side of coercion.

The five "Intolerable Acts" inflame the colonists against the mother country. In the same session of Parliament another act, the Quebec Act, was passed. The problem of the government of Canada had never been satisfactorily solved, and this act was directed to that end, but the colonists thought that it was aimed at them. The French were guaranteed freedom of religion, and certain administrative arrangements were made. In addition, the province was extended southward to the Ohio River. This conflicted with the claims to lands in the West which Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia believed were theirs under their charters. This act along with the other four came to be known as the "Intolerable Acts" and did much to unite the sentiment of the colonies against England.

The First Continental Congress meets and states the rights and duties of the colonists. Meetings in America now followed one another in quick succession, from those of towns and counties to state conventions. At the suggestion of Virginia the First Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. Delegates were present from all the colonies except Georgia. Some of the delegates were John and Samuel Adams from Massachusetts; Roger Sherman from Connecticut; Stephen Hopkins from Rhode Island; John Jay and Philip Livingston from New York; John Dickinson, Joseph Galloway, and Thomas Mifflin from Pennsylvania; Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean, and George Read from Delaware; George Washington, Patrick Henry, Peyton Randolph (who was chosen President), and Richard Henry Lee from Virginia; Richard Caswell from North Carolina; and Edward and John Rutledge and Christopher Gadsden from South Carolina.

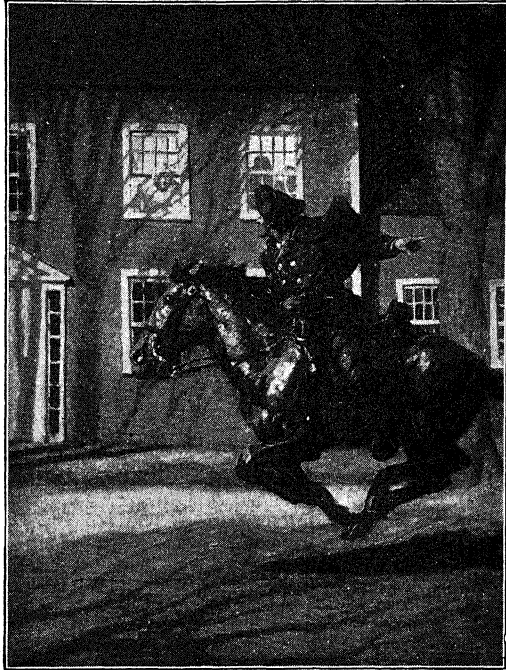
Opinion varied from ultra-conservative to extreme radical. The action of the Congress was a compromise. The Declaration of Rights

which was agreed upon to be sent to England was moderate and dignified. The rights of the colonists, it was affirmed, were based upon nature, the British constitution, and the colonial charters. As the colonies could not properly be represented in Parliament, the Declaration asserted that their local assemblies should have exclusive power of legislating. But it was added, for the best interests of the whole empire, the colonists would submit themselves to Parliamentary acts designed solely for the regulation of trade. It was also stated that the colonists could not submit to certain acts which had been passed since 1764.

The colonists bind themselves to boycott English goods. An association was entered into by which the colonists bound themselves not to import or export goods to or from English ports, or consume English goods, until their grievances had been satisfied. Committees were to be appointed in

every town and county to report the names of those who refused to sign the association agreement or who violated it. This was the most important part of the work of the Congress, and these local committees became of extreme importance as the struggle moved into its later stages. Finally, provision was made for a new Congress to meet May 10, 1775, unless grievances had been satisfied before that date.

The colonists fight the English at Lexington and Concord. Meanwhile General Gage was in Boston with 5000 troops. Warships lay in the otherwise empty harbor. He had been ordered to seize Samuel Adams and John Hancock and ship them to England for trial,



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PAUL REVERE'S RIDE

From a painting by N. C. Wyeth.

but he had failed to catch them. Without regarding the governor, Massachusetts was governing herself by a provincial Congress. The winter of 1774-75 passed peacefully in Boston, but General Gage knew the country everywhere outside was buzzing as with angry hornets. In September he made a foray of a few miles beyond the town limits and seized some powder. Almost before he was back, the country "minute men," estimated at 40,000, swarmed after him.

As spring came on, he decided to capture stores which he understood had been gathered at Concord. On the 19th of April, 1775, a detachment of British regulars marched through the streets of Boston on what was to become one of the most celebrated military expeditions in history. Few expeditions, if any, undertaken for a minor purpose, have had such resounding consequences.

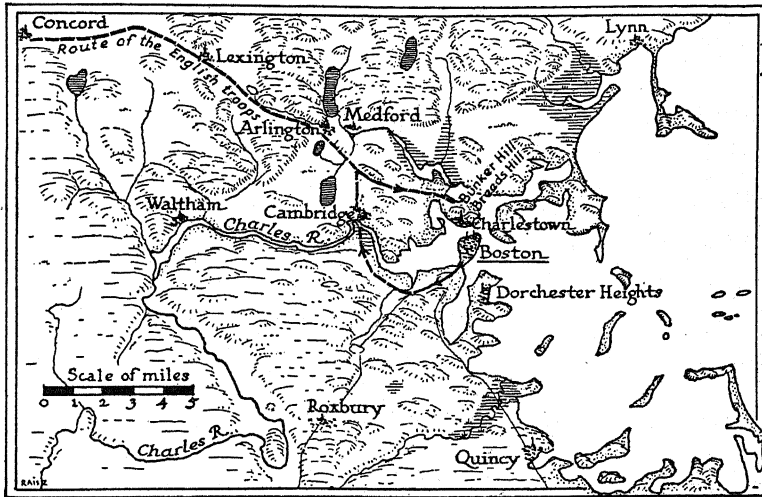
Although the troops started before daybreak, the alarm was given. Paul Revere and William Dawes rode through the country to rouse the people. When the thousand advancing British soldiers reached Lexington, they found about fifty men blocking the road. Eight of these men were killed and the column went on. Most of the stores at Concord had been removed, but the British destroyed what remained, and then began the return march to Boston.

Lexington and Concord stir up the war spirit in the colonies. By that time the countryside was alive with "minute men," who shot at the moving British column from behind trees, stone fences, rocks, and any other shelter. The retreat became a rout. Even when reinforced by 1500 troops under young Earl Percy, the British reached Boston and safety only with difficulty. More than 270 were killed, wounded, or missing, and the successful Americans settled down to besiege the town. On that 19th of April, the shot had been fired that was "heard round the world."

The news that the long years of bickerings, arguments, appeals, and legal reprisals had ended with open warfare between the colonists and British troops was carried rapidly by messengers on horse-back down the whole coast. Everywhere the startling news of fighting stirred the war spirit and called forth resolutions of protest against England.

The colonists capture Ticonderoga and Crown Point. On May 10, the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. That same day Ethan Allen with a force of Vermonters surprised the British garrison of Fort Ticonderoga. A most welcome addition to the scant stores of colonial powder was secured. Two days later Crown Point also was captured.

The colonists gain a moral victory in the battle of Bunker Hill. In Boston, the 5000 or more British regulars were besieged by a crowd of possibly 20,000 New England militiamen, whose only "training" had been two to four days a year. The town was at that time connected with the mainland by only a narrow neck. Across the river were Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill. The peninsula from which they rose was connected with the mainland by Charlestown-neck.



THE REGION AROUND BOSTON IN THE REVOLUTION

On the morning of June 17, the British were surprised to discover that Breed's Hill had been fortified in the night. Colonel William Prescott and his regiment were entrenched there, with none too much ammunition. Had the British seized the Charlestown "neck" they would have trapped the Americans, but with a folly equal to Prescott's rashness they determined upon a frontal attack up the hillside.

General William Howe, a brave officer with a high reputation, in the face of galling fire led his lines up the steep incline again and again. From one-third to a half of the British were killed by the New Englanders who held their deadly fire against the enemy each time until they could see "the whites of their eyes."

Suddenly the firing stopped. The American ammunition was exhausted. Without disorder the Americans retreated to the mainland, and the British occupied the peninsula. In spite of the retreat, the "bat-

tle of Bunker Hill," as it came to be called, was an overwhelming victory for American morale. The British had shown great courage, but the fact remained that raw New England militia had faced British regulars and inflicted heavier casualties upon them than any other enemy had done in the whole Seven Years' War. The English had met English.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Adams, *Revolutionary New England*; Andrews, *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution*; Becker, *The Eve of the Revolution*; Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, chs. 9-14; Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy*, chs. 1-3; Howard, *The Preliminaries of the Revolution*; Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, I, 28-271; Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*; Sears, *History of American Foreign Relations*, ch. 1; Van Tyne, *The Causes of the War of Independence*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Bogart and Thompson, *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, 143-175; Callender, *Selections from the Economic History of the United States*, 125-137, 140-143, 145-151; Force, *American Archives*; Hart, *Contemporaries*, II, chs. 21, 23-35; Hill, *Liberty Documents*, chs. 12-14; MacDonald, *Select Charters*, nos. 53-80.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Bacheller, *In the Days of Poor Richard*; Bruce, *Daniel Boone*; Bryant, *Green Mountain Boys*; Davis, *Gilman of Redford*; Drake, *Watch Fires of '76*; Emerson, *Concord Hymn*; Longfellow, *Paul Revere's Ride*; Lowell, *Concord Ode*; Tyler, *Patrick Henry*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why did the colonists and the royal governors often disagree? 2. Why did England and the colonies take different views on the same subject? 3. How did the Molasses Act restrict the trade of the colonists? 4. Show that there were many different peoples in the colonies who were either hostile or indifferent to England. 5. How did England's change in theory from a commercial to a colonial empire affect the colonies? 6. How did the Seven Years' War force England to reorganize her empire? 7. Why did the colonies resent the Proclamation of 1763? 8. How did Grenville propose to tax the colonies? 9. Why did New England have special grievances against the mother country? 10. What was the purpose of the Stamp Act? 11. What was its effect upon the colonists? 12. How did England and the colonies have different views on the question of representation? 13. How did they have different views on the question of the powers of Parliament? 14. What did Dickinson say about the power of Parliament? 15. What was the significance of the "Boston Massacre"?

16. What was the purpose of the Boston "Tea Party"? 17. Why did the conservative classes not feel that their liberties were in danger? 18. What was the significance of the "committee of correspondence"? 19. What effect did the five "Intolerable Acts" have upon the colonists? 20. What work did the First Continental Congress do? 21. What did the colonists hope to gain by boycotting English goods? 22. What is meant by "the shot heard round the world"? 23. What effect did the battles of Lexington and Concord have on the colonists? 24. How did the colonists win a moral victory in the battle of Bunker Hill? 25. Explain: At Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill the colonists were fighting for their rights as British subjects.

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Settlement of Georgia, colonial immigration, the conspiracy of Pontiac, Proclamation of 1763, the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, the Declaratory Act, the Townshend Acts, the "Boston Massacre," the Boston "tea party," the work of the Continental Congress, the battles of Lexington and Concord, the battle of Bunker Hill.

2. PROJECT: Show that we in the United States to-day grant to our Congress the same powers that we denied to the English Parliament before the Revolutionary War.

3. PROBLEM: How did the reorganization of the British Empire and the question of imperial control help to cause the American Revolutionary War?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the colonists were justified in their resistance to the acts of Parliament.

5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The "Intolerable Acts."

6. IMAGINARY LETTER: You were one of the American soldiers in the battle of Bunker Hill. Write a letter to a relative in South Carolina describing your experiences.

7. DIARY: You were the secretary of the Boston "committee of correspondence." You kept a diary of all the happenings. Read to the class your diary for the week beginning June 1, 1775.

8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: James Oglethorpe, Shelburne, Pitt, Hillsborough, Grenville, Townshend, Samuel Adams, James Otis, Patrick Henry, John Dickinson, Ethan Allen, Lord North, Gage, William Howe.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1763, 1770, 1774, 1775.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Royal prerogatives, control of the purse, imperial control, mercantile theory, "Sons of Liberty," "natural rights," "no taxation without representation," "the rights of man," "tributary slaves," internal and external taxation, writs of assistance, "minute men," "the shot heard round the world."

11. MAP WORK: In a map talk point out the following places and state the historical significance of each: Guadeloupe, Trans-Allegheny Indian lands, Boston, Charleston, Philadelphia, Lexington, Concord, Fort Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Bunker Hill.

12. GRAPH WORK: By means of a circular graph show the number of English, Germans, Scotch-Irish, Indians, and negroes in the colonies in 1763.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE SETTLEMENT OF GEORGIA: Fiske, *Old Virginia*, II, 333-336; Greene, *Provincial America*, ch. 15; Jones, *Georgia*, I; MacDonald, *Select Charters*, 235; Stevens, *Georgia*.

2. THE PASSIVE RESISTANCE OF THE COLONISTS: Channing, *United States, 1765-1865*, ch. 2; Fiske, *American Revolution*, I, 1-26; Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, ch. 5; MacDonald, *Select Charters*, 281; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, 1-17.

3. THE ACTIVE RESISTANCE OF THE COLONISTS: Hildreth, *United States*, II, 537-579; Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, chs. 10-17; Lecky, *England*, ch. 12; MacDonald, *Select Charters*, 337-355; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, 17-24.

4. THE REVOLUTION PRECIPITATED: Higginson and MacDonald, *United States*, ch. 10; Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, chs. 14, 17, 18; Lecky, *England*, ch. 12; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, chs. 2-3; Winsor, *America*, VI, ch. 2.

TOPIC IV

AMERICA GAINS ITS INDEPENDENCE

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To show how and why the colonists were divided on the question of independence.
2. To show how the colonists turned toward independence.
3. To review the course and outcome of the Revolutionary War.

1. *Division among the Colonists*

Washington is appointed to lead the American forces. Lexington, Concord, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Bunker Hill settled one question. After these attacks on British troops and with a Congress of all the colonies sitting in Philadelphia, there could be no turning back for America. No statesman in England could consider anything except the putting down of what was open rebellion. In June Congress appointed George Washington commander-in-chief of the American forces.

This action, the wisest and most useful of any that the Continental Congresses took, was due chiefly to the conflicting ambitions and jealousies of the various sections. New England in the main wished to have a New England commander, but the other colonies stood opposed. Although Washington had a high reputation throughout the colonies, one of the main reasons for choosing him at this stage was that he was one of the richest and most prominent men in Virginia. And Virginia was a very populous and important colony. Besides he was one of the few colonials who was well known for his military experience. For these reasons, his choice would carry weight in England. It would help to show positively that New England did not stand alone in her resistance and that a Southerner of wealth and influence, with everything to lose, was willing to stand in the very forefront of the rebellion.

A majority of the Americans do not favor independence. On July 3 Washington reached Cambridge and inspected his army. It numbered about 20,000 officers and men, of whom 17,000 were present for duty. Washington really never had more than the nucleus of an army. It is a mistake to think of our America of the Revolution as a

nation of patriots all rising to their own defense. When independence was declared, John Adams thought that one-third of the people were in favor of it, one-third opposed, and one-third neutral. The New England historian, Channing, suggested 40 per cent of the population as a fair percentage to be considered "militant revolutionists."

This estimate should give us, from a population of 2,200,000 whites, about 250,000 revolutionists of military age. Yet Washington never had over 18,000 in any one engagement or over 22,000 at one time in his army, and during much of the war only a fraction of such a force. Of course, owing to short terms of enlistment and constant changes in personnel, many times those numbers served during the course of a struggle for a few days, weeks, or months. On the other side Van Tyne, the leading authority on the subject, estimates that 50,000 of the Americans who remained loyal to England served with the British forces.

Washington receives meager support from the colonies. When Washington had time to look over the situation at Boston he was nearly in despair. He found many of the officers, who were elected by their men, thoroughly incompetent. He made as he wrote, "a pretty good slam" among these and discharged some for cowardice and others for fraud.

Officers sometimes went off to their farms, taking privates with them to work, and drew pay for both the privates and themselves. Some of the higher officers, such as Major-General Schuyler, were so disgusted with the greed and selfish spirit shown that Washington had difficulty in restraining them from throwing up their commissions. The militia, Washington wrote, could be depended upon for only a few days at a time, when they became tired, would not obey orders, and slipped off to their homes. By February, 1776, half the army had melted away. In time, he gathered around him a group of able officers, but throughout the war he had some difficulty in keeping the troops. Wherever fighting occurred, the farmers could be counted on to swarm in from the countryside and take irregular part in the engagement. But it was extremely difficult to secure men to enlist even with the offer of high bounties in cash.


We have always been an unmilitary people. The scarcity of labor, the anxiety over the women and children left at home on the farms, the poor pay in rapidly depreciating paper money, and the lack of supplies in the army, all made the service unpopular.

When we consider the general conditions of the time and the lack of public spirit on the part of many, of which Washington, John Adams,

TO ALL BRAVE, HEALTHY, ABLE BODIED, AND WELL
DISPOSED YOUNG MEN,
IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD, WHO HAVE ANY INCLINATION TO JOIN THE TROOPS,
NOW RAISING UNDER
GENERAL WASHINGTON,
FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE
LIBERTIES AND INDEPENDENCE
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Against the hostile designs of foreign enemies,

TAKE NOTICE,



THAT
Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday at 12 o'clock in
the forenoon, at New Town, New York, with his military and recruiting party of *Colonel Aaron Ogden*, for the purpose of serving the enrollment of
each youth of spirit, as may be willing to enter into this honourable service.

The *ENROLLMENT* at this time, to enlist, is truly liberal and generous, namely, a bounty of twenty dollars, an annual and fully sufficient
pay of good and handsome clothing, a daily allowance of a large and ample ration of provisions, together with seven dollars a year in bounty
and sixteen money on account of pay, the whole of which the soldier may lay up for himself and friends, as all articles proper for his subsistence and
comfort are provided by law, without any expence to him.

Those who may favour this recruiting party with their attendance as above, will have an opportunity of hearing and seeing in a more particular
manner, the great advantages which these brave men will have, who shall embrace this opportunity of spending a few happy years in viewing the
different parts of this beautiful continent, in the honourable and truly respectable character of a soldier, after which, he may, if he pleases, return
home to his friends, with his pockets full of money and his heart covered with laurels.

GOD SAVE THE UNITED STATES.

It reads in part: "The encouragement at this time to enlist, is truly liberal and generous, namely a bounty of twelve dollars, an annual and fully sufficient supply of good and handsome cloathing, a daily allowance of a large and ample ration of provisions, together with sixty dollars a year in Gold and Silver money on account of pay."

their commander throughout the duration of the war and under every discouragement.

Our government fails to give Washington adequate support. As the colonists generally did not support Washington, neither did the government give him efficient backing. Congress did not dare to tax the people. Its decisions were made as the result of compromise among the representatives of thirteen jealous states, each thinking in terms of itself. Even the eight generals commissioned to serve under the com-

mandar-in-chief had to be chosen, like the President's Cabinet to-day, to balance sectional rivalries and provincial jealousies rather than on account of their abilities.

There was no efficient War Department. During most of the war the army was in straits for everything which an army needs. There were scarcely any uniforms, often only rags. The "continental" uniform as



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BARON VON STEUBEN DRILLING A SQUAD OF WASHINGTON'S TROOPS AT
VALLEY FORGE, 1778

From the painting by Edwin A. Abbey in the State Capitol at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

shown in portraits and popular pictures was mostly mythical. Shoes, food, ammunition, and supplies for the sick were always in arrears or never arrived at all.

The medical department during the whole Revolution presents mostly a picture of quarrelling doctors and incompetency. Of the four directors-general, one was court-martialled and two were dismissed from the service. What was true of the medical department was true also of most every other. There were times when the troops nearly starved in the rich farming districts. For lack of adequate supplies, wherever the army marched or camped, it almost created famine in the neighborhood.

Moreover, farmers and tradesmen, Patriots as well as Tories, profited shamelessly at the expense of the soldiers. In the terrible winter at Valley Forge, Washington could scarcely get enough food to keep his men from starving, because the farmers preferred to sell it for high prices in gold to the British in Philadelphia. Sometimes for weeks at a time his troops had no powder except what was in their cartridge boxes.

The English generals, too, face many difficult problems. On the other hand, the British also had their difficulties. Although their troops far outnumbered ours, they had, perforce, to be transported 3000 miles across the ocean by uncertain sailing vessels.

Nor was there any one vital spot in America the possession of which would determine the conflict. As Chatham said, it was impossible to make war against a mere map. Nor was the American army an objective. It was not Washington's forces, sometimes numbering only two or three thousand, but the swarms of country people ready to rise for a few days anywhere who were the real enemy.

A majority of our influential families side with England. The British had been badly misinformed about colonial sentiment by many of their governors and other officials. In the eighteenth century everywhere the poorer people were thought of no importance. A large proportion of the rich, with whom the colonial governors came into contact, were on the side of England in the controversy. This was particularly true in Boston, where such a wealthy patriot as John Hancock was an extreme exception. The jockeying for political advantage between the powerful families in New York led some of them to the Patriot side, but the New York "aristocracy" was pretty solidly Tory. In Virginia a larger proportion of rich and distinguished families went over to the American side than in any other colony. But the British were right in believing that everywhere in America, even in Boston, they would be supported by a considerable part of the most important people. The number who joined the British fighting services was very large.

The Patriots greatly disliked to be called "rebels," believing, as the Southerners did in our Civil War, that they were fighting for their legal rights. On the other hand, those Americans who chose the British side believed that they were on the side of law and order, maintaining the established basis of society. Many, even of those who believed that England was wrong, dreaded a possible disastrous overturn of order in America by the lower classes more than temporary inconvenience or suffering from bad British laws.

The Tories are severely persecuted by the Patriots. Although such people were numerous and in many cases powerful, they were not organized. So after the first bloodshed at Lexington, the revolutionary committees throughout the colonies took control. Freedom of speech and of the press was suppressed and those who were thought to be on the Tory side were threatened, persecuted, and disarmed. As the war went on and laws against them were passed in the heat of passion by

the various states, in many cases Tories were imprisoned, tarred and feathered, gathered into concentration camps, and forced to cease carrying on their callings as lawyers, doctors, teachers, or merchants, while their property was confiscated on a heavy scale.

In a number of states any one who acted or spoke against Congress could be imprisoned or fined, the fines sometimes running up to \$20,000. As half of the fines went to the informer, the way was open for vast injustice. Imprisonment was a far heavier punishment than the word suggests, for all prisons were vile in those days.

This aspect of the war, which brought bitterness and suffering to hundreds of thousands of those Americans who left and those who stayed, should not be forgotten. In almost every village, neighbor was divided against neighbor, and often even the members of the same family against each other. In many communities it was the rich, educated, and conservative who remained loyal to the old order. So the radicals were left more and more in control.

Many English people support the cause of the colonists. Opinion in England was also divided. Not only did America's defenders in Parliament stand by her, but the City of London showed its dislike of the war throughout. Many writers produced pamphlets upholding our actions, just as others, like Doctor Johnson, wrote in the pay of the ministerial party against us. The English merchants were naturally opposed to war, as we owed them some £5,000,000 at its outbreak, of which the Virginians alone owed over £2,300,000.

It was said in British newspapers of the day that one-half of the English people had given their voices against their own country. The British landed interests were most strongly against us, and the merchants and common people for us. Of course, as the war continued, the feeling developed among many that, right or wrong, England would have to see it through, a sentiment which grows in any nation in any war, whatever public opinion may have been at its outbreak.

2. The Drift toward Independence

Generals Montgomery and Arnold invade Canada. We were, however, only at the beginning of the war when Washington was trying to organize an army actually in the face of the enemy at Boston. In September, 1775, he spoke of the situation as "inexpressibly distressing." The army was without clothing or supplies, ready to march homeward at the first touch of cold weather, with not a dollar in the pay-

chest. However, an expedition against the British in Quebec met with the commander's approval. Two small forces proceeded to try to make a joint attack, the one, under General Schuyler, advancing up the old route of Lakes George and Champlain, and the other through the Maine forests under command of Benedict Arnold, a capable and at that time wholly patriotic officer.

Owing to Schuyler's illness, General Montgomery, a gallant officer, took his command, and although the difficulties of supplies, organization, and transport were almost insuperable, he captured Montreal with his forces on November 12. Leaving detachments to garrison St. John's and Montreal, and losing a good part of the remainder of his troops who left him for home, he pressed on with only 300 men to join Arnold before Quebec. The joint assault was made in a heavy snow-storm on December 31. Montgomery was killed at the very beginning of the action, and Arnold wounded. The assault failed, and some months later the entire expedition had to be abandoned as a failure.

Washington drives the British from Boston. Washington managed to keep an army together through the winter, and in March he determined to drive the British from Boston. Seizing and fortifying Dorchester Heights, he commanded the British position by cannon dragged from Ticonderoga. At first, the British thought of a counter-attack, but a storm prevented it. Then a complete evacuation was decided upon. It took ten days to make the preparations, but finally on March 17 General Howe, who had succeeded Gage in command, sailed away in the British fleet, with about 11,000 British troops and a thousand Loyalist refugees. Washington took possession of the town, ordered the militia home, left five regiments to garrison the Massachusetts capital, and within three weeks was on his way to New York with the remainder of the army.

The British are defeated in South Carolina. Meanwhile, the British, like the Americans in Canada, had tried a stroke at the extreme end of the colonies, hoping to capture an important town and rally to their side those who sympathized with them. In the beginning of 1776, a joint naval and land expedition was set on foot to capture Charleston, South Carolina, and to combine with the Tories to gain control of the far Southern colonies. The land forces of British and Loyalists were defeated, however, at Moore's Creek, February 27, and the fleet, long delayed, failed in its attack on the little fort defending Charleston. This expedition of the British proved even less successful than the American one to Canada.

The colonists fight at first for their rights as English subjects. While all these acts of plain warfare had been occurring, the relations of the colonies to England were not very clear. Congress declared war and organized an army. It had advised Massachusetts to resume its old form of government and to consider the "Intolerable Acts" as void, and by making loans, issuing paper money, corresponding with foreign governments, fitting out war vessels it had become a revolutionary body.

On the other hand, it denied any thought of independence. Indeed, in July, 1775, the more conservative members secured the passage of another petition to the King, but the monarch declined to receive it. Even as late as January, 1776, North Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York were instructing their delegates to have nothing to do with voting for independence. And men like Anthony Wayne and Washington had been violently protesting against it.

Governor Dunmore inflames the Patriots of the South. In that month came the news that Parliament had passed an act which prohibited nations from trading with the colonies, and made lawful prizes of ships engaged in such trade. Next came news of fighting in Virginia. Norfolk was strongly Tory and was being used by Governor Dunmore as a base to spread British influence. Had he been a little wiser in action, he might have succeeded in establishing a powerful British faction in the colony. But he was forced to take to sea by the more radical Patriots and he made the mistake of bombarding the town and setting fire to it before leaving, thus greatly strengthening the cause of the Patriots.

The Revolution produces much literature. The literature of the Revolution produced in these years was extensive, and the presses were kept busy issuing books, pamphlets and newspaper articles. To a great extent the writings dealt with the constitutional aspects of the problem. In Virginia, George Mason, Richard Bland, Arthur Lee, and Jefferson with his *Summary View* were notable. In Massachusetts, John Adams wrote out his opinions at length. There Daniel Leonard took the Tory standpoint, as did Joseph Galloway in Pennsylvania. Ministers, such as Jonathan Mayhew, Samuel Cooper, Charles Chauncey, George Duffield, and others discoursed from their pulpits; and in poetry the revolutionary fervor and new patriotism found expression in the lyrics of Francis Hopkinson and in the satires of Philip Freneau and John Trumbull.

Thomas Paine's "**Common Sense**" arouses the colonies. Important as the writings of these men were, they all paled before those of Thomas Paine. Paine was a born revolutionist and was later to take part in the French Revolution. He had been dismissed from his small government post in England in 1774, and had come to Philadelphia, where he knew Franklin and other leaders. In January, 1776, his small volume entitled *Common Sense* was issued from the press and sold to the then colossal number of a hundred thousand copies. It was neither learned nor profound, but its terse, vigorous style expressing the emotions that thousands were beginning to feel made it run like a prairie fire from Maine to Georgia.

Its sentences were to be the common-places in America for a century and to be recited by every schoolboy. "Of more worth is one honest soul to society, and in the sight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived." "Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger; and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive; and prepare in time an asylum for mankind."

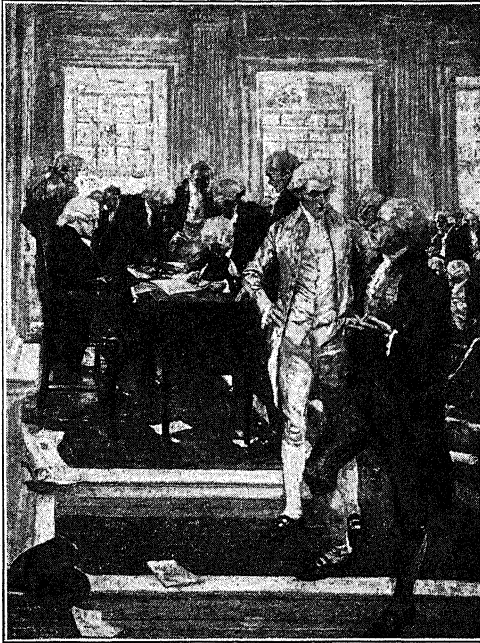
America, he said, must always be secondary to the interest of England if tied to her. It was absurd to think of 3,000,000 people running to meet every ship in order "to know what portion of liberty they should enjoy." It was "madness and folly" to have further trust in Britain. England and America belonged to different systems, "England to Europe, America to herself!" American affairs were too complex, too important to be handled by ignorant men 3000 miles away. "The period of debate is closed. Arms, as the last resource, must decide the contest." "The last cord now is broken."

As compared with the best literature of the controversial period Paine's book was superficial and crude, but it reached the hearts of plain men and stirred them to action. It created a vast wave of feeling in favor of complete independence. It appealed to passion. But the overwhelming passion of the day was for liberty. To this the book was a flaming beacon.

The colonists drift toward independence. Throughout the colonies, the control of events was fast slipping from the hands of the conservatives. In Pennsylvania the assembly had yielded step by step until it was taking its orders from the revolutionary Committee of Safety. In Virginia, although the assembly was in session, the real power had passed to the revolutionary convention, which drew up a

new constitution for the state, including a Declaration of Independence from England. In May, 1776, the convention instructed the state's delegates to Congress to move a resolution declaring the colonies "free and independent states."

The temper of Congress itself was becoming more radical. In the



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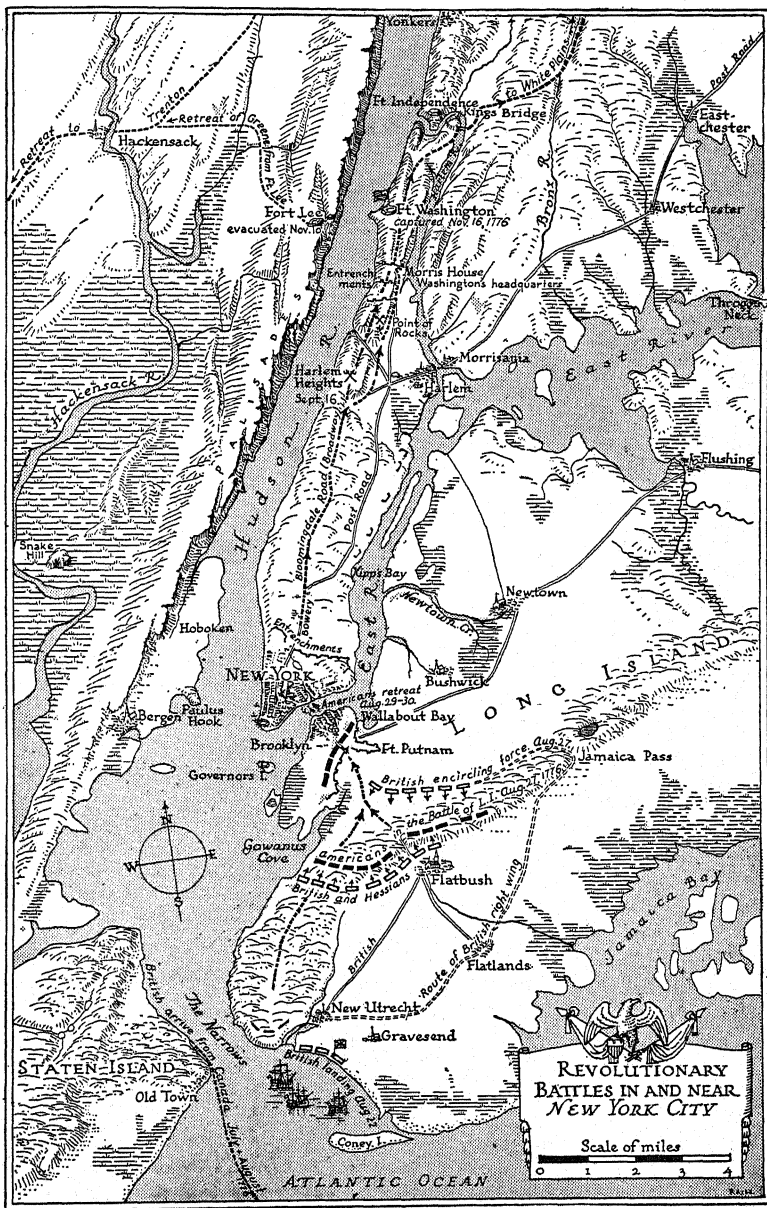
SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

From the painting by Arthur E. Becher.

same month, May, that body recommended to all the colonies that they form new governments for themselves. On June 7, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia introduced resolutions to declare the colonies independent, to negotiate foreign alliances, and to form a Confederation of the new states.

There was still some struggling between the conservative and radical factions. The conservatives were mainly from the Middle Colonies and South Carolina. But the radicals won. So a committee was appointed to frame a Declaration of Independence, although even then some Patriots, such as John Dickinson and Robert Morris, still thought the action premature.

The colonists declare themselves independent of England. This Declaration, written by Thomas Jefferson, with some minor changes made by John Adams and Franklin, was brought up for debate on July 2. The day before, on a test vote, New York and Pennsylvania had been against making the declaration, Delaware was divided, and South Carolina asked for time. On the 2d, however, all voted in favor except New York. On the 4th, the draft made by the committee was accepted with certain changes. Copies were ordered to be sent to all the assemblies and revolutionary conventions and committees. New York agreed on the 9th, and the signatures of the members of Congress were



appended, at various dates, to the engrossed copy which was not prepared until August 2.

The news of the passing of the Declaration of Independence was received throughout America with wild rejoicing. Bells were rung in the churches and bonfires blazed. The Loyalists, and many of the conservatives who took the American side with misgivings, believed the action rash and unjustified. But the die was now cast and such men, even if they remained in America, were to have little influence in the future.

The Declaration remains one of the great milestones in the history of man. The greater part was taken up with a recital of the crimes of George III. Stupid and stubborn as the King was to prove, most of these crimes were in reality merely the workings of the old colonial system which the Americans had outgrown. But the indictment had been made, and the trial was to take place—trial by battle.

Such phrases as "all men are created equal," "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," and governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," were dynamic forces which sent the world on a new course the end of which is not yet in sight.

3. The Course and Outcomes of the Revolutionary War

Washington and Howe both realize the importance of New York City. As we have seen, Washington, appreciating the strategic position of New York, had gone there direct from Boston. He at once strengthened the lower defenses of the city, and later built Forts Lee and Washington on either side of the Hudson about what is now 183rd Street. Howe was also aware of the value of the city, and on June 25 arrived in the harbor with a fleet from Halifax. He was later joined by the troops returning from South Carolina and, August 12, by his brother Admiral Howe with fresh troops from England, including the first detachment of hired Hessians from Germany.

Altogether the British landed about 32,000 troops on Staten Island. "On paper" Washington had about the same number, but in reality only slightly over 20,000 present for duty. A part of them was sent over to Brooklyn to prevent the British from reaching New York by way of Long Island.

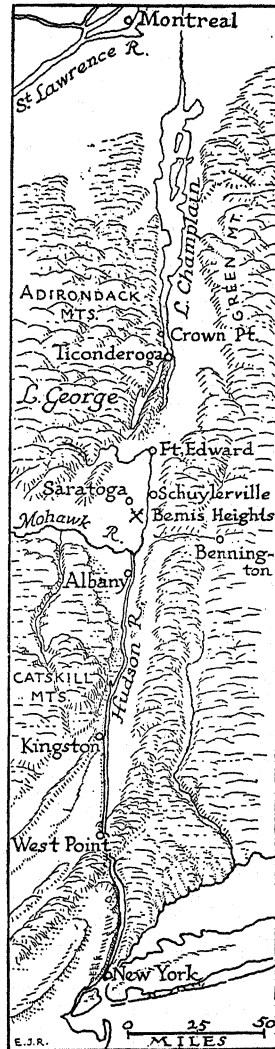
Washington is defeated in the New York campaign. On August 22, Howe ferried 20,000 troops over to Long Island, and camped about eight miles from the American lines, where Washing-

ton had 7000 of his men. General Greene, who was to have been in command, was ill, and the battle of August 27 was fought without a head, ending in disaster for the Americans. Washington retreated at night across the East River. The British followed and drove the Americans out of New York. In the process Washington himself, while trying to rally his men, was almost captured. In the battle of Harlem Heights, on the 16th, his troops gave an excellent account of themselves, and their morale was restored.

Little by little the Americans were forced to give way. In the battle of White Plains, October 22, they met well a direct frontal attack, but again had to retreat. Forts Lee and Washington, with over 2800 prisoners, fell into the hands of the British. Washington took up a temporary position at Newark, but was forced southward by the British, who now believed the war almost over. Many of the New Jersey and Maryland militia marched off to their homes. The American army dwindled to less than 3000 soldiers. The British commander offered pardon to all who would take the oath of allegiance.

Washington defeats the British at Trenton and Princeton. Washington then retreated across the Delaware, urging General Charles Lee to join him as rapidly as possible. Lee moved with extreme slowness. At Basking Ridge he was taken prisoner by the British, whereupon he turned traitor to the American cause. That cause, by this time, seemed almost hopelessly lost. But to Washington's surprise, Howe, instead of pursuing him, went into winter quarters in New York, leaving garrisons in Princeton and some other Jersey towns.

Determined to deliver a brilliant counter-stroke, the American commander, on Christmas night, 1776, ferried his army across the ice-



THE HUDSON VALLEY IN
THE REVOLUTIONARY
WAR

filled Delaware. After a quick march to Trenton Washington there attacked the Hessians, who had been celebrating by drinking too heavily and were mostly sound asleep. On the morning of December 26 they were driven from the town with heavy loss. Although they returned with reinforcements some days later, Washington eluded them by the trick of leaving his campfires burning, and on January 3, made a surprise attack on Princeton. The terms of enlistment of all his men had expired on January 1, but he had induced them to remain for another six weeks by promising a bounty of ten dollars each above their regular pay.

After the battle of Princeton, joined by the remnants of Lee's army, he pushed on to Morristown, where, unmolested by the British, who evacuated all of New Jersey, he settled down for the winter. This unexpected turning of the tables, at the very moment when all seemed lost, was declared by Frederick the Great to be the most brilliant military operation of the century. The shattered morale of the Americans was restored, and Washington's own prestige was enormously and fortunately strengthened.

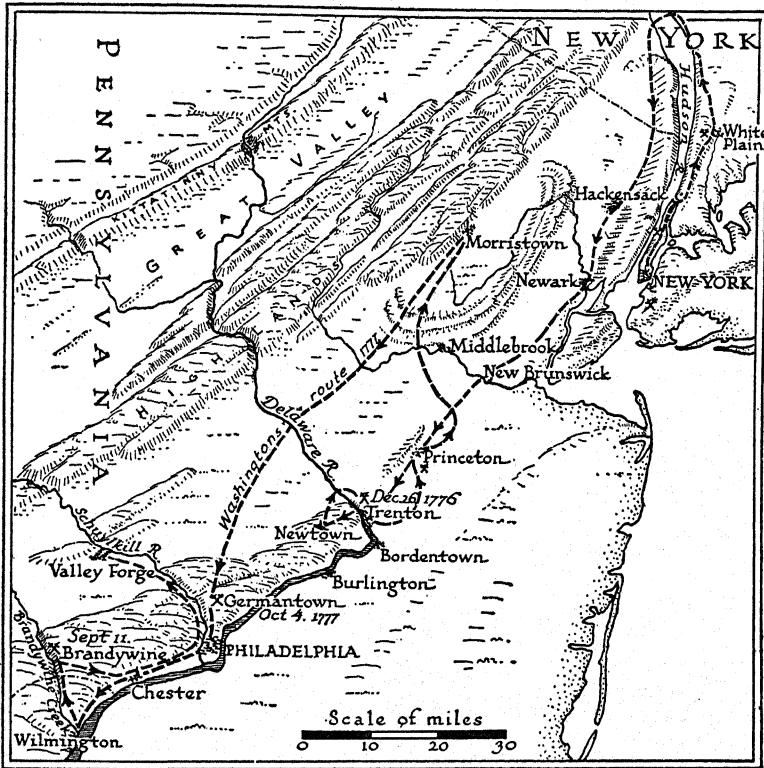
The British plan a joint campaign from Canada and New York. The following year was to prove the most fateful of the war. Though throughout its duration Washington was to be hampered by the interference of Congress, the British also had their difficulties from the fact that military operations were planned by men largely ignorant of American geography and character of the country, and 3000 miles from where such plans were to be carried out.

In war after war the Hudson River-Lake Champlain route to Canada had always figured. The British now planned that General Burgoyne should lead an army southward from Montreal, to be met by Howe advancing northward from New York. Ever since the American attack on Quebec, British troops had been kept in Canada. It was now proposed to use these troops with heavy reinforcements from abroad. The orders to Howe were conflicting, and, as we shall see, he did not attempt to carry out his part of the joint plan.

Howe defeats Washington and captures Philadelphia. As spring came on, Washington, with a much augmented army, was watching to see what Howe would do in New York. There had been skirmishes which signified nothing. On July 5, the British general unexpectedly embarked a large part of his troops on transports. After being held by calms until the 23rd, he disappeared from view over the horizon. There was complete uncertainty as to where he would appear

next. Meanwhile news came that Burgoyne, moving south with 7000 troops, nearly half of whom were hired Brunswickers, had captured Ticonderoga.

When Howe's fleet appeared in Delaware Bay, Washington at once moved to the defense of Philadelphia, but Howe again disappeared. It



ROUTE OF WASHINGTON'S RETREAT FROM NEW YORK THROUGH NEW JERSEY;
BATTLES NEAR PHILADELPHIA

was thought that he had headed south for Charleston. The suspense was not for long, as the British fleet was next discovered in Chesapeake Bay; it had sailed 200 miles up that body of water without having been seen. After landing troops for the capture of Philadelphia, the ships once more cleared out to sea. On September 11, the Americans and British met at the Brandywine, where the former sustained a bad defeat.

After some additional fighting, especially at Germantown on October 4, Washington was obliged to abandon to Howe the capital city and to take up winter quarters at Valley Forge while the British enjoyed themselves in Philadelphia. Had Howe followed up his advantage at the Brandywine with a few energetic blows, he might, instead of settling down comfortably for the cold weather, have ended the war at once. He missed his opportunity, as at the battle of Long Island, with momentous effects on the history of the world. It has been suggested, and unpublished papers appear to confirm to some extent this view, that Howe's opinions as an English Whig and his friendly feelings for the colonies, prevented his being as energetic in his military operations as he otherwise would have been.

Burgoyne moves southward from Canada. Burgoyne had been meeting disaster in the North where his transport service in the wilderness had broken down. He was short of supplies, and the New Yorkers and the New Englanders, roused like angry wolves, were hanging on his flanks. At Fort Edward he decided to send an expedition eastward to Bennington to capture stores which he heard had been collected there, but the Vermonters learned of his intent. General John Stark hastily raised a force of about 2000 farmers, and on August 16 attacked Lieutenant-Colonel Baum and his Germans, capturing or killing all of them, the few British and Indians with them escaping. A second detachment, which had been sent to Baum's aid by Burgoyne, was met and defeated by Colonel Seth Warner with more militia. In all Burgoyne lost about 800 men out of the 6000 he had after he left a garrison at Ticonderoga.

The British commander had been ordered to count on help from Colonel St. Leger who was to advance along the Mohawk Valley. But this expedition had been defeated at Oriskany by the Americans under General Herkimer. Burgoyne had also been told that Howe would meet him by way of the Hudson, but that officer had gone to Philadelphia.

The army of the unfortunate Burgoyne was encumbered with about 300 women and an absurd amount of household stuff. The Americans felled trees and in other ways impeded both his advance and his lines of supply to the rear. By September there were about 20,000 Americans, chiefly short-term local militia, surrounding him, and his position was becoming desperate. His army was like a great clumsy animal caught in a quagmire.

Burgoyne surrenders at Saratoga. The American regulars were commanded by Gates and occupied high land, known as Bemis

Heights, overlooking the Hudson Valley, along which Burgoyne would have to pass. Believing that General Clinton in New York would be sent to help him, Burgoyne tried to push on, but suffered heavy losses in several engagements. His army was on half rations, and, although in spite of the difficulties retreat was clearly the only course left to him, he now made no move.

It is impossible to explain his acts at this period, although it has been said that he temporarily lost his mind. Finally, the retreat was begun, but he was surrounded by the Americans and on October 17, 1777, after some days of negotiations, he surrendered at Saratoga. His troops were to be permitted to march to Boston and be transported to England on condition of not serving again in the war. This disaster to the British had resounding consequences in Europe and for America.

France recognizes the independence of the United States. France had been watching England's war with the colonies with intent interest. Smarting from the defeat of 1763, she had longed for revenge. The situation was well understood in America, and Franklin had been sent to Paris to negotiate a treaty of alliance. But France, which had no interest in building up an American republic, was wary. Although a good many French officers had come to America, the French Government had only the thought of injuring England and of protecting her own West Indies.

When the Americans showed that they were able to divert a large part of England's strength, France made two treaties with us, February 6, 1778, one of alliance and one of commerce. She recognized the independence of the United States of America, and agreed that, if she and England should go to war, she would serve as our ally until our independence had been acknowledged by England also. Neither America nor France was to make a separate peace.

For long we had been receiving secret aid from Europe. Not only had such officers as the French Lafayette and de Kalb, the Pole Pulaski, the German Baron von Steuben, and the Irishman Barry been of great assistance to us, but also we had received supplies from both France and Spain. The treaty of alliance changed the situation. England and France were at war within a few weeks of France's action, and Spain joined in 1779, as the ally of France only. The war was widening fast for England. It was no longer a matter of rebellious colonies but of a struggle for life against the second greatest naval power in the world.

The help from France comes when much needed. It was well for us that France's policy coincided with our needs, for these were

almost hopelessly great when the treaties were signed. In spite of the victory at Saratoga, our most important cities were still in the hands of powerful British forces. Washington at Valley Forge had an almost destitute army, half-naked, unshod, suffering severely, and steadily dwindling. In all, at Newport, New York, and Philadelphia, the British had nearly 34,000 troops; the Americans had only 15,000, also scattered, which Washington hoped to be able to increase to 20,000.

I George Washington. Commander in chief of the Army of the United States of America
do acknowledge the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, to be Free, Independent and Sovereign States, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the Third, King of Great-Britain; and I renounce, refuse and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him; and I do *swear* -- that I will to the utmost of my power, support, maintain and defend the said United States, against the said King George the Third, his heirs and successors and his or their abettors, assistants and adherents, and will serve the said United States in the office of *Chief Magistrate* which I now hold, with fidelity, according to the best of my skill and understanding.

*sworn before me
Camp at Valley Forge
May 12th 1778*

G. Washington

FACSIMILE OF WASHINGTON'S OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

In the War Department, Washington.

Not only were men, supplies, and money lacking, but the old jealousies between individuals and colonies had broken out again. Most serious of all, efforts were being made to displace Washington and to put the incompetent Gates, who owed the victory at Saratoga mainly to Schuyler's preparations and Arnold's bravery, in his place. This intrigue, known as the Conway Cabal from one of its active instigators, General Conway, an Irishman who had come from France, was happily crushed. But the winter of 1777-78 was dark indeed for the American cause. In spite of all, however, when England sent commissioners to negotiate peace on any terms except the acknowledgment of American independence, all offers were spurned.

Clinton evacuates Philadelphia and moves to New York. From the entry of the French, although the war continued in America, England realized that this theater was not the principal one for the events to come. Had General Howe had the energy of Washington, he might easily have crushed the Americans with greatly superior forces almost any time during the winter. Fortunately for us the British general found the life of Philadelphia too agreeable. In May, 1778, he was recalled to England and was succeeded by General Clinton.

Clinton had orders to send 8000 of his men to the new seat of war in the West Indies, and to move the remainder to New York. Marching from Philadelphia overland across New Jersey, with a baggage train twelve miles long, his slow progress offered a chance to Washington to attack him at Monmouth. Charles Lee, whose treachery had not been known and who had been exchanged by the British, was given the post of senior major-general in the fight. Whether traitorously or not, he acted so suspiciously as to rouse Washington to anger and to permit Clinton to escape. Lee was later dismissed from the army.

Philadelphia was once more in our possession and there was to be no more fighting of consequence in the North. A minor affair, an attempted joint movement of the American troops and the French fleet under d'Estaing, against the British in Newport, failed. However, Newport was evacuated in 1779 by the British, the troops being taken south for the operations in Carolina, and more of the English troops in New York were moved to the West Indies.

The Revolutionary War widens into a struggle between European powers. Washington, however, did not feel strong enough to attack the British in New York. Each winter his army fell to only about 3000 men. For the most part our war, which had now developed into a tremendous struggle of England against France, Spain, and Holland, had been transferred to other parts of the world, mainly the high seas. We had not achieved independence, and were waiting for the result of the conflict of greater forces than ours, far from our shores. The fact was that the Americans were heartily sick of the struggle. The New England colonies were nearly bankrupt. Our continental paper money was nearly worthless. The economic suffering had been great.

Benedict Arnold turns traitor. All fighting in this country was not yet over. In the North there is little to record except the indecisive capture of Stony Point by the Americans, and the unhappy treason of Arnold. That officer had been one of the finest in our army.

Wounded at Quebec, the conqueror of St. Leger, the real hero of the capture of Burgoyne, active and able in the American cause, he had been most ungenerously treated by both Gates and Congress. He also had a beautiful but extravagant wife to whom he was devoted.

Finally, after four years, he decided to change sides and betray his country. For £10,000 he offered to deliver West Point to the British, asking another £10,000 if he was successful and a commission as ma-



Courtesy of the Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University

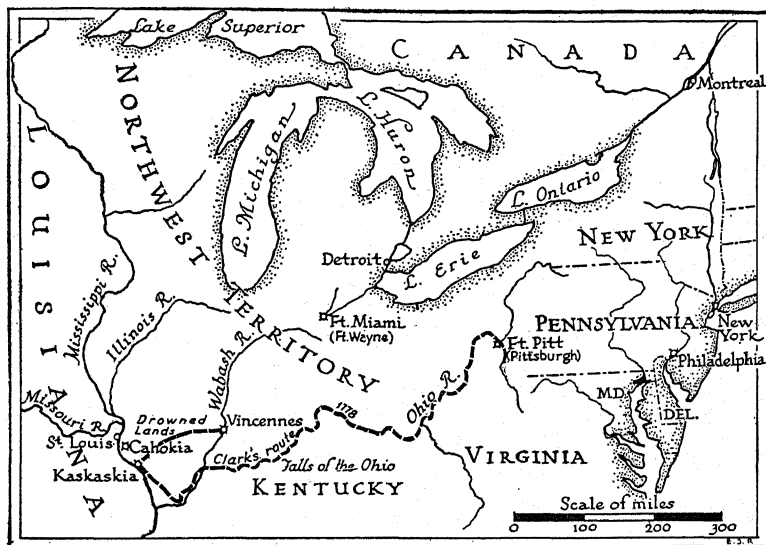
MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ FROM A SKETCH MADE BY HIMSELF BEFORE
HIS EXECUTION

jor-general in the British army. No definite terms appear to have been agreed to by the enemy, but negotiations were entered into.

The discovery of the plot was one of the dramatic incidents of the war. It will always be recalled because of the tragic fate of the young English officer who was used as go-between by Arnold and Clinton. Major André was one of the most attractive of the younger men in the British service, a man of the highest honor and popular with all who knew him. After the negotiations had been proceeding for some time, André was sent up the Hudson in a small vessel to meet Arnold and to arrange certain details.

Clinton had ordered him not to wear a disguise nor to penetrate the American lines, but a change in Arnold's arrangements led to André's going ashore. The vessel which had brought him was shot at and

forced to drop down stream, André being thus obliged to try to return by land. With a pass signed by Arnold, he managed to deceive an American sentry. The following morning he was held up by volunteers who had taken positions near Tarrytown to prevent farmers from driving cattle toward New York for sale to the British. Their suspicions having been aroused, they forced André to undress and discovered incriminating documents in his stockings.



CLARK'S ROUTE TO VINCENNES IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY

The fate of the young Englishman was sealed, and on October 2, 1780, he was hanged as a spy at Tappan. Although his doom provoked much sympathy even among his enemies, there was no question of his guilt, and he himself met his end with great fortitude, regretting only that he could not be shot instead of being hanged like a criminal. Arnold escaped to the British and lived long and unhappily, despised by British and Americans alike. Apparently he was paid between £6000 and £7000 for his unsuccessful treachery.

George Rogers Clark captures the Western territory. There had been more or less fighting along the Western frontier from the beginning of the war, the British from Detroit and other interior posts stirring up the Indians against us. In 1778 Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clark moved westward from Virginia. With less than 200

men under him, in a brilliant campaign, he captured Cahokia and Vincennes. The territory north of the Ohio thus passed into American hands with the exception of Detroit, and the western, like the northern, phase of the war was over. The final scenes were to be enacted in the South.

The British overrun the South. The British had always believed the Loyalist element to be particularly strong in the South, and at the end of 1778 captured Savannah and overran Georgia, re-establishing the royal government. They next attacked South Carolina, the plan being to advance northward, conquering one colony after another. When this became evident, Washington despatched General Benjamin Lincoln to the new center of operations. That officer was able to seize Charleston but failed in a joint attack with d'Estaing's fleet on Savannah. D'Estaing then hurried away for fear of the hurricane season.

With the French fleet disposed of, Clinton sailed south with 7000 troops and recaptured Charleston. Lincoln, instead of retreating, had allowed himself to be shut up in that town. The surrender of that general with his entire force of 5000 was a serious blow, and left the South defenseless. Guerrilla leaders, such as Thomas Sumter, Francis Marion, and others, dealt swift and unexpected strokes against British forces but could make no great impression. Clinton, believing South Carolina captured, returned to New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis and 5000 men to hold it.

Cornwallis defeats Gates at Camden. Washington wished to send a new army to the scene under General Greene, but was overruled by Congress, which sent Gates instead. By August 14, 1780, Gates had reached a point about thirteen miles from Camden where Cornwallis lay with some 4000 men, of whom 800 were ill. Gates, almost incredibly, believed he himself had 7000, although he had in reality only a little over 3000 present and fit. On the night of the 15th, both he and Cornwallis had each determined to make a surprise attack on the other. At two o'clock on the morning of the 16th, the armies came into contact, both getting the surprise.

The result was a complete disaster for the Americans. Gates's force, half of which was made of raw militia, had been weakened by bad food the day before. They fled when attacked, throwing away their arms and fleeing in complete rout. Kalb was killed and Gates himself did not stop his personal retreat until he had got 180 miles away.

Greene drives the British from the Carolinas. Washington had his way, and Gates, who was now a laughing-stock, was replaced by

Greene, one of the ablest generals produced by the war. Before Greene reached the South, the British were checked at King's Mountain.

Greene had only 2300 men when he reached that state and waited for reinforcements before entering upon a campaign against Cornwallis. In a minor action, however, a small part of his force under Daniel Morgan won a brilliant victory over the British Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton at Cowpens, January 17, 1781. After Morgan rejoined Greene the combined forces amounted to about 5000 men, of whom less than 500 had ever been in action. Cornwallis had only 2250, but all were veterans. The American militia, although excellent for certain sorts of fighting, had nearly always proved weak in regular battle. So Cornwallis, who had followed Greene across North Carolina, did not hesitate to attack the larger force at Guilford Court House on March 15.

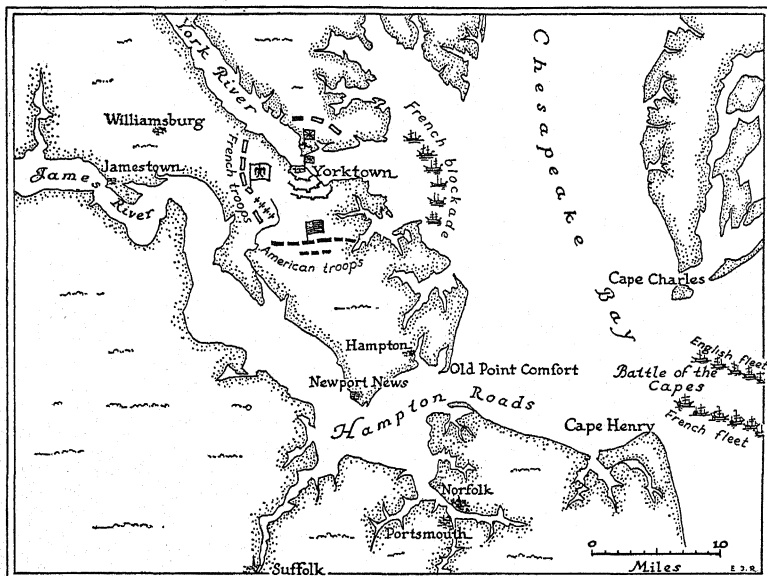
Although Cornwallis claimed the victory, his losses, nearly a third of his entire force, were so great that he retreated to Wilmington, where he might get in touch with a British fleet. Greene, in a masterly campaign, now operated against minor British bodies and cleared the Carolinas almost to the coast.

Cornwallis fortifies himself at Yorktown. Meanwhile Cornwallis had marched northward to join Arnold with his 5000 troops in Virginia. Although the British pursued the American forces under Lafayette, and even made their way as far as Charlottesville, nothing was gained, Jefferson and leaders in the legislature, which had been sitting there, having been warned of the raid by John Jouett, whose famous ride of seventy miles for the purpose was even more important than the famous one of Paul Revere.

The end of the fighting in America was now approaching. Cornwallis had 7000 men, of whom over 5000 had been sent from New York. They were cooped up behind his fortifications at Yorktown. Lafayette was watching him with 3500 men. Washington was waiting to strike at New York with an army of 7000, of whom 5000 were French and only 2000 Americans. This French force had landed in Rhode Island the year before under Count Rochambeau and had now marched overland to join Washington. Suddenly word came that the French Admiral de Grasse would be at the mouth of the Chesapeake about September 1, with a fleet and 3000 more French troops. Washington at once decided to make Cornwallis's army his objective, and marched rapidly southward across New Jersey.

Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown. Cornwallis was lost unless the sea could be kept clear between him and Clinton at New York.

A fleet under Admiral Graves had been sent to the Chesapeake for that purpose, but de Grasse proved more energetic than d'Estaing, and having reached the Chesapeake first sailed out to give battle when Graves appeared. The English were badly defeated and had to run for New York, leaving Cornwallis helpless on his peninsula. Steadily the siege



THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN

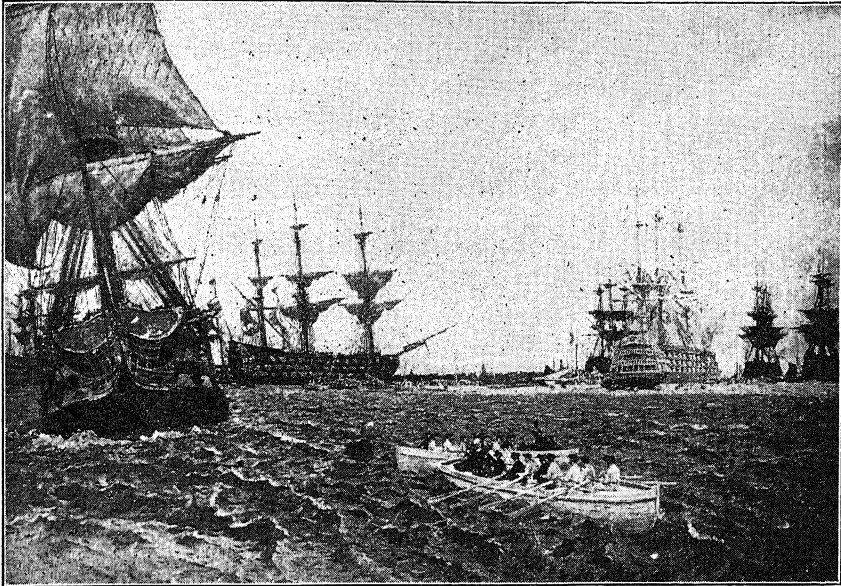
went on, the French and Americans almost equally divided in numbers, pressing their works closer day by day.

Finally, on October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered his entire force, although a week before he had had word that Clinton was preparing to relieve him with Graves's fleet and 7000 more men. His case, though extremely serious, did not appear to be absolutely desperate, and it has remained a question whether he was justified in his sudden decision. In England, when Lord North was given the news, he threw up his arms and exclaimed, "It is all over."

Throughout the war Washington had been most anxious to recapture New York. When, as a result of his masterly combination with the French fleet, he had disposed of Cornwallis and his 7000 men, he urged de Grasse to combine with him for an attack on New York. The ad-

miral declined, wishing to return the French troops he had borrowed from Haiti as quickly as possible. Clinton thus remained unmolested for two more years, while Washington was forced to remain inactive, but on guard.

John Paul Jones humbles the pride of England. It had been



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THE EVACUATION OF CHARLESTON BY THE BRITISH, DECEMBER, 1782

From the painting by Howard Pyle.

clear for some time that the great struggle between England and her foes would turn on sea power. The Americans had had a small navy and about 2000 privateers at sea. These inflicted much damage to commerce, and in such fights as those between the *Bon Homme Richard* under Captain John Paul Jones and the English frigate *Serapis* brought glory to American sailors. Jones was one of the most picturesque figures which emerged from the Revolution. Although he was a properly commissioned officer of the American navy, the English persisted in regarding him as a mere privateersman. Like John Paul Jones, John Barry, another famous American sea-captain, helped us to humble the pride of England.

England continues the struggle against France and Spain. Although the fighting in America was over, it continued elsewhere and by



FRANKLIN AND RICHARD OSWALD, THE BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE, DISCUSSING THE TREATY OF PEACE AT PARIS, 1783

the end of 1781 England had lost all her West India possessions except Antigua, Barbados, and Jamaica. The next year the Spaniards captured Minorca and were besieging Gibraltar. Ireland was in rebellion, and in India Sir Eyre Coote was struggling, successfully, against the sultan of Mysore. The British fleet was much outnumbered by its combined opponents but in April, 1782, Rodney inflicted a severe defeat upon de Grasse.

England opens peace negotiations with America. A powerful body of opinion in England had long been opposed to continuing the war. It was realized that America was lost to the Empire, and nothing was to be

gained by keeping up an aimless struggle against France, Spain, and Holland.

The ministry of North resigned in March, 1782, and under the new one, which included the Marquis of Rockingham, Fox, and Lord Shelburne, negotiations for peace were opened with our representatives in Paris—Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay.

Franklin had been representing American interests in France since 1776. He had already spent sixteen years in England before the war,

and without losing a whit of his racy Americanism, he knew Europe as did no other American of his day. He was shrewd, humorous, a genuine child of the eighteenth-century philosophy, serene, realistic, infinitely curious, accepting life as it came in experience, one of the notable scientific investigators of his day, tolerant and mellow, unaffected, full of common sense. He knew how to make the best of every situation, always Benjamin Franklin, whether carrying a loaf of bread under his arm in the streets of Philadelphia, talking with kings, or being adored by French society. He became the rage in Paris and did much to make the French idealize the life and character of his own new nation.

Our peace negotiators mistrust the French Government. Both Adams and Jay we shall meet again, and it is unnecessary to follow the negotiations of the three commissioners. The Treaty of Alliance with France had provided that neither nation should make a separate peace. But the Americans did not trust the French minister Vergennes, who, having used the American war for his own purposes, had no wish to see the United States as an independent republic in possession of vast western territory. In addition he was sympathetic toward the desires of Spain to strengthen herself in the New World. And he had some thought of a possible future French empire in the Mississippi Valley.

Without the French we could not have won our independence, as Washington and other leaders admitted on various occasions. The men, money, and supplies that they sent direct to America and the weight of their power and Spain's were all necessary to us. A few distinguished individuals, like Lafayette, were genuinely on our side, as was a part of the French people.

The French are, and always have been, an extremely realistic race, and there was nothing sentimental on their side about the Treaty of Alliance. Our revolt gave them the long-desired opportunity to wipe off scores with England and they seized it. It was largely with self-interest in view that the Bourbon government of France before its revolution made its treaty with us.

America gains its independence. Our negotiators kept strictly to the terms of the treaty with France by providing that the peace treaty with England should not become effective until peace had also been made by England with France. In the preliminary treaty with England our complete independence was acknowledged.

It was provided that our boundary line should run approximately up the St. Croix River, thence along the forty-fifth parallel to the St.

Lawrence, passing from there along the middle of streams and lakes to the Lake of Woods, down the Mississippi to the thirty-first parallel, along that to the Chattahoochee River, down that river to its confluence with the Flint, and so east to the Atlantic Ocean again.

Florida, the whole Gulf coast, and all west of the Mississippi were not under our control, but the Americans were given right of free navigation along the river. Thanks to John Adams's determination we secured our accustomed right to fish on the Newfoundland and Canadian coasts.

Further we agreed that no impediment would be placed in the way of the just collection of debts owed by Americans to English, and that Congress should recommend to the several states repeal of the laws against Loyalists. These agreements were reached by the end of November, 1782, but it was not until nearly a year later, September 3, 1783, that a general peace was signed by all parties to the war.

Washington soothes the dissatisfaction among his officers. Meanwhile, the American army had been disbanded some months earlier but not without threat of a serious *coup d'état*. As we shall see in the next topic, the finances of the Confederation were in utter confusion. The army had long been unpaid, and both men and officers feared that if they went to their homes they would never receive their pay. There had also been much talk about a new government for the independent states and the advantages of a monarchy.

In March, 1783, a paper was circulated among the officers at Newburgh suggesting that they meet to consult as to the future and that they, unpaid, should not be the chief sufferers by the war. Hearing of this dangerous move, Washington issued an order against secret meetings and called a public meeting for the 15th. Gates, one of the plotters, was asked to preside as senior officer and had taken the chair when to this officer's surprise Washington himself appeared.

The commander-in-chief advanced to the platform and began reading from a prepared address. After a few words, he paused, drew his spectacles from his pocket, and said that after growing gray in his country's service he now found himself growing blind. Continuing, he explained the difficulties of Congress, urged that on their honor the officers would express their detestation of any one who would destroy their country's liberty, promised that he would do his best to see justice done to them, and left the room.

Immediately the officers passed resolutions of loyalty and denounced the secret circular. Congress voted full pay for five years, and with

great difficulty gathered together enough for actual pay for three months. Soon after the proclamation of April 19, 1783, declaring the war at an end, the army was peaceably disbanded.

Washington returns to his home at Mount Vernon. It would have been easy, with a devoted army at his back, for Washington to have made himself dictator or even, possibly, as many wished, a king. Instead he kept a mere remnant of his troops until New York was at last evacuated by the British in November. On the 25th of that month he took his last leave of his officers and travelled to Annapolis to surrender his commission. Throughout the war he had declined all pay for his services. He returned to his beloved Mount Vernon with only the blessing of his country, and the hope expressed by the president of Congress that God might give him that "reward which this world cannot give."

England pays great tribute to Washington. A century later one of the greatest historians of that English nation which Washington had fought was to write of him that "it was only as the weary fight went on that the colonists learned little by little the greatness of their leader, his clear judgment, his heroic endurance, his silence under difficulties, his calmness in the hour of danger or defeat, the patience with which he waited, the quickness and hardness with which he struck, the lofty and serene sense of duty that never swerved from its task through resentment or jealousy, that never through war or peace felt the touch of a meaner ambition, that knew no aim save that of guarding the freedom of his fellow countrymen, and no personal longing save that of returning to his own fireside when their freedom was secured. It was almost unconsciously that men learned to cling to Washington with a trust and faith such as few other men have won, and to regard him with a reverence which still hushes us in presence of his memory."

To-day, his statue stands in the heart of London, the very center of the British Empire, a gift graciously accepted by the British people from their oldest colony, Virginia.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Bancroft, *History of the United States*; Beard and Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, I, ch. 5; Becker, *The Declaration of Independence*; Channing, *History of the United States*, III, chs. 1-7; Fisher, *The Struggle for American Independence*, I; Fiske, *American Revolution*, I; Lecky, *The American Revolution*; Oberholtzer, *Life of Robert Morris*; Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*, I; Tyler,

Literary History of the American Revolution; Wilson, *Life of Washington*; Wrong, *Washington and His Comrades in Arms*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *American History Leaflets*, nos. 5, 11, 14, 16, 20, 21, 23; Harding, *Select Orations*, nos. 1, 2; Johnston, *American Orations*, I, 24-38; Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America*; *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 43, 47, 68, 156, 173; Pease and Roberts, *Selected Readings in American History*, 75-96, 110-162; West, *Source Book in American History*, chs. 21-23.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Atherton, *The Conqueror*; Barnes, *For King or Country*; Coffin, *Daughters of the Revolution*; Cooke, *Colonel Fairfax*; Cooper, *The Spy*; Eggleston, *American War Ballads*, I, 23-38; Moore, *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution*, 65-120; Root, *Nathan Hale*; Sargent, *Loyalist Poetry of the Revolution*; Scollard, *Ballads of American Bravery*, 3-36; Seawell, *Paul Jones*; Sellers, *Benedict Arnold*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 131-132, 136-137, 144-146.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why were so many of the colonists opposed to independence? 2. How do you explain the poor support given to Washington by the colonists and by Congress? 3. What serious problems confronted the English generals? 4. Why were the Tories persecuted so bitterly by the Patriots? 5. What elements in England supported the cause of the colonies? 6. Why at first were the colonists fighting for their rights as English subjects? 7. What was the significance of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*? 8. What were the causes of the drift toward independence? 9. What is the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence? 10. Tell of Washington's defeat in the New York campaign. 11. Why were Washington's victories at Trenton and Princeton significant? 12. Why is the battle of Saratoga called one of the decisive battles of the world? 13. Why did France recognize our independence after the battle of Saratoga? 14. Show how the Revolutionary War widened into a titanic struggle between European powers. 15. Tell of the activities of George Rogers Clark. 16. Why was the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown the crowning victory of the war? 17. Tell of the activities of John Paul Jones. 18. Why did our peace negotiators mistrust the French Government? 19. State the principal provisions of the treaty of peace of 1783. 20. What great tribute have the English paid to Washington?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

I. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Attitude of the colonists and Congress toward Washington, persecution of the Tories by the Patriots, Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, the Declaration of Independence, Washington's New York campaigns, Washington's retreat across the Delaware, battle of

Saratoga, France's recognition of the independence of the United States, Arnold's treason, Greene's campaigns in the South, Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, the treaty of peace.

2. PROJECT: In the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson makes a long list of indictments against the King of England, accusing him of repeated injuries and usurpations. Read them carefully and tabulate them briefly. How many of them can you sustain by concrete illustration from your readings?

3. PROBLEM: How did the American Revolutionary War turn into a world war?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the colonists were not justified in issuing the Declaration of Independence.

5. ESSAY SUBJECT: Why France recognized the independence of the United States.

6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you were a wealthy Tory living in South Carolina. Write a letter to a relative in England setting forth your treatment by the Patriots.

7. DIARY: You were a member of Washington's army at Valley Forge. You kept a record of the daily happenings in camp. Read to the class your diary for a week.

8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Schuyler, Montgomery, Dunmore, Galloway, Thomas Paine, Richard Henry Lee, Charles Lee, Burgoyne, John Stark, Kalb, Lafayette, Pulaski, Baron von Steuben, Benedict Arnold, André, George Rogers Clark, Gates, Greene, De Grasse, John Paul Jones, Barry, Vergennes.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: July 4, 1776; October 17, 1777; October 19, 1781; September 3, 1783.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: "Militant revolutionists," lawful prizes of war, "all men are created equal," "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," "strategic position," hired Hessians, treaty of alliance, guerrilla leaders, racy Americanism, free navigation, *coup d'état*.

11. MAP WORK: *a.* On an outline map trace the military campaigns of Washington, Greene, Burgoyne, and Cornwallis. *b.* In a map talk, point out the following places and state the historical significance of each: Montreal, Quebec, Dorchester Heights, Charleston, Norfolk, Halifax, Staten Island, Long Island, Trenton, Princeton, Valley Forge, Bennington, Saratoga, Monmouth, West Point, Vincennes, Savannah, Camden, King's Mountain, Cowpens, Yorktown. *c.* On a sketch outline map trace the boundaries of the United States as agreed upon by the treaty of 1783.

12. GRAPH WORK: Make a time chart covering the period from 1776 to 1783. Let your chart have two parallel columns, the one column showing

the chief military events and the other the chief non-military events of the Revolutionary War.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: Fiske, *American Revolution*; Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*; Lecky, *England*, ch. 14; Higginson and MacDonald, *United States*, ch. 11; Winsor, *America*, VI, 262-269.
2. THE WAR IN THE MIDDLE STATES AND IN THE WEST: Lecky, *England*, ch. 14; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, I, ch. 11; Thwaites, *How Clark Won the Northwest*; Winsor, *America*, VI, 275-314; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, chs. 6-8.
3. THE WAR IN THE SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT: Greene, *Nathaniel Greene*, III, ch. 2; Lecky, *England*, ch. 14; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, chs. 16-17; Washington, *Writings*; Winsor, *America*, VI, 469-507.
4. THE FRENCH ALLIANCE: Hale, *Franklin in France*; Lafayette, *Memoirs*; Lyman, *Diplomacy of the United States*; Parton, *Life of Franklin*; Winsor, *America*, VII, 24-72.
5. THE TREATY OF PEACE: Higginson and MacDonald, *United States*, ch. 12; Lecky, *England*, ch. 15; McLaughlin, *Confederation and Constitution*, chs. 1-3; Moore, *American Diplomacy*; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, ch. 17.

TOPIC V

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To set forth the weakness of our government under the Confederation.
2. To show that our Federal Constitution was made possible only by a series of compromises.
3. To understand the nature of the Constitution and the bitter struggle over its adoption.

1. *The Colonies under the Confederation*

The Revolutionary War is fought under the Continental Congress. America had fought through most of the Revolutionary War with scarcely anything that could be called a central government. Although in 1776 a Confederation had been urged, it was not until May, 1779, that the states could agree upon its terms. Owing to the western land problem, Maryland did not join until 1781. It was not until March 1 of that year, scarcely more than six months before Yorktown, that Congress had authority as the representative body of the Confederate States.

The general government has little power under the Articles of Confederation. The form of government then inaugurated was both clumsy and weak. There was no executive, the president of Congress being merely the presiding officer elected by that body. The Congress itself had no power of taxation, of regulating commerce, or of enforcing its measures on the several states. The acts it was allowed to perform, such as declaring peace and war, making treaties, sending and receiving ambassadors, determining boundary disputes, regulating Indian affairs and coinage, had to be agreed to by the representatives of nine states, each of the thirteen having a single vote. No amendments could be made to the Articles of Confederation except by the unanimous consent of all the states.

The general government has no power to coerce the states. When it came to carrying into effect terms of a treaty which might be unacceptable to any state or its citizens, such a government was evidently helpless. In the treaty with England there were two unpopular

clauses, one relating to the Loyalists and one relating to the payment of private debts to English merchants.

Congress did recommend to the states that they should restore confiscated Loyalist property and refrain from any further confiscations. But as there were no means of coercion, the states to a considerable extent failed to take action. The Loyalists were heartily hated, and although much of their property had been seized, practically none was restored. This gave the British Government the ground to claim that the treaty was being violated.

A more legitimate grievance of England was the disregard of the clear promise in the treaty that no impediment would be placed in the way of the collection by English creditors of just private debts. This clause was certainly violated by some of our states. Nearly twenty years later, we admitted that we had been in the wrong. So the United States Government paid £600,000 to England as a compromise sum to settle the debts.

However, in the years immediately following the peace in 1783, it was clear to foreign governments, and to our own ambassadors abroad such as John Adams in London, that the so-called government of the United States under the Confederation was merely a rope of sand. It attempted to bind together thirteen semi-independent small nations which did pretty much as they pleased.

The weakness of our government causes England to refuse to surrender to us the posts in the Northwest. Although the Confederation was to be brilliantly successful in inaugurating a national land policy, it failed, as the old colonies had, in an Indian policy. It proved itself powerless to prevent conflict between the lawless settlement of immigrants and the legitimate rights of the Indians to their hunting grounds. By the treaty we had come into possession of that immense territory north of the Ohio River which came to be known as the "Old Northwest." In it, at the end of the war, there were practically no white inhabitants except Canadian fur-traders, and a few French farmers about Detroit and the other military posts. In these posts there had been since 1763 English garrisons for maintaining peace with the Indians.

These posts were on the American side of the new boundary line. The valuable fur trade was the only apparent asset in North America which England had saved from the war. The Canadians, chagrined to find where the boundary had been placed by the British negotiators in Paris, urged the government not to give up the posts, at least until!

they could get their merchandise out. Not to hold them, they pointed out, would be the ruin of Canada.

The British Government, therefore, made no haste to recall their troops from American soil. Soon the weakness of the Confederation, and our failure to live up to the clauses in the treaty about Loyalists and debts, gave the British an excuse for declining to carry out the clause about the evacuation of the posts until we had observed our part of the agreement.

Moreover, it began to look as though the United States might break up, and if it did, it was evidently to British interest to have grappling hooks out on the great Northwest. Events in the East made even Washington fear that anarchy was coming. We need merely note that Vermont, which did not join the Union until 1791, was still intriguing as an independent power with the British. In the West, the British chance of detaching the new settlements from the Confederation was even brighter.

The need of a strong central government is realized. One of the most serious troubles under the Confederation was the currency question. Paper money issued by Congress during the war fell in value to almost nothing, for Congress could not raise money by taxation. Silver money left the country to pay for foreign goods, and we had then no gold or silver mines. The only money that creditors would take for debts was hard to get. People could not pay debts and state taxes. In western Massachusetts there was an open rebellion, led by Daniel Shays, which was subdued with difficulty by state militia.

Watching events in Massachusetts, multitudes besides Washington had been alarmed for the foundations of society. Economic conditions were bad everywhere, and the grievances of the poor were not limited to the Bay State. The "rebels" had shown how easily the old revolutionary machinery of committees and conventions could be started again, not against England, but against the newly established and unstable state governments.

It was realized as never before that the central government of the Confederation was powerless. Our weakness in dealing with trade, commerce, and foreign nations had long been evident, but now since we had seen alarming social revolution at home, the tide turned toward the possibility of a better union and a stronger government. There was even some talk of a monarchy.

Jealousy among the states causes much trouble. There had already been many suggestions of the possibilities of strengthening

the Confederation, but nothing had been attempted. Any action toward that end had hitherto been outside the range of practical politics. Jealousies had been particularly shown in the tariffs which the various states placed on the importation of foreign goods and even on goods imported from one state into another. They were also shown in questions arising between colonies as to navigation in waters, like New York harbor and Chesapeake Bay, on which two or more states might border.

The Annapolis Convention leads to the Convention of 1787. A dispute of the latter sort between Maryland and Virginia had been of long standing. In 1786, Virginia, extending the range of the negotiations, suggested to all the states that they send delegates to a convention to be held at Annapolis to consider trade relations with each other and foreign nations. The meeting in September was attended by delegates from only five states. There was little interest in it, but the opportunity was seized by the more far-sighted among them, such as Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison, who were anxious for a stronger government.

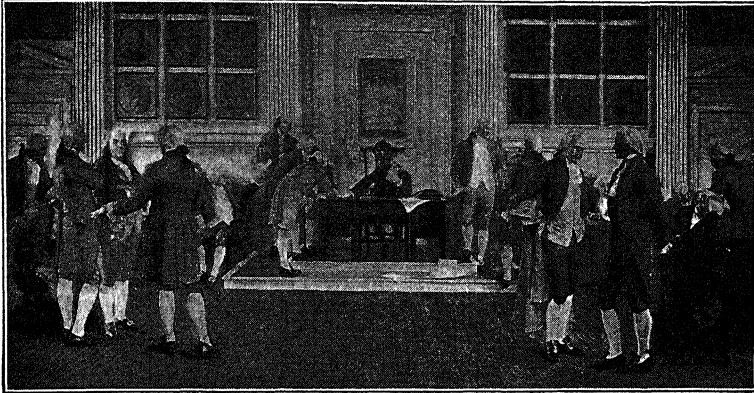
Hamilton took the lead. He secured the passage of a resolution to hold a convention, to be authorized by Congress and approved by the states, for the purpose of improving the form of government. Virginia endorsed the plan and chose delegates to the proposed convention. Other states followed her lead. Then Congress took up the matter and forwarded an invitation to all the states to send delegates to the convention at Philadelphia in May, 1787.

2. The Constitutional Convention

Most of the members of the Constitutional Convention are conservative. When the convention assembled in Independence Hall, all the states were represented except Rhode Island, which had opposed the suggestion, and Vermont, which had not yet joined the Union. The fifty-five delegates formed as notable a gathering as had the First Continental Congress, but there were many changes. The more extreme radicals of the early days of the Revolution were absent. Neither Samuel Adams nor Christopher Gadsden had been chosen by their states. Patrick Henry had been included in Virginia's delegation, but had declined to serve. John Adams was in England as our first minister to that country, and Jefferson was in France. The work of the First Congress had been essentially destructive, that of the convention was to be constructive. The temper of the members was

conservative. Their duty was not to sever old political ties, but to find some instrument of government to preserve new ones.

Many able men frame our Constitution. The ablest delegation was from Virginia, consisting of Washington, James Madison, John Blair, George Wythe, George Mason, and Governor Edmund Randolph. Rufus King, then only thirty-two years old, although the youngest of the Massachusetts delegation, was its most important member. Connecticut sent excellent men in Roger Sherman, William S. John-



SIGNING OF THE CONSTITUTION

From the painting by Albert Herter in State Capitol, Madison, Wisconsin.

son (then recently elected president of Columbia College in New York), and Oliver Ellsworth. New York's leading delegate was Alexander Hamilton, just thirty but already possessing a national reputation. Among the seven from Pennsylvania were James Wilson, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, and the aged Benjamin Franklin. The other more important Northerners were John Dickinson from Delaware, William Paterson of New Jersey, and Luther Martin from Maryland. South Carolina's delegation included two able representatives, John Rutledge and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. In running over the list of the total membership, one is struck with the evident calming down of the old passions of the war. It is also interesting to note that of the fifty-five men nine, or one-sixth of the total, were foreign-born.

Washington urges the delegates to rise to the plane of statesmanship. When the convention organized, Washington was made chairman. Although he took no part in the debates, his influence

throughout was great. The convention from the very outset was notable. It met in the same room in which the Continental Congress, in 1776, had voted the Declaration of Independence.

The first meeting was informal, noticeable among the members being Madison, shy, small, and slender; Hamilton, also short but handsome, young, and distinguished in appearance; old Benjamin Franklin, with the benign face of the philosopher; Washington, tall and dignified, receiving the natural deference of all the other members; the Scotch-born Wilson; and Rutledge and the two Pinckneys from South Carolina.

There was some preliminary discussion of what sort of constitution would be acceptable to the people. Many voiced the fear that only half measures would win popular approval in view of the jealousies of the states and of the many opposing opinions on almost all points.

With unusual seriousness, Washington broke incisively into the discussion. Few speeches so brief have carried so much weight. "It is too probable," he said, "that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God." Although subsequent compromises had to be made, the temper of the meeting at once rose from the plane of politics to that of statesmanship.

The small states fear the power of the large states. The greatest difficulty which had to be overcome was the old jealousy of the states and their pretensions to complete sovereignty individually. How to reconcile the sovereignty of the several states with the creation of a general government which should have genuine power would have seemed an almost impossible problem even had the states been all of the same size and power. But they differed greatly, and the small states feared placing themselves under control of the larger states. The combined populations of Rhode Island, Delaware, New Jersey, and New Hampshire, for example, were only 453,000, which was but slightly larger than that of Pennsylvania alone, less than Massachusetts, and only somewhat more than half that of Virginia with its 747,000.

The Virginia plan provides for a strong central government. On May 29 Virginia submitted what came to be known as the Virginia plan. In introducing it, Governor Randolph frankly said that it was intended to create not a "federal government" but a "strong consolidated union." It separated the executive, legislative, and judicial



NORTH AMERICA IN 1783

branches, and provided for a Congress of two Houses. The members of the lower House were to be elected by the people of the several states, and those of the upper House by nomination of the state legislatures, both in proportion to population or state tax quotas.

The New Jersey plan provides for a federal government. The Virginia plan thus gave control to the larger states. Around this point debate raged for a fortnight when Paterson of New Jersey introduced the New Jersey plan, which provided for equal representation in a one-chamber Congress by every state. Paterson's suggested Federal government was in some ways an improvement over the old Confederation. It made the acts of Congress the supreme law of the land and gave that body at least the theoretical right to force a state which did not pay its requisitions for taxes. It made the states rather than the citizens responsible to the national government.

The question of representation is settled by compromise. The chief difficulty, however, which threatened to ruin the work of the convention, was how to provide a fair balance of power in Congress between the big and little states. For weeks the wrangling went on, and as the weather became hot in July so did the tempers of the delegates.

Not until the 16th was the compromise adopted. It provided that representation in the lower branch of Congress should be according to free population plus three-fifths of the slaves, and each state should have equal representation in the upper House or Senate. There were several stages in reaching this fundamental compromise. The slave apportionment did not wholly satisfy either South or North.

The entire Constitution is a series of compromises.¹ Although the debate over representation had sprung from state jealousies, larger sectional cleavages appeared. The East feared the West, and the possible development of large population and political power there. North and South split not only over the slavery question but also, since the former was becoming commercial and industrial and the latter agricultural, over giving to the Federal Government the power to regulate commerce. This particular point was agreed to only after the South believed it had protected itself by the clause prohibiting Congress from passing any law placing an export duty on our produce.

As a result of compromise after compromise, the Constitution gradually took form. On September 17 it was signed by those present. According to its terms the approval of at least nine of the states would have to be obtained before it could go into operation.

¹See Unit XI, 865 f.

3. *The Nature of the Constitution*

The Constitution provides for a President with much power. The new compact was an immense improvement over the old Confederation. An executive was provided in a President, who was to be elected for four years by electors especially chosen by each state as the legislature might direct. The number of electors of any state was to be equal to the total number of senators and representatives which the state sent to Congress. These electors were to meet in their own state and cast their votes. The person who received the greatest number of votes in all the states, provided that the person voted for received a majority, was to be President, and the one receiving the next highest number was to be Vice-President.

If two tied for the highest number of votes, the election for President went to the House of Representatives, where each state should have only one vote. In case of a tie for Vice-President, the election went to the Senate. If no one received a majority of all the votes in the electoral college, the House of Representatives should choose a President from among those having the five highest votes.

These provisions were changed later by the Twelfth Amendment, in 1804. This provided that the President and Vice-President should be voted for separately by the electors. If no one received a majority for President then the choice should be made by the House of Representatives from among those having the three highest votes.

The President was made commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He was given the right to demand the advice of the heads of all departments of the government; the power to veto acts of Congress, unless repassed by a two-thirds vote; the power "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate" to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators concurred; to appoint ambassadors, judges of the Supreme Court and all other officers of the government, also with the advice and consent of the Senate. He was required to give Congress information as to the state of the Union; to see that all the laws were executed. He could convene Congress in extraordinary session, and adjourn it when he thought proper if there was a disagreement between the two Houses. He could be impeached and removed from office for treason, bribery, or "other high crimes and misdemeanors."

The legislative branch of our government is composed of two Houses. The legislature was to consist of two Houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives, the former to be composed of two

senators elected by the legislature of each state for a term of six years, each senator having one vote. The Vice-President of the United States was to be President of the Senate, until, by death, resignation, or inability to perform his duties on the part of the President, he might succeed the latter in office.

The House of Representatives, which initiated all money bills, was to be composed of members chosen every second year directly by the people. The number of representatives was not to exceed one for every 30,000 inhabitants (excluding Indians and counting three-fifths of the slaves). Although the Constitution did not require that a representative should be a resident of his particular district, the growing habit of localism in American representation received sanction in the requirement that he must be a resident of the state.

Much power is given to the legislature. Numerous and varied powers were conferred upon the new legislature. It could lay and collect both direct and indirect taxes, provided these were uniform throughout the nation; borrow money on the nation's credit; regulate both foreign and interstate commerce; establish uniform laws as to naturalization and bankruptcy; coin money, regulate currency, and regulate weights and measures; establish post offices and post roads; provide for patents and copyrights; constitute courts inferior to the Supreme Court; declare war, raise and support an army and a navy; call out the militia to execute the Federal laws, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions; exercise complete jurisdiction over a tract ten miles square to be chosen as the location for the national capital; dispose of or govern all territory belonging to the United States; admit new states to the Union; and make all laws necessary for carrying its powers into effect.

Certain things it was forbidden to do. It could not suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* except in cases of rebellion or invasion when the public safety might demand it. It could not pass any bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law; could lay no direct tax except on the basis of population according to the census; could give no commercial preference to the ports of one state over those of another, nor oblige any vessel to enter, clear, or pay duties in passing from one to another; nor could it grant any title of nobility. It was to guarantee to every state a republican form of government.

Great power is given to the Supreme Court. The judicial department of the central government was to be vested in a Supreme Court, and such inferior courts as Congress might create. It was

provided that the power of the Federal judiciary should "extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers or consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects."

This creation of a Federal judiciary with such wide jurisdiction and powers was, perhaps, the most daring of the moves made toward a strong nationalism in the Constitution. From it was to arise the process of judicial review by the Supreme Court over the acts of Congress itself.

The Constitution provides for things the states can and cannot do. Passing from the organization of the central government to the states, we may note that each state was required to give full faith and credit to the public acts, records, and judicial decisions of every other; that the citizens of each were to be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of those in all the others; and that a criminal fleeing from one to another was to be given up to the jurisdiction of the first, and that a person "held to service or labor" (such as slaves) under the laws of one state and escaping to another should be returned to his owner.

No state was to be permitted to make any foreign treaty or alliance; to coin money or emit bills of credit; to make anything but gold and silver legal tender; to pass any *ex post facto* laws, bills of attainder, or laws impairing the obligation of contracts; or to confer titles of nobility; or in general to lay any duties on imports or exports.

The most significant difference between the new Constitution and the old Articles of Confederation lay in the fact that the new Federal Government in many important respects could act directly upon the individual citizen instead of acting only through the mediation of the several state governments.

At the end of the Constitution were added the provisions for amending it which are still in force.

James Madison is the "father of the Constitution." Such was the extraordinary document the delegates signed in September, 1787. Many had contributed their ideas and worked for final harmony, but

unquestionably the master spirit had been James Madison, who combined great constitutional knowledge with a firm grasp upon the actualities of the situation.

Next to Madison, either Wilson or possibly Washington had the greatest influence in bringing about the final result. The document was at once forwarded to the Congress of the old Confederation in New York. By that body it was transmitted to the several states so that it could be everywhere submitted to conventions.

4. The Struggle over the Adoption of the Constitution

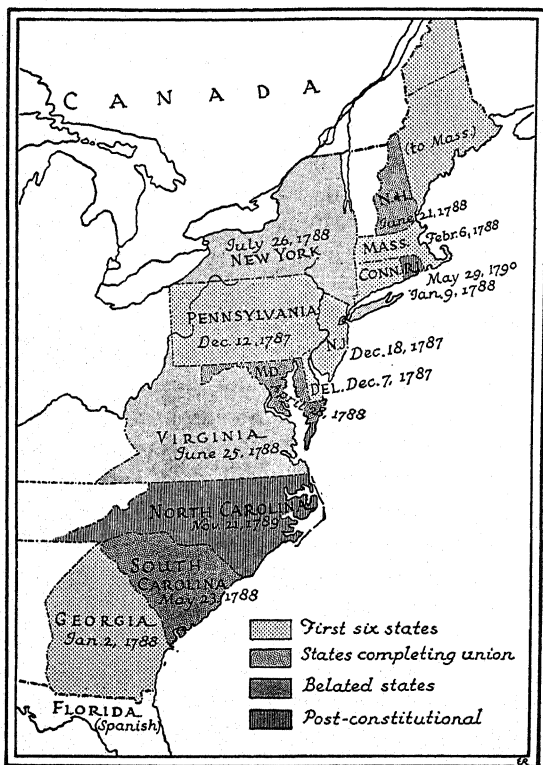
The Federalists favor and the Anti-Federalists oppose the adoption of the Constitution. When the suggested framework for a new Federal Government was offered to the people of the old thirteen states in 1787 by the Constitutional Convention, it was far from certain that they would accept it. Throughout the country, newspapers and pamphlets voiced the opposing views of those who were soon called Federalists and Anti-Federalists, according as they approved or disliked the suggested plan of union. There was much appeal to prejudice, but on the whole the debate was on a high and serious plane. From 1763 the people had been arguing constitutional problems, and perhaps no other nation was ever so well prepared to consider so important a question. The preparation had been so long and thorough that it is certainly questionable whether we to-day would be as competent to consider such a matter as our ancestors were in 1787.

The lack of a Bill of Rights was one of the most influential arguments against the Constitution. The best articles in the whole discussion were those written by the New Yorkers Hamilton and Jay and the Virginian Madison, and later published together in the volume called *The Federalist*. It has become an American classic.

Quick action in Pennsylvania and sharp practices in Massachusetts carry the conventions for the Constitution. When we study the proposed form of government and contrast it with the niggardly grant of power to the old Confederation; when we recall the jealousies of the states and their long training in opposition to authority from outside, it appears remarkable that there was any prospect of ratification.

Some of the small states ratified promptly, Delaware December 7, New Jersey December 18, 1787, Georgia January 2, and Connecticut January 9, 1788. Meanwhile, there was a great struggle going on in some of the most important states. In Pennsylvania probably the ma-

jority of the people were opposed to the suggested Constitution, but those in favor rushed a call for a convention through the assembly before their opponents had time to organize, and ratification was announced December 12, 1787. In the convention in Massachusetts



THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

in Massachusetts, so did Patrick Henry in Virginia. The contest in that important state was prolonged and bitter. Henry declaimed violently against the preamble of the Constitution because it began, "We, the people of the United States" instead of "We, the states." Like many, he feared a "consolidated" government, and the loss of states' rights. Not only Henry but other able men, such as Mason, Benjamin Harrison, Monroe, and Richard Henry Lee, were opposed. They debated with Madison, John Marshall, Wythe, and others in what was the most acute discussion of the question anywhere.

the Anti-Federalists were in a majority. Ratification, after much anxiety, was attained only by a political deal with John Hancock, the presiding officer. He was inveigled into thinking he might be the first Vice-President if the new government were formed. Samuel Adams was also opposed, but in February the Massachusetts convention by a very narrow margin voted for ratification, provided that certain amendments be offered to the other states for adoption.

After a bitter struggle ratification carries in Virginia and New York. Just as the revolutionary Adams opposed the Constitution

As in all the colonies, the richer tidewater section was on the whole overwhelmingly in favor of a strong government. In Virginia, however, the far western section, looking to interstate trade and the enforcement of the treaty with England, was also in favor of ratification. Approval was won in Virginia, even with the West in favor, by only 10 votes in 168, June 25, 1788. New York City had to threaten to enter the Union without the rest of the state before a favorable vote could be secured, and then by only three votes in fifty-seven.

The new Constitution goes into effect. By that time all the other states, except North Carolina and Rhode Island, had ratified. There remained no question as to the establishment of the new government. The last of the Southern states came in on November 21, 1789, and of the Northern May 29, 1790. Because of the way in which the conventions were held, the great opposition everywhere, and the management necessary to secure the barest of majorities for ratification, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the greater part of the people were not in favor of the Constitution.

It was not submitted to the people directly, and in those days of limited suffrage, even those who voted for delegates to the state conventions were mostly of the propertied class, although the amount of property called for may have been slight. No one can doubt that, had the Constitution not been ratified, the old Confederation would have broken down, and the states would have become a lot of quarrelling small independent sovereignties.

This was not to be. The sharp corner had been turned. It was announced by the old Congress that the new form of government had been ratified, and the states proceeded to the choice of electors. The unanimous vote of these in all states was for Washington as President, and, by a lesser number of votes, John Adams was chosen Vice-President. New York City was chosen the temporary capital, and the government was to be started on March 4, 1789. Whether "we, the people of the United States" had really wished it or not, all acquiesced, and the most momentous step since the Declaration of Independence had been taken in peace.

The Constitution is construed differently. There have been two well-defined schools of thought on the interpretation of the Constitution. One school—the Hamiltonians—would construe it loosely, giving much power to the Federal Government. This school would not only have government strong enough to keep the peace but would have it aid them in business. The other school—the Jeffersonians—would limit the power of the Federal Government and place the power with the

states and the people. This school has feared government control and regulation from above. It would leave the people free to follow their own desires and would in no wise regulate their business.

The present Republican party, in the main, adheres to the views of Hamilton while the present Democratic party, in the main, follows those of Jefferson. Franklin D. Roosevelt has taken a firm stand in favor of a strong Federal Government. In his inaugural address, January 20, 1937, he said that our forefathers had "created a strong government with powers of united action sufficient then and now to solve problems utterly beyond individual or local solution" and that "to-day we invoke those same powers of government to achieve the same objectives."

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Bancroft, *History of the United States*, VI; Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*; Beck, *The Constitution of the United States*, ch. 2; Channing, *History of the United States*, III, chs. 13-18; Corwin, *John Marshall and the Constitution*; Curtis, *Constitutional History of the United States*, I; Elson, *History of the United States*, chs. 12-13; Farrand, *The Fathers of the Constitution*; Fish, *Development of American Nationality*, chs. 2-3; Long, *The Genesis of the Constitution*; Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, ch. 8; Schuyler, *The Constitution of the United States*; Wertenbaker and Smith, *The United States of America*, 154-179.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *American History Leaflets*, nos. 8, 22, 28, 32; Ewing and Dangerfield, *Documentary Source Book in American Government and Politics*, 10-28; Ford, *Essays on the Constitution*; Harding, *Select Orations*, nos. 6-9; Hill, *Liberty Documents*, chs. 15-17; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 51-53; Madison, *Notes*; *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 1, 12, 15, 99, 186; *The Federalist*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Adams, *Familiar Letters*; Bryant, *O, Mother of a Mighty Race*; Eggleston, *American War Ballads*, I, 102-110; Elliott, *Biographical Story of the Constitution*; Ford, *True George Washington*; Gay, *James Madison*; Hopkinson, *New Roof*; Lodge, *George Washington*; Morse, *Alexander Hamilton*; Morse, *Life of Franklin*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 269-272; Wallington, *American History by American Poets*, I, 291, 295; Whittier, *Vows of Washington*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why did the general government have little power under the Articles of Confederation? 2. Why could not the general government coerce the states? 3. How did the weakness of our government cause England to retain the forts in our Northwest? 4. How did the lack of a strong cen-

tral government bring on a critical period? 5. What was the purpose of the Annapolis Convention? The Philadelphia Convention? 6. How do you account for the fact that the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were mostly conservative? 7. What controversy arose between the large states and the small ones? 8. How did the Virginia plan provide for a national government? 9. How did the New Jersey plan provide for a federal government? 10. Discuss the various compromises made by the Constitutional Convention. 11. What powers and duties does the Constitution give to the President? 12. What powers and duties has the legislative branch of our government? 13. What powers and duties has the Supreme Court? 14. Who were the Federalists? The Anti-Federalists? 15. How do you account for the bitter fight made against the ratification of the Constitution? 16. Why, as a rule, did the wealthy classes favor the adoption of the Constitution and the less wealthy classes oppose it?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The Articles of Confederation, the Annapolis Convention, the Constitutional Convention, the Virginia plan, the New Jersey plan, ratification of the Constitution.
2. PROJECT: Take the twenty-one amendments to the Constitution and write out the conditions that caused the adoption of each. You may begin your work on the first ten amendments at this point in your history work. When you reach that part of your history that explains the reason for the adoption of the eleventh amendment write out those conditions and in a similar manner continue your work until you have finished all the amendments.
3. PROBLEM: Why were so many compromises necessary in the framing of our Constitution?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the New Jersey plan was more democratic than the Virginia plan.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: Discuss the Ordinance of 1787 as a foundation for important developments in our history.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you were a member of Congress under the Articles of Confederation. Write a letter to a friend showing the impotency of Congress.
7. DIARY: You were a member of the Constitutional Convention and kept a record of the things that were done and said at the meetings. Read to the class what took place each day during the first week of the convention.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Daniel Shays, Edmund Randolph, James Madison, Rufus King, Alexander Hamilton, James Wilson, William Paterson, Benjamin Franklin, Richard Henry Lee, John Marshall.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1781, 1783, 1787, 1789.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: "Federal government," "strong consolidated union," export duty, electoral college, direct and indirect taxes, writ of *habeas corpus*, bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, republican form of government, cases in law and equity, emit bills of credit, Bill of Rights, states' rights, tidewater section.

11. MAP WORK: *a.* In a map talk point out the following places and show the historical significance of each: The "Old Northwest," Annapolis, Philadelphia, New York City. *b.* On an outline map color the thirteen colonies for which the Constitution had been made. *c.* On a rough sketch map put in the "Old Northwest" territory.

12. GRAPH WORK: Let the teacher appoint a committee of five members of the class to begin with the year 1933 and go through the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* and make a list of all the articles that describe the New Deal and its relation to the Federal Constitution. After selecting the articles this committee or another committee appointed by the teacher will list all the articles in one column that claim that the New Deal is undermining the Constitution and in another column all those that make the opposite claim.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. FORMATION OF THE CONFEDERATION: *American History Leaflets*, nos. 14, 16, 20, 22; Bancroft, *History of the Constitution*, I; Fiske, *Critical Period*; Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, ch. 12; McMaster, *United States*, I.

2. GOVERNMENT OF THE CONFEDERATION: Fiske, *Critical Period*, ch. 3; Hamilton, *Alexander Hamilton*, II, ch. 36; McLaughlin, *Confederation and Constitution*, ch. 3; Washington, *Writings*; Winsor, *America*, VII, ch. 3.

3. THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION: Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*; Fiske, *Critical Period*, chs. 5-6; McLaughlin, *Confederation and Constitution*, chs. 11-16; Walker, *Making of the Nation*, chs. 2-3; Wilson, *American People*, III, 60-76.

4. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION: Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, ch. 11; Hunt, *James Madison*, chs. 15-17; Merriam, *American Political Theories*, 100-122; Sparks, *United States*, I, 105-121, 170-174; Wilson, *American People*, III, 76-98.

5. THEORIES OF THE CONSTITUTION: *American History Leaflets*, no. 30; Davis, *Confederate Government*, I, 134-140; Hart, *National Ideals*, chs. 6, 8; Stephens, *War between the States*, I, 116-147; Woodburn, *American Republic*, 54-93.

UNITS II, III, IV, AND V

IN UNITS II, III, IV, and V you will study the political growth and development of our country from its beginning to the present time. You will see in action the determined men who founded our republic and the efforts they made to remain aloof from European entanglements. You will learn how world forces prevented us from remaining isolated from Europe then just as they did a hundred years later.

You will witness the forces of nationalism and of sectionalism in our country—the one at work building up a strong national government, the other tending in the opposite direction. You will study the slavery question, the War for Southern Independence, and the political consequences of our brothers' war.

You will view our nation at dead center and see how we emerged into the new era. You will witness America burst beyond its boundaries as a result of a war with Spain and embark upon an imperialistic career. You will see how we became a world power and why we took part in the World War.

The mad decade of 1920–1930 following the World War you will watch with interest and see how, after it, the great depression came to us and to the world. And, finally, you will see President Roosevelt and Congress at work in their fight against the depression.



Painted by Ernest Peixotto for the Seamen's Bank for Savings, New York City

GEORGE WASHINGTON ARRIVING AT THE BATTERY, NEW YORK, PRIOR TO HIS
INAUGURATION IN 1789

UNIT II

HOW NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY DEVELOPED IN THE NEW REPUBLIC

TOPIC I

STARTING THE NEW GOVERNMENT

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand why Washington's services were indispensable at the head of the new government.
2. To see the significance of Hamilton's financial measures.
3. To understand why political parties began to form.

1. *Inauguration of Washington*

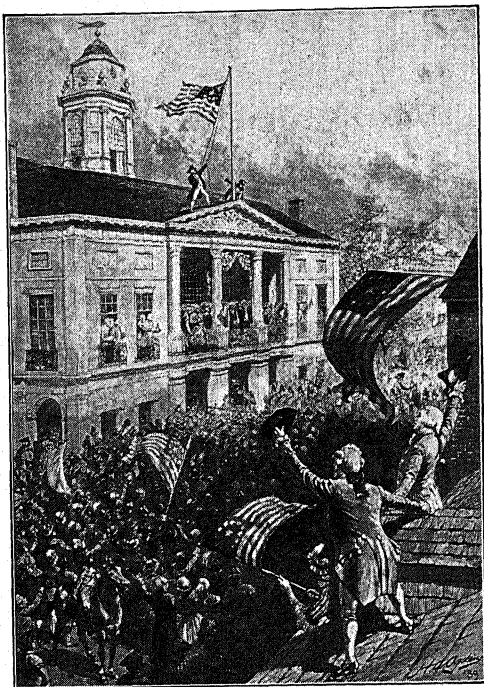
Washington desires to remain at his Mount Vernon home. It was with genuine regret that Washington felt obliged once more to obey the call to his country's service. The eight years of war had placed a terrific strain upon him, and although only fifty-seven he spoke of himself as already "in the evening of life."

He loved, as a large planter, to manage his beautiful estate overlooking one of the most peaceful and lovely stretches of the Potomac. He might well feel that he had done his duty and that the task of statesmanship might now be taken up by others. Throughout the war his thoughts had ever turned to his beloved Mount Vernon. His ambition, second only to that of serving his country, had been to return thither and take up again the life of a country gentleman, interested in all that had to do with his farms and the affairs of the neighborhood.

He had, indeed, become a world figure, and so many guests were to claim his hospitality that he at times, somewhat regretfully, spoke of his home as "an inn." But it was around that home that his affections centered. Unallured by the glamor of high office or the glare of publicity, he would have preferred to remain the Virginia planter rather than to accept the election to the presidency.

Washington is inaugurated President of the United States. He was, however, indispensable as the head of the new and untried gov-

ernment, the establishment of which had been opposed by probably a majority of the citizens. No one else commanded the universal trust and reverence that he did in 1789, and as always in a crisis the people turned instinctively to a strong leader. Others, however able, were sectional. Washington alone held the confidence of the entire nation



THE INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON AT
FEDERAL HALL, NEW YORK, 1789

From a drawing by H. A. Ogden, in *Harper's Bazaar*, May 11, 1889.

Wearily, and prompted only by a compelling sense of duty, Washington started on his journey to New York.

The trip was one long ovation. Cannon roared salutes, children sang by the roadsides, bridges were festooned with flowers, there were banquets at every halting place. The roads were still bad, and the members of the new government assembled but slowly in New York. Instead of March 4, the inauguration could not take place until April 30, on which day Washington, standing on the balcony in front of Federal Hall, took the oath of office in full sight of the crowds.

The procession which had accompanied him from his house in Cherry Street passed along the narrow winding streets, lined with sight-seers, offering a strong contrast to the inaugural parades of to-day. The crowd, which watched the Chancellor of New York administer the oath to him on the balcony, was full of the color of the gay clothes of men as well as women. Artisans were there in their yellow buckskin breeches, checked shirts, and red flannel jackets. The richer gentlemen were notable in their three-cornered cocked hats, heavy with lace, their bright-colored long coats, with lace at the cuffs, their striped stockings, short breeches, and silver-buckled shoes. Unlike the artisans, their

long hair was tied in a cue and heavily powdered. Their ladies were gorgeous in brocades and taffetas, high hats with tall feathers rising from them, and their skirts puffed out nearly a couple of feet on either side.

As Washington took the oath, shouts rose from the crowd of "Long live George Washington, President of the United States," while the guns of the Battery roared their salute. The brief ceremony over, the new President retired to the Senate chamber to deliver his first inaugural address.

Washington desires to have the government organized without regard to parties. There were at that time no political parties. At the beginning of the war, people had divided into Whigs and Tories, or Patriots and Loyalists, but the result of the struggle had been final. During the discussion and ratification of the new Constitution there had been Federalists and Anti-Federalists, but the adoption of that instrument seemed to end the existence of the latter.

Nevertheless, there was an ample supply of groups and of cleavages from which parties might in time arise. There were the frontier and old sections; the rich and the poor; the agricultural and the commercial classes; the men whose property was in land and those who owned securities; those who believed in a strong central government and those who stood for the fullest possible sovereignty of the component states; those who believed the Constitution should be interpreted as strictly as might be and those who wished to give its clauses the widest possible interpretation.

But on April 30, 1789, there were no party organizations. Washington thus had a clear field from which to make his appointments, and he also believed that the presidency should not be a partisan office.

If there were no parties, there was also at first scarcely any government. Everything had to be organized. During its first session Congress passed the Judiciary Act which gave form to the Supreme Court. It approved sixteen amendments to the Constitution, ten of which, after being accepted by the states, were declared operative in 1791. And, in addition to much other legislation, it created the three departments of State, Treasury, and War.

2. *Hamilton's Financial Plan*

Washington appoints his heads of departments. War seemed remote, our international relations were slight, but our fiscal problems

were pressing, so that the most important post was easily that of Secretary of the Treasury. Washington appointed to it, Alexander Hamilton, of New York, making Jefferson Secretary of State, General Knox, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, Attorney-General. Two of these, Hamilton and Jefferson, were not only important in their own day but their ideas and policies have continued to influence American thought.

The tariff question brings forth sectional interests. Congress had many things to attend to before organizing the departments. Although Washington was not inaugurated until April 30, enough members of the House had arrived by April 1 to permit of organizing that body, and the Senate was able to do so on the 6th. As the old Continental Congress under the Confederation had expired on March 4, the nation was without a Federal Government of any sort for more than a month. But as soon as the new one had been started it set itself to the most immediately pressing task of all, that of providing money. James Madison at once proposed a tariff, which he wished to have for revenue only, and the discordant interests of sections and occupations were quickly disclosed.

New England wanted a low rate on molasses and a high rate on the rum they made from it. Pennsylvania wanted its rum free and a duty on iron, which it had begun to manufacture. New England and South Carolina wanted no duty on iron, which would increase the cost to them of ship-building and of agricultural implements. South Carolina asked a duty on hemp, which was opposed by Pennsylvania and New England because it would increase the cost of rigging ships.

So it went. The process of "log-rolling," with which we have since become so familiar, in which each congressman would vote for a duty not wanted in his district if a vote could thereby be obtained for a duty that was wanted, began within the very first week of the national government. It was made evident at once that a tariff, even for revenue only, would be involved in sectional and class interests.

Hamilton submits to Congress his financial plan. Hamilton, who took office on September 2, 1789, was at once asked by Congress to report a plan for the support of the public credit, and he set to work.

By January, 1790, Hamilton was able to report to Congress. It was at once evident that this young Secretary of the new Treasury could rival any finance minister of the Old World in the daring and scope of his proposals. Our foreign debt was about \$11,710,000, including the unpaid interest; the domestic debt about \$42,000,000; and the debts of

the individual states about \$25,000,000. Hamilton proposed to pay the first in full, to fund the second in new bonds, dollar for dollar without any consideration of their depreciated value or the price they were selling at, and to have the Federal Government assume the full payment of the state debts.

Parts of Hamilton's financial plan are bitterly opposed. No objections were made to the meeting of our foreign obligations, but the other two suggestions aroused a storm of protest. We had repudiated the old continental currency almost entirely. The loan certificates for the debt had fallen to below 20 per cent in 1786 and were quoted at only 40 per cent in 1789. They had been sold and resold and it was uncertain how many were in the hands of the original lenders to the government.

When Hamilton's unexpected plan was made public, shrewd men sent agents on fast ships to the South or on horseback through the country to buy up certificates for as low as twenty which Hamilton was proposing to refund at one hundred. His suggestion was a wise and farsighted one for the re-establishment of the fallen credit of the United States. But to most people it looked like a deal to allow speculators to feed at the public trough.

The assumption of the state debts was also bitterly opposed by some of the states. Massachusetts and South Carolina had the largest debts, and were well satisfied. Virginia had paid off nearly all of hers and did not see why she should be now taxed again to help pay off those of other commonwealths. As usual, it came down to a question of self-interest on the part of each. Virginia finally voted in favor of the assumption of the debts, and Congress voted to locate the new national capital, which had been a bone of contention, on the banks of the Potomac River.

Although not quite in the way he had proposed them, all of the Secretary's measures eventually passed. By the following summer United States Government 6 per cent bonds were selling at a premium in Europe, a notable triumph for the new nation.

Congress establishes the Bank of the United States. Hamilton had to a great extent followed English precedent in his funding measures. He wished to help still further to build up the moneyed interests by the establishment of a bank similar to the Bank of England. In December, 1790, he offered a report on the subject. Against much opposition, the bill creating the Bank of the United States was passed by both Houses, and sent to Washington for approval. So much criticism had been aroused, however, that the President hesitated, and be-

fore he signed the bill he asked for opinions as to the constitutionality of the measure. He finally took Hamilton's advice.

The government puts down the whiskey rebellion. At the very moment when we were fighting the Indians, the militia of four states, under Federal orders, was also putting down a rebellion of our own people. In 1791, as part of his general fiscal policy, Hamilton had secured the imposition of an excise tax on whiskey. An excise was considered by Americans as the most odious form of all taxation. The Continental Congress had declared it to be "the horror of all free States." In 1793 the gross return from the whiskey excise was only \$422,000, and allowing for drawbacks and the cost of collection this was reduced to only about \$100,000 net. In subsequent years it dwindled to much less.

In 1794 the people of the western counties of Pennsylvania held meetings, appointed a committee of safety, and attacked both sheriff and excisemen. But as an English pamphleteer had written, an excise "hath an army in its belly," and Hamilton was ready. He induced Washington to call out the state militia and quell the revolt by force.

Although the rebellion itself was unimportant, the effect of the prompt suppression of resistance to the execution of Federal laws was lasting and wholesome. From the utter weakness and prostration of the old Confederation in 1789 to an energetic war against the Indians in the Northwest and a putting down of a popular uprising with troops under Federal orders in 1794, the advance had been almost miraculous. Most of the credit for the extraordinary success and vigor of the new government must be given to Washington and Hamilton.

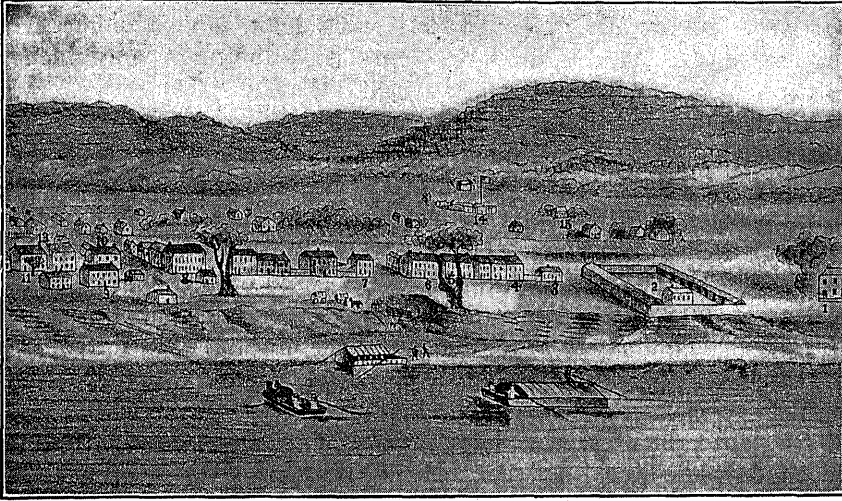
Congress gives its attention to Western affairs. Western affairs were clearing, and the West was developing. Kentucky had been admitted as a state in 1792 and Tennessee was to follow in 1796. While the English had been in possession of the posts, trouble had broken out with the Indians. Governor St. Clair of the Northwest Territory had suffered a terrible defeat in 1791. This had been retrieved by General Wayne who crushed the natives at the battle of Fallen Timbers in August, 1794.

The subsequent treaty with the Indians, negotiated at Greenville August 3 the following year, gave the United States all of the territory below a new boundary line. It included about two-thirds of Ohio, and certain other localities, such as those where Chicago and Detroit are located. The opening up of these new lands to settlement gave another great impetus to the westward movement. After Cincinnati,

which had been settled in 1788, came Dayton and Chillicothe in 1795, and Cleveland in 1796.

3. Formation of Political Parties

Washington is bitterly assailed by a partisan press. Party spirit was beginning to run high. The various acts of the government in its first eight years—its fiscal policies, the excise, the refusal to be-



CINCINNATI IN 1802

1. Major Wm. Ruffin. 2. Artificer's Yard. 3. Charles Wattier. 4. James Smith. 5. David Ziegler. 6. Griffin Yeatman. 7. Martin Baum. 8. Colonel Gibson. 9. Joel Williams. 10. Israel Ludlow. 11. Green Tree Hotel.

friend France, and the apparent desire to placate England—had all roused furious antagonism among a large part of the people. Republics are notoriously ungrateful, and peoples tire of their greatest men. A violent partisan press had also come into being, and no President, not even Theodore Roosevelt or Wilson, was more bitterly assailed than was Washington in his second term.

The man who had served throughout the Revolution without pay was denounced as miserly. His character was declared to be false and he was compared to the British tyrants. Immediately after his retirement from office, Franklin's grandson, B. F. Bache, in *The Aurora* wrote that every heart should beat with happiness to think that "the man who is the source of all the misfortunes of our country, is this day reduced

to a level with his fellow citizens" and that "the name of *Washington* from this day ceases to give a currency to political iniquity, and to legalize corruption." Thomas Paine called him either "an apostate or an impostor, treacherous in private friendship, and a hypocrite in public life." Such was the reward meted out by a considerable part of the people to the man who had done more than any other to win independence for them and to establish their new nation.

Sixty-five years old, thoroughly weary of public life, Washington wisely declined to allow his name to be used again as a candidate. He thus laid the first stone in the valuable tradition, limiting the presidency to two terms, a limitation not mentioned in the Constitution.

Washington issues his "Farewell Address." On September 17, 1796, shortly before the election of that year, he issued what has come to be known as his "Farewell Address," in which he summed up the political wisdom garnered from his experience. He stressed the immense value of the national Union to every citizen, and the danger of setting local politics above it or of forming parties based on sectional interests.

He urged the importance of the division of governmental powers and warned against the encroachments of any one division upon the spheres of others. Religion and morality, he noted, were indispensable supports to government, and added that national morality could not prevail if religious principles were destroyed. Looking abroad to the Europe of his day, he pointed out that that continent had a set of primary interests with which America had nothing to do. He warned that it would be unwise for us to entangle ourselves politically by alliance or otherwise in the Old World system.

He was clearly thinking of England and France. The advice to make use of our geographical isolation to develop peacefully into maturity and strength was urgently needed by those citizens whose sympathies for, or against, one or the other of those two countries would have led us into European entanglements.

We must consider the "Farewell Address," as later the Monroe Doctrine, against the background of the circumstances of the time. But for generations both were to prove the soundest of policies for the development of the New World, even if no policy can be literally adhered to through centuries of infinite changes. Nor was Washington's advice, wisest of all for his own day, followed by the people—as events were soon to prove.

The Federalists elect the President and the Republicans the Vice-President in 1796. For one thing, the sectionalism that the

President warned against was made evident in the election a few weeks later. It was the first which was fought on a party basis. The followers of Jefferson, who had come to oppose strongly the favor shown by the government to financial, manufacturing, and commercial interests, called themselves Republicans. The administration party, led by Hamilton, supported the policies that had prevailed, and wanted the Federal Government to use all the power the Constitution could be interpreted to give it. They were called Federalists. The warfare between France and England was also an issue for a time; the Republicans favored France, the Federalists favored England or strict neutrality. The Republicans decided to have their electors vote for Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The latter was a grandson of Jonathan Edwards and son of the president of Princeton. At the time he was a prominent lawyer in New York and a bitter political foe of Hamilton. The Federalists decided upon John Adams and Thomas Pinckney, to balance, as the Republicans had done, the North and South.

There were no "tickets" in the modern sense. Although the party leaders might agree among themselves whom they wished for President and Vice-President, the system, which we have noted, provided that the man receiving the largest number of votes in the electoral college should receive the first office and the next highest the second.

Attempts were made to have votes cast in such a way as to insure the election of Adams and Pinckney. But when they were counted, it was found that Adams had received seventy-one and Jefferson sixty-eight. The presidency was thus filled by Adams, a Federalist, and the vice-presidency by Jefferson, a Republican. If the administration was curiously mixed, the geographical alignment was clear. Every state from Virginia southward had gone Republican, and every one from Maryland northward Federalist.

John Adams has rendered many services to his country. Adams had been a distinguished patriot in the Revolution and was to found the most notable family in American annals. Sprung from simple farming ancestors, he had graduated from Harvard and after becoming a lawyer in Boston had taken prominent part in the controversies leading to the rupture with England. He had been a member of the Continental Congress, a member of the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, minister to Holland, where he had rendered valuable service, a member of the commission to negotiate peace with England, and the first minister to that country from America.

These were but the more important offices he had filled, and his

voluminous writings on controversial and constitutional questions had been of considerable influence. He was rather vain and somewhat fussy


about etiquette, but of strong mind and character and, like his descendants, of extreme independence in thought and action. His views on government naturally affiliated him with the Federalists. But no Adams could be a party man in the strict sense of the word, for he would always have to insist upon the integrity of his own mind when he did not approve party policies.

Such was the man who at sixty-two years of age succeeded Washington as our first party President, March 4, 1797. Hoping to continue Washington's policies, Adams made the disastrous error of continuing his cabinet in office. There was not a man of outstanding ability in it, and several of them, including Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts, and Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut, were to prove traitors to the President. They took their orders from Hamilton and acted as his spies. Hamilton insisted upon being the actual, and regarded Adams as merely the nominal, head of the government.

Washington passes away at the threshold of a new era. The election of 1800 was to bring on the first serious contest between the Federalist and the Republican points of view. The old harmony was gone, and America was entering upon a new era. As if to mark the passing of the old,

New-York, December 21.

Columbia Mourns!



MOURN

IT is with the deepest grief that we announce to the public the death of our *most distinguished fellow-citizen Lieut. General George Washington*. He died at Mount Vernon on Saturday evening, the 13th inst. of an inflammatory affection of the throat, which put a period to his existence in 23 hours.

The grief which we suffer on this truly mournful occasion, would be in some degree alleviated, if we possessed abilities to do justice to the merits of this *illustrious benefactor of mankind*; but, conscious of our in-

ANNOUNCEMENT OF WASHINGTON'S
DEATH

From *The New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, December 21, 1799.

In the New York Historical Society.

Washington, the one symbol of unity, sickened and died after a few days' illness on December 14, 1799.

Everywhere there was mourning. Shops and offices closed, bells tolled all day, and memorial services were held in village after village as the news reached them. In Congress, Henry Lee uttered the now familiar words, "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." But it was noted that although the Federalist newspapers had heavy black borders and columns, the Republican journals used only a narrow band and that merely around the notice of his death.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Beard, *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*; Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton*; Channing, *History of the United States*, IV, chs. 1-9; Elson, *History of the United States*, ch. 14; Fish, *Development of American Nationality*, ch. 4; Ford, *Washington and His Colleagues*; Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 49-53, 73-105; Johnson, *Jefferson and His Colleagues*; Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*, II, ch. 9; Wharton, *Social Life in the Early Republic*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *American History Leaflets*, no. 15; Benton, *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress*; Hamilton, *Works*; Johnston, *American Orations*, I, 84-143; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 55-70; Maclay, *Sketches of Debate*; *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 4, 10, 38, 103; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*; Washington, *Writings*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Atherton, *The Conqueror*; Freneau, *Poems*, III; Hart, *How Our Grandfathers Lived*; Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton*; Mitchell, *The Red City*; Hirst, *Thomas Jefferson*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 274-278; Twining, *Travels in America*; Wallington, *American History by American Poets*, I, 297-313.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why were Washington's services so much needed in the new government? 2. Describe Washington's inauguration. 3. Why did Washington wish to have the government organized without regard to political parties? 4. Whom did Washington appoint as heads of departments? 5. How did the tariff question bring forth sectional interests? 6. Describe the different parts of Hamilton's financial plan. 7. Why were some parts of Hamilton's financial plan bitterly assailed? 8. To what western affairs did Congress turn its attention? 9. What significance did the crushing of the whiskey rebellion have? 10. How do you account for Washington's being so bitterly

assailed? 11. What is the substance of Washington's "Farewell Address"? 12. How did it come about that the Federalists elected the President and the Republicans the Vice-President in 1796? 13. What services had the new President rendered his country?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Washington's inauguration, Hamilton's financial measures, Indian wars in the northwest, the whiskey rebellion, Washington's "Farewell Address," the presidential election of 1796.
2. PROJECT: Beginning with our first presidential election and continuing through our last one, block off in your notebook in two parallel columns the years each party elected the President. Gather statistics to show both the total popular vote and the total electoral vote of our two leading political parties. The one party will be the Federalist, National-Republican, Whig, and present Republican party. The other will be the Republican, Democratic-Republican, and present Democratic party. You can secure most of your material from Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*.
3. PROBLEM: Why did political parties form during Washington's second administration?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That Hamilton's plan of funding our domestic debt was a wise policy.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The establishment of the first National Bank.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you attended Washington's inauguration in New York City. Write a letter to a friend describing the event.
7. DIARY: You lived in western Pennsylvania at the time of the whiskey rebellion and had jotted down events as they happened in your neighborhood. Read to the class your diary at the time when the excitement of the whiskey rebellion was at its height.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: General Knox, Edmund Randolph, St. Clair, Wayne, Aaron Burr, Thomas Pinckney, Timothy Pickering.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1789, 1794, 1799.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Fiscal problems, tariff for revenue only, "log-rolling," public credit, feed at the public trough, assumption of the debts, moneyed interests, excise tax.
11. MAP WORK: On an outline map color red all the states that went Republican in the presidential election of 1796 and blue all those that went Federalist.
12. GRAPH WORK: By means of bar graphs show our foreign debt, our domestic debt, and the debt of our states in 1790.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. LAUNCHING THE GOVERNMENT: Bassett, *Federalist System*, ch. 1; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, nos. 77, 79, 81; Sparks, *United States*, I, ch. 7; Stephens, *Transitional Period*; Wilson, *American People*, III, 98-108, 116-126.
2. ORGANIZING A FINANCIAL SYSTEM: Bassett, *Federalist System*, ch. 2; Dewey, *Financial History*, chs. 4-5; Hamilton, *Works*, III; Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton*, chs. 5-6; Sparks, *United States*, I, 146-168.
3. POLITICAL PARTIES, 1789-1793: Bassett, *Federalist System*, ch. 3; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, ch. 13; Merriam, *American Political Theories*, 122-175; Stanwood, *Presidency*, chs. 1-3; Woodburn, *Political Parties*, ch. 2.
4. FOREIGN AND INDIAN RELATIONS, 1789-1798: Foster, *Century of American Diplomacy*, 136-176; Johnston and Woodburn, *American Political History*, I, ch. 8; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, nos. 13-14; McMaster, *History*, I, 593-604; Moore, *American Diplomacy*, 34-57.
5. COMMERCIAL QUESTIONS DURING WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATIONS: Adams, *Albert Gallatin*, 86-150; Avery, *History*, VII, ch. 9; Dewey, *Financial History*, §§ 44-46; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, nos. 12, 15; Sparks, *United States*, I, ch. 10.

TOPIC II

AMERICA IS DISTURBED BY EUROPEAN WARS AND POLITICS

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To develop the fact that political independence did not bring isolation from European affairs.
2. To understand how our newly formed government was drawn into European politics.
3. To set forth the specific troubles we had with Spain, England, and France.

1. Our Troubles with Spain and England

France treats our country with utter contempt. During our first years the work of the State Department was complicated but less spectacular and important than that of the Treasury. Our weakness at the end of the old Confederation was well known in Europe. France, indeed, went so far as to give her consuls in the United States extra-territorial powers similar to those that foreign consuls have had in such countries as China and Siam. The French vice-consul in Norfolk did not scruple to seize a ship captain, put him into irons, and was only at the last moment prevented from shipping him to France for trial.

We are hemmed in by English and Spanish possessions. Spain owned at this time not only Florida and the Gulf coast but practically all the country between the Mississippi and the Pacific. When war was threatened between Spain and England in 1789-90 over the right to trade in furs at Nootka on Vancouver Island, we became alarmed that this vast territory might pass into British hands. We might find ourselves hemmed in, not by Spain but by the British Empire. The latter still held the northern posts, and Spain took advantage of the situation to occupy two more posts on our side of the Mississippi. The war cloud blew over. But in the tangled negotiations with Spain and England, Jefferson had come to realize the full importance of the West.

The Americans take sides in the French Revolution. The French Revolution had broken out in 1789, and at first Americans followed its course with enthusiasm. The French people seemed to be only following in our footsteps. Washington had been President only a few weeks in his second term when news arrived that caused a change of sentiment among a large part of the Americans. The increasing violence of the French movement had reached a climax in cutting off the head of the King. And France had declared war on England and Spain. France called on the people everywhere to rise against their monarchs. These events and the news that the revolutionists had forced Lafayette to flee from Paris put an end to the sympathy of many Americans. There was, nevertheless, a large body of American opinion still in favor of the Revolution, and Jefferson shared this opinion. These overlooked terror and crime for what they believed would be the eventual gain in freedom for humanity.

England begins to impress our seamen. The position of our government was extremely delicate. Under the Treaty of Alliance we had guaranteed France possession of her West Indies, which would undoubtedly soon be attacked. We had also, somewhat vaguely, agreed that if France was involved in war we would not give shelter to privateers of other nations. England, believing we would attack her on the side of France, began to impress seamen from our vessels. She also declared that all food stuffs destined for French ports could be seized as contraband. During the war hundreds of our vessels, particularly those trading to the French West Indies, were captured.

Washington desires to remain neutral in the war between England and France. The problem which faced Washington on receipt of the news of the outbreak of war, and the further news that the Revolutionary government was sending a French minister to us, was whether to enter the struggle or to remain neutral. Hamilton urged that the Treaty of 1778 had been made with the French Government of the Bourbon monarchy, and since that monarchy had been overthrown, we were in no way bound to carry out the treaty provisions in favor of an entirely different government. Washington, however, adopted Jefferson's view that the treaty was not dead but merely suspended, and on April 22, 1793, issued a proclamation of neutrality.

"Citizen" Genêt tries to enlist American aid for France. Three weeks later the French minister, Edmond Charles Genêt, arrived at Charleston, South Carolina. There he formed a Jacobin club and fitted out a privateer. Then he satisfied his vanity to the full by receiving

the plaudits of the partisans of France all the way up the coast on his way to Philadelphia.

The President and members of the government treated him with cool civility. Genêt attempted to use American ports as bases for attacks on British commerce, to organize an expedition in the West to attack Spain, and in general to act as though America were French soil. Finding himself rebuffed by the government, he tried to appeal directly to the people through letters to Congress, as though the President and the Cabinet did not exist. In August, France was requested to recall him immediately and this was done. However, he had no desire to return to Paris. He married a daughter of Governor Clinton of New York, and settled down on the banks of the Hudson.

England refuses to surrender the Northwest posts. Meanwhile, we were also having other trouble with England. She was seizing our ships, impressing our seamen, and in general disregarding the rights of neutrals which she had never recognized. The question of the Northwest was becoming acute. The first British minister to be accredited to us, George Hammond, was a painstaking but not very tactful youth of twenty-seven, who arrived in 1791.

Neither the British nor the Americans had fully carried out the terms of the Treaty of 1783. The new minister started to thresh out the old straw along with new grievances. Jefferson made demands upon him for the evacuation of the western posts and compensation for the slaves the British had carried away at the end of the Revolution.

Really the British wished to use our failures in carrying out the treaty as an excuse for altering the boundary line on the north. There was talk of creating a great neutral Indian territory embracing the land north of the Ohio River. Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe of Upper Canada was intriguing with the Indians against us. Our West was restless, loosely attached to the United States, pinched between British and Spanish encroachments, and there certain conspiracies were being hatched up among its people.

The situation was becoming intolerable. John Adams's prediction in 1785 had come true. He had said if we failed to carry out the treaty in every particular, England would not, and would probably use the excuse to infringe it further. It began to look as though England had no intention of ever giving up the posts and the Northwest to us, and her depredations on our commerce were serious.

Jefferson and Hamilton take different sides in our trouble with England. Jefferson, Madison, and the gradually forming

Republican party favored measures of retaliation of a commercial sort. On the other hand the important mercantile class in New England was against any such measure. Hamilton pointed out that our imports from Great Britain in 1792 had been over \$15,250,000 and from France only a little over \$2,000,000, and that three-fourths of all our trade was with Great Britain.

Jefferson retires from Washington's Cabinet. During all the time that these war clouds had been gathering, there was division within the Cabinet itself. Under a party system two such diverse statesmen as Hamilton and Jefferson could never be expected to act together. Their differences were not merely of judgment on particular courses of action but of fundamental political philosophy.

Hamilton regarded himself more as an English prime minister and not merely as the ranking member of the President's Cabinet. Instead of confining himself to his own sphere of the Treasury he interfered in all the other departments. He had long been attacking Jefferson in the public press in articles which he signed with assumed names. Washington did his best to bridge the widening breach between his highest two officials. Finally, December 31, 1793, Jefferson resigned his office and retired to Monticello.

Washington had frequently taken his advice as against Hamilton's. But Hamilton was more and more attempting to force himself into all departments of the government, and to dictate the foreign as well as the fiscal policy. His services had been very great, but he was beginning to make the mistake of thinking that his was the master-mind which must control the nation, a mistake that in a few years was to ruin his party and bring him to his death. Jefferson had his own ideas about general policies and finally gained power because he kept closer touch with the people.

Jay makes a treaty with England. The difficulties with England demanded settlement if war was to be avoided. In April, 1794, the President appointed John Jay as special envoy to go to London and arrange all matters in dispute. The envoy was a man of high patriotism, unblemished character, and wide experience, but as the English foreign minister was advised in a confidential report, "Mr. Jay's weak spot is Mr. Jay." Lord Grenville undoubtedly made the most of this weak spot. It is only fair, however, to say that even if Jay allowed himself to be somewhat outplayed by his English opponent, it was imperative that he make some treaty and not return empty-handed.

By the terms of the Jay Treaty, England agreed to turn over by June, 1796, the northwest posts to the United States. However, Grenville refused to agree that each nation should not influence the Indians of the other, or to promise that in event of war they would not be used as



JAY BURNED IN EFFIGY

From a drawing by Darly.

allies. The old colonial debts, certain boundary disputes, and compensation for such captures at sea as might have been unlawful were to be settled by commissions. Nothing was said either of compensation for slaves taken in the Revolution or of impressment of seamen.

There was to be complete freedom of trade between British ports and American ports. The West Indies were to be opened to our vessels. In exchange for this, Jay agreed that while the West Indies were open to us we would not export in American vessels any cotton, sugar, coffee, and cocoa. This last article in the treaty was struck out by the

American Senate, but West India ports were kept open just the same until the War of 1812.

Jay's treaty is roundly denounced in America. Although Jay had secured the return of the western posts, which were duly surrendered to us, it was considered that he had surrendered our interests in other quarters. The West gained much by the treaty but the mercantile East felt that far greater concessions should have been won for trade. In weighing Jay's work, we must recall that since 1783 England had treated us as an insignificant power and only in 1791 had consented to send a minister to us. That she had now made a treaty with the United States was a matter of great significance.

The Americans, however, did not so regard it. When the terms became known, a howl of rage went up. Jay was burned in effigy and denounced in the press and in public speeches. The treaty, with the West India clause excluded, barely passed the Senate by the requisite two-thirds vote. The President, though he felt that it sacrificed American interests and would bring down a storm of abuse on himself, signed it as preferable to war. "If this country is preserved in tranquillity twenty years longer," he wrote, "it may bid defiance in a just cause to any power whatever." But he knew far better than the public that that time had not yet come.

Spain makes a treaty with us. The treaty made by Thomas Pinckney also helped to clear our relations with Spain. It recognized the 31st parallel as our southern boundary and gave us the right to unload ships at New Orleans as well as the right to navigate that section of the Mississippi. It took Spain three years more to evacuate her posts on our soil. But by 1798 both Spanish and English had left us in possession of our own territory.

2. Our Troubles with France

France retaliates against us on account of the Jay Treaty. When Adams became President, relations with France were difficult. The guillotine had been fast at work in Paris. The Directory of five which was governing the country had dropped most of the earlier idealism of the Revolution. Washington had recalled our minister in 1796 and the Directory had refused to accept C. C. Pinckney as his successor. We were thus unrepresented at the French capital, where our treaty with England was so thoroughly disliked that France called for retaliation. By the summer of 1797 France had captured over 300 of our vessels and besides had employed a very offensive tone towards us.

The French Directory attempts to bribe our representatives. Adams thought of sending Jefferson as envoy. Jefferson declined, wisely, since he could not well combine the duties of the new office with those of the vice-presidency. France was over-running her neighboring states, and the war with England continued. Adams, like most of the Federalists, was bent on remaining neutral in spite of great provocation. The Republicans still maintained their traditional French friendship. Although the Directory refused to accept an American minister until their so-called grievances were redressed, Adams despatched a mission of three to see what could be gained by diplomacy.

The envoys, C. C. Pinckney, Elbridge Gerry, and John Marshall, could make no headway in Paris. The Directory refused to receive them. Hamilton and a large part of the Federalists began to believe that the only solution was to join England and to declare war against the French. Meanwhile, in Paris the American envoys were approached by mysterious go-betweens who, with threats as to what would happen to the United States if their demands were not granted, asked for a loan of \$10,000,000, and a personal gift to Talleyrand of \$250,000 as a preliminary to negotiations. On receiving this word, Adams announced to Congress that he "would never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation."

The X, Y, Z affair arouses the Americans. The Republicans demanded proof of the need for such language. Early in 1798, the President sent to Congress despatches from the envoys complete, except that the letters X, Y, Z had been substituted for the names of the go-betweens. The French party in America was completely broken. The excitement throughout America was intense. "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute" became a rallying cry. And war seemed inevitable.

The French treaties of 1778 were declared at an end; a navy department was created; fourteen American men-of-war put to sea, as did a couple of hundred privateers; the U. S. S. *Constellation* captured the French frigate *L'Insurgente*; 10,000 volunteers were called to serve for a term of three years. War with France apparently had come. The New England Federalists were delighted. Hamilton was dreaming marvellous dreams of heading an army to co-operate with the British fleet and capture all the Spanish possessions in North America, including Mexico.

Adams averts war with France. Indeed, we were so near to war that the usual squabbling had begun as to chief command of the forces, involving Hamilton and Adams in an irritable controversy. Adams believed in Washington's advice to stay out of European broils if possible with honor, and was working hard toward that end. The French bluff had been called. France had no wish to add us to her enemies at sea. It was intimated to Adams that if we sent a minister he would be honorably received.

By this time the President had learned that he could not trust a Cabinet which was disloyal to him while it supplied his enemy, Hamilton, with information of the most confidential sort. With characteristic courage, Adams acted without consulting any one. The Federalists in Congress, happy in the thought of war, were debating their plans when, like a thunderbolt, they received from the President the offer of peace from Talleyrand, and the nomination of William Vans Murray as American minister.

The Federalists could not take the responsibility of plunging the country into war when there had been opened a clear road to peace. But Hamilton and all the leaders were furious. Adams alone had saved the nation and carried out Washington's wise policy. His was an act of high courage on which he justly prided himself for the remainder of his life.

Every difficulty was thrown in his way. The single minister which had been suggested was replaced by a commission of three. They arrived in France early in 1800, and were received by Napoleon. After seven months they made a treaty of commerce with him. The following day, however, without our knowledge, he forced Spain to cede to France the whole of the Louisiana territory, so that once more our West faced a first-class European power across the Mississippi. New Orleans became an outpost of the most powerful nation of the Old World.

The Federalists pass the Alien and Sedition Acts. The war excitement had as usual brought a crop of legislation. In 1798 a new Naturalization Act was passed prolonging the required term of residence from five to fourteen years before citizenship could be obtained, and placing all foreign residents under surveillance. An Alien Act gave the President the power to expel from the country any alien whom he might judge dangerous to our peace and safety. A Sedition Act, in almost the precise wording of the law we passed in the World War, made any person punishable by fine or imprisonment who spoke or

wrote against the President or Congress with "the intent to defame" or "bring them into contempt or disrepute."

The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions oppose the Alien and Sedition Acts. No action was taken under the Alien Act, but a few Republican editors were punished under the Sedition Act. Among them was Thomas Cooper, later to become president of the University of South Carolina, who was fined \$400 and jailed for six months. There was much opposition to these legislative acts of the Federalists. The state of Kentucky passed a set of resolutions, written by Jefferson, which declared that, if Congress exceeded its powers, each state had the right to determine for itself both the wrong and the mode of redress. Virginia also passed resolutions, written by Madison, which suggested the compact theory of the Federal Government and the doctrine of states rights. According to this theory the Federal Government was considered to be a somewhat loose combination of sovereign independent states rather than a compact power.

The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, together with the answers of other state legislatures upholding or condemning them, marked another step forward in the crystallization of public opinion as to the nature of the Federal Government.

Jefferson and Madison oppose Hamilton's views on the Constitution. It is worth noting that Madison, in his later life, explained why he and Jefferson had split with Hamilton. It was, he said, because the latter was deliberately trying to turn the government into "a thing totally different from that which he and I both knew perfectly well had been understood and intended by the Convention which framed it, and by the People adopting it."

No one had a deeper understanding or wider knowledge of what went on in the convention which adopted the Constitution than Madison, to whose painstaking notes, made day by day, we owe the most of what we know about the convention. It is only reasonable, therefore, to lay great stress upon his opinion. When we are inclined to think of the Constitution as something not to be changed, it is well to recall that through a century and a half, it has been gradually altered far from its original intention. The Constitution has changed as America has grown and new conditions have arisen.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Adams, *History of the Foreign Policy of the United States*, 82-112; Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality*; Bassett,

A Short History of the United States, 266-283; Bemis, *Jay's Treaty*; Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton*; Callender, *Economic History*, 239-260; Carman and McKee, *A History of the United States*, I, 336-342; Channing, *History of the United States*, IV, 116-147, 176-209; Ford, *Washington and His Colleagues*; Johnson, *America's Foreign Relations*; Moore, *American Diplomacy*, chs. 3, 5; Mowat, *The Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and the United States*; Sparks, *The Men Who Made the Nation*, ch. 7.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *American History Leaflets*, no. 15; Ames, *State Documents on Federal Relations*, 15-26; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, 302-329; Johnston, *Readings on American Constitutional History*, 228-236; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, 148; Nevins, *American Press Opinion*, 18-29.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Adams, *Gallatin*; Bradford, *Wives*, ch. 5; Brooks, *Dames and Daughters of the Young Republic*; Minnigerode, *Some American Ladies*; Nock, *Jefferson*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How was the United States hemmed in by English and Spanish possessions? 2. Why did the Americans take sides in the French Revolution? 3. Why did England impress our seamen and interfere with our commerce? 4. Was Washington wise in issuing the Proclamation of Neutrality? 5. How did "Citizen" Genêt overstep his rights? 6. Why did England refuse to surrender to us the posts in the Northwest? 7. Why did Jefferson retire from Washington's Cabinet? 8. What were the main provisions of Jay's Treaty with England? 9. Why was there so much opposition to the treaty in America? 10. Why did France object to the Jay Treaty? 11. Tell of the attitude the French Directory took toward us. 12. What was the X, Y, Z affair? 13. How did Adams avert a war with France? 14. What were the Alien and Sedition Acts? 15. What were the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The French Revolution, Proclamation of Neutrality, the Jay Treaty, the X, Y, Z affair, the Alien and Sedition Acts, the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.

2. PROJECT: Beginning with the inauguration of our government in 1789 and going through the War of 1812, show how during that quarter of a century our government was not isolated from the affairs of Europe.

3. PROBLEM: Why did Washington issue the Proclamation of Neutrality?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That Jay's Treaty was unfair to France.

5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The X, Y, Z affair.

6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you were in France at the time that Jay made our treaty with England. Write to a friend at home the attitude of the French toward the treaty.
7. DIARY: You travelled with "Citizen" Genêt from Charleston to Philadelphia. You kept a diary of your trip, writing down what Genêt said and did along the way. Read to the class extracts from your diary.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Edmond Charles Genêt, George Hammond, John Jay, C. C. Pinckney, Elbridge Gerry, John Marshall, Talleyrand.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1789, 1793, 1794, 1798.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: List of contraband, proclamation of neutrality, Jacobin club, burned in effigy, right of deposit.
11. MAP WORK: *a.* In a map talk point out the following places and state the historical significance of each: Vancouver Island, the French West Indies, Charleston, Upper Canada, Monticello, New Orleans. *b.* On a rough outline map show how the United States was hemmed in between English and Spanish possessions.
12. GRAPH WORK: Show by means of a chart the basic differences between the beliefs of Hamilton and Jefferson.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. OUR BREACH WITH FRANCE: Allen, *Naval War with France*; Foster, *Century of American Diplomacy*, 176-184; Hildreth, *History*, IV, 685-704; V, ch. 10; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, no. 16; Wilson, *American People*, III, 143-152.
2. THE JAY TREATY: Bassett, *The Federalist System*, 125-135; Fish, *American Diplomacy*, 108-125; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, II, 212-256; Schouler, *History of the United States*, I, 289-304; Winsor, *History of America*, VII, part II, 467-471.
3. GENÊT'S MISSION: Bassett, *The Federalist System*, ch. 6; Channing, *History of the United States*, IV, 127-133; Harlow, *Growth of the United States*, 251-253; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, II, 89-141; Schouler, *History of the United States*, I, 241-258.
4. ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS AND VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS: Hildreth, *History*, V, ch. 12; Johnston and Woodburn, *American Political History*, I, ch. 10; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, nos. 17-23; von Holst, *History*, I, ch. 4; Warfield, *Kentucky Resolutions*.

TOPIC III

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson.
2. To comprehend the significance of Chief Justice Marshall's decision in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*.
3. To understand how feelings of sectionalism and disunion arose.

1. Jeffersonian Republicans in Control

Jefferson states his principles in his inaugural address. The new President fully realized the sectional and class foundations of his power. In his inaugural address he called upon all citizens to remember the "sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression." . . . "Having banished religious intolerance, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions."

No one, Jefferson added, would wish to dissolve the Union, and in that sense we all were both Federalists and Republicans. As for a "strong" government, he believed ours the strongest in the world, but to be strong and to enjoy the loyalty of its citizens they must be allowed to govern themselves. "Sometimes it is said, that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted to govern others? Or, have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him?"

Jefferson's election means control of the government by the people. In his address he spoke of our country as having "room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation," so hidden in the future were all those mechanical inventions which were to enable us to sweep across the continent and subdue it within a century. He proposed a "wise and frugal government," bestowing exact justice on all of every station, creed, or belief; "friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none"; the maintenance

of state governments as the surest bulwarks of liberty; the honest payment of all public debts; the diffusion of education; freedom of the press, religion, and the person.

Jefferson said the defeat of the Federalists by the Republicans was a movement to bring back the government from class control to the control of the people and have it carry out the spirit of the Declaration of Independence. The man who had written that Declaration of Independence was the standard bearer in the revolt. John Adams had risen above his party to save the country, but that party had no roots in

*yet all of y^m inculcat^s honesty, truth, temper^e, gratitude, & the love of man,
acknow^ld^g. & adorning an overruling providence, which by all it's dispensations proves
that it delights in the happiness of man here, & his greater happiness hereafter.
with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people?
still one thing more, fell cit, a well regul^d govern^t, w^h shall restrain men from injuring one another,
shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry & improvement,
and shall not take from the mouth of labor, the bread it has earned.
this is the sum of good govern^t, & this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.*

A FACSIMILE (REDUCED) OF THE CONCLUDING LINES FROM THE THIRD PAGE
OF JEFFERSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1801

From the original in the Library of Congress.

the soil of the common people—their hopes, fears, and emotions—and Adams fell with it.

Jefferson aspires to unite the country. The inauguration of Adams's opponent was welcomed throughout the land, except in Federalist strongholds, with greater rapture than had been shown since the signing of peace in 1783. The new President entered upon office with the noblest of aspirations and the highest of hopes. But his hopes were to be doomed to deep disappointment from the same currents of European policies which had whirled us round and round and brought bitter dissension among us ever since we had thought we had attained to an independent national life.

Jefferson, whose wife had died many years before, did not move immediately to the White House, or "President's House," as it was then called. He remained at Conrad's boarding house for some weeks until he could set off to his beloved Monticello. In those days a President was not overwhelmed with the mass of detail work of a chief magistrate of to-day. Jefferson spent over a quarter of his time, or an

aggregate of over two years during his two terms, in the healthy and happy atmosphere of his own estate.

By the end of April, 1801, he was in Washington and ready to undertake his duties. He hoped to be able to unite the country, and, in spite of the slanders of the campaign, to win over to the Republican way of thinking many who had been alienated from what he believed a true Americanism.

Jefferson replaces Federalists with Republicans. He well knew that the leaders of the Federalist party were his determined foes. So he did not make the mistake which Adams had made of placing in his Cabinet men who were not in sympathy with him and his policies. For Secretary of State he chose James Madison of Virginia, and for Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania, one of the best financiers of his time. Both of these men were far abler to serve in their offices than any who had occupied them since Hamilton and Jefferson himself.

Washington had properly put into government positions those who were favorable to the new form of government, as yet weak and untried. On his second election there was no need of change. Although parties had developed, Adams, of the same party as his predecessor, did not have to make any considerable change in 1797. For Jefferson, the situation was wholly different. When he entered office there was not a single office-holder of his own political beliefs, and the hostility of his enemies was unbelievably bitter.

It could hardly be expected that a President would consent to have all the offices below Cabinet rank held by the opposition party. As he explained, vacancies occurring "by death are few; by resignation none." Great pressure was also brought to bear upon the President by his own followers who demanded, as party leaders and adherents always do, some of the spoils of victory. Jefferson himself had firmly believed in rotation in office aside from party. In the course of his first term he replaced Federalists by Republicans in about half the places at his disposal.

Jefferson makes many changes in the government. With all his idealism, Jefferson was an able organizer and administrator, and with a good working majority of Republicans in Congress he set to work initiating a number of changes. A minor change was made in the mode of communicating his first message to Congress in December, 1801. Washington and Adams had always appeared in person to read their messages with a certain degree of ceremony. In accord with his

belief that government should be as simple as possible, the new President merely sent a written message to Congress by messenger. This practice was adhered to by subsequent Presidents down to Wilson more than a century later.

One of the first measures passed by the new administration was the abolishing of the hated excise tax on whiskey. Provision was also made for a much stricter accountability of public officers for their expenditure of public moneys. No fraudulent practices were found in the accounts of the Federalists, but the old system of voting money in single large sums without specific appropriations for particular purposes left too much discretion to the heads of departments. Money appropriated with the intention of having it spent in one way could be spent for quite other ends.

The Republican pledge of economy is carried out. Although the new system of specific appropriations led to abuses in "log-rolling," it would be hard to believe that the older system would not have led to yet graver ones. Jefferson also carried out his pledge of economy. He reduced public expenditure in his first year from \$7,500,000 to \$5,000,000. Although the Federalists had increased the national debt over \$8,000,000, the Republicans reduced it \$27,500,000.

The navy was reduced in accordance with an act passed by the last Federalist Congress. Jefferson cut down the army from 4000 to 2500 men, but at the same time took a great step toward its increased efficiency by establishing the Military Academy at West Point. His interest in letters and education was shown by the enactment of a copyright law and the founding of the Library of Congress.

Jefferson chastises the Barbary pirates. Always a determined opponent of war if it could possibly be avoided by more peaceful and reasonable means, Jefferson was never a pacifist. One of the early events of his first term showed him a more resolute defender of American rights by force than either Washington or Adams had proved themselves. The rulers of the Barbary States—Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and Morocco—had long preyed on the commerce which passed along their shores, and England and the other European powers had regularly bought immunity by paying tribute to the pirates. We had followed the same custom and in the ten years to 1800 had sent over \$2,000,000 to buy the corsairs off.

Jefferson determined to try force even before the ruler of Tripoli, dissatisfied with the amount he was receiving, declared war on us. An American squadron was sent to the Mediterranean, followed by others

under command of Commodore Preble. On February 16, 1804, Lieutenant Stephen Decatur with a handful of men rowed into the harbor of Tripoli, where the pirates had anchored our captured ship *Philadelphia*. Decatur drove her Tripolitan crew overboard, set the ship on fire, and escaped safely to his own vessel, having accomplished what Admiral Nelson called the most daring act of the age.

Tripoli was bombarded and in 1805 its ruler was forced to sign a treaty guaranteeing that Americans should be unmolested. The other Barbary powers were not subdued for another decade.

2. *The Rise of Sectionalism*

The Republicans undo the acts passed by the Federalists. Just before the Federalists had been forced from office they had passed a new Judiciary Act which President Adams had signed on February 13, 1801, three weeks before he left the White House. This had added sixteen judges to the Federal circuits. An act had also been passed and signed on the 27th which provided, among other things, for as many justices of the peace in the District of Columbia as the President should deem necessary.

Adams had made all the appointments of the Federal judges, as well as that of Marshall to the Supreme Court and forty-two justices of the peace, in the closing days of his administration. The Republicans not unnaturally felt that these offices should have been left for them to fill.

The nominations of the Washington justices of the peace had been made by Adams March 2, and confirmed by the Senate on the 3rd, Jefferson took office on the 4th. He decided to withhold commissions from seventeen of these. Congress repealed the Judiciary Act which had created the sixteen Federal judges. This action infuriated the Federalists, who claimed that the very foundations of liberty and property were being undermined.

Jefferson's actions reach the Supreme Court. Jefferson's withholding of the commissions raised an important question and resulted in a decision of the Supreme Court which was, perhaps, the most far-reaching and fundamental that that body has ever handed down. In December, 1801, William Marbury and three others, whose commissions were being held up, applied to the Supreme Court for an order requiring Secretary of State Madison to show why a writ compelling the handing over of the commissions should not be issued. The decision was finally given by Chief Justice Marshall.

Ever since the adoption of the Virginia and Kentucky resolves,

Marshall had been pondering the question as to where lay the final authority in our government, as to what was, and what was not, law throughout the nation. He had reached his conclusion and had been waiting for an opportunity to affirm it in such a way as to make it, if possible, the accepted law for all time. He chose for the purpose the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*.

Chief Justice Marshall's decision gives the Supreme Court important powers. The powers of the legislature, he declared were limited. To indicate and preserve those limits was one of the purposes of the Constitution. The Constitution, therefore, controls any legislative act that may be repugnant to it. "A legislative act contrary to the Constitution is not law." All laws repugnant to it must be void, and "it is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is." There was nothing in the Constitution which gave the courts the right to pass on the constitutionality of laws, but Marshall was correct in his opinion that the final power to decide on what *is* law *must* be somewhere. His assertion that it was in the Supreme Court has prevailed.

The extreme Federalists plan to set up a Northern Confederacy. The new policies of the Republicans, and especially the purchase of Louisiana in 1803 (p. 587), led some conservative Federalists of New England to consider the question of secession. Timothy Pickering and other Federalists in Massachusetts and Connecticut planned a new Northern Confederacy, to consist of New England and New York. This new Confederacy should cut loose from the growing control of the South and its allied West.

Hamilton was taken into the secret but he disapproved of the plan. The plotters then approached Burr, a Republican who they knew was dissatisfied with the treatment he had received from his party since the election of 1800. They offered to support him if he would run for governor of New York as a Republican, in consideration of his swinging the state into secession and the new Confederacy, and they agreed to elect him its first President. Hamilton, however, through his influence among the New York Federalist voters, prevented Burr from becoming governor, and the whole scheme failed.

Burr kills Hamilton in a duel. In the course of the episode, Hamilton had also made charges reflecting on Burr's honor. The latter challenged Hamilton to a duel about six weeks after the election. Hamilton, although opposed to secession, himself believed the nation was drifting to anarchy under Republican rule, and that the day was com-

ing when he might be called upon to save it. He felt that if his courage was questioned, even unjustly, he would be prevented from playing the part he wished in the future which he foresaw. Therefore, he accepted the challenge, and on July 11, 1804, at six in the morning he crossed the Hudson to meet Burr.

When the men faced each other, Hamilton was mortally wounded and died the following day. Settling affairs of honor by a duel was then a common practice. Hamilton's own eldest son had been killed in one only three years earlier. But there was a revulsion of feeling after the great leader to whom the nation owed so much had been shot down. Although Burr went back to his chair as presiding officer of the Senate, he was now discredited.

Jefferson is overwhelmingly re-elected to the Presidency. The Federalist party was discredited and had lost its ablest leader in Hamilton. The people had seen that Jefferson had protected trade, as in his attack on the Barbary pirates; that he had stood by the West; that he had carried out his pledges of economy and good government; and that by the purchase of Louisiana he had doubled the size of the country. In the election of 1804, Jefferson was overwhelmingly re-elected by 162 votes in the electoral college to only 14 for his opponent, C. C. Pinckney. The Federalists carried only Connecticut in New England itself, and outside of that stronghold no state but Delaware. Even Massachusetts, the heart of Federalism, went solidly for Jefferson in the electoral college.

Burr is charged with treason. After the killing of Hamilton, Burr had been dropped by his party. The new Vice-President was George Clinton of New York. Burr then went to the Ohio River, and by his charm of manner won many to his side, including even Andrew Jackson. To some he appeared as a patriot and even to-day there is discussion of his real motives. Others accused him of schemes for secession or for the building of a new empire in Mexico.

In the summer, 1806, with about sixty followers, he floated down the river. Nobody knew what was in his mind, but word was sent to Jefferson that Burr was involved in a great plot to break up the Union. The President issued a proclamation for the capture of Burr. He was caught, taken to Richmond, and tried for treason before Chief Justice Marshall. No proof sufficient to convict was forthcoming, and the indictment broke down completely. The result did a good deal to undermine the popularity of Jefferson who had pressed the case.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Adams, *Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, I, chs. 5-7; Adams, *History of the Foreign Policy of the United States*; Babcock, *The Rise of American Nationality*; Channing, *History of the United States*, IV, 236-275; Elson, *History of the United States*, ch. 15; Johnson, *Jefferson and His Colleagues*; Morse, *Party Revolution of 1800*; Nicolay, *Our Nation in the Building*, chs. 2-5; Smith, *First Forty Years of Washington Society*; Trent, *Southern Statesmen of the Old Régime*; Walker, *Making of the Nation*, chs. 9-10; Warfield, *The Kentucky Resolutions of 1798*; Wertenbaker and Smith, *The United States of America*, 211-215.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Gallatin, *Works*; Harding, *Select Orations*, no. 12; Jefferson, *Writings*; Lewis and Clark, *Journals*; Nevins, *American Press Opinion*, 28-34; *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 44, 104, 105, 131, 174; Richardson, *Messages*, I, 321-324.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Churchill, *The Crossing*; Dodd, *Statesmen of the Old South*; Eggleston, *American War Ballads*, 113-140; Merwin, *Thomas Jefferson*; Nock, *Jefferson*; Williams, *Thomas Jefferson*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What political principles did Jefferson state in his inaugural address? 2. How was Jefferson's election a swing away from class control of the government? 3. Was Jefferson justified in replacing certain Federalists with Republicans? 4. What changes did Jefferson make in the government? 5. Was Jefferson justified in undoing the acts passed in the last hours of the Adams administration? 6. What is the significance of Chief Justice Marshall's decision in the case of Marbury vs. Madison? 7. How did the extreme Federalists plan to break up the Union? 8. Tell of the duel between Burr and Hamilton.

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Jefferson's political principles, reforms made by Jefferson, war with the Barbary pirates, Adams's "midnight appointments," the decision in Marbury vs. Madison, the attempts made to create a Northern Confederacy, the duel between Burr and Hamilton, the conspiracy of Burr.

2. PROJECT: Beginning with the decision of Marbury vs. Madison, make a list of the decisions of Chief Justice Marshall that tended to strengthen the power of the national government and of the Supreme Court. Write out a brief summary of each decision.

3. PROBLEM: How did Jefferson's election mean the control of the government by the people?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the policies of Jefferson justified the New England Federalists in their attempt to establish a Northern Confederacy.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: Jeffersonian Democracy in theory and in practice.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine you attended Jefferson's first inaugural. Write a letter to a friend describing the scene.
7. DIARY: You were a follower of Aaron Burr in the West. You kept a record of the important things that Burr is supposed to have said and done. Read your diary to the class.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Albert Gallatin, Preble, Decatur, Marbury, Thomas Pickering, Aaron Burr, C. C. Pinckney, George Clinton.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1801, 1803, 1804.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Freedom of the press, spoils of victory, rotation in office, "log-rolling," immunity by paying tribute.
11. MAP WORK: In a map talk locate the following places and state the historical significance of each: West Point, the Barbary states, the proposed Northern Confederacy.
12. GRAPH WORK: Show by means of bar graphs the electoral vote in the presidential election of 1804.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. FALL OF THE FEDERALISTS: Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, nos. 102-105; Morse, *John Adams*, 287-330; Schouler, *History*, I, 456-514; Stanwood, *Presidency*, ch. 5; Wilson, *American People*, III, 158-163.
2. THOMAS JEFFERSON'S REPUBLICAN PARTY: Channing, *Jeffersonian System*, chs. 1-3, 9; Ford, *American Politics*, chs. 10-11; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, nos. 106-108, 110; Stanwood, *Presidency*, ch. 6; Wilson, *American People*, III, 163-180.
3. THE BURR CONSPIRACY: Adams, *United States*, II, chs. 8-17; Hildreth, *History*, V, 517-529, 594-627; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, no. 25; McCaleb, *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*; McMaster, *History*, III, ch. 15.

TOPIC IV

THE UNITED STATES WINS HER COMMERCIAL INDEPENDENCE

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the different viewpoints on international law held by England, France, and the United States.
2. To see how Jefferson tried to substitute economic pressure for armed force and thus stay out of war.
3. To understand the causes and outcomes of our second war for independence.

1. *International Complications*

England limits our commerce by invoking an old rule against us. Meanwhile much more important complications were developing abroad. France and England had become locked in a life-and-death struggle. Napoleon had become practically supreme on land, and England at sea. Neither regarded the rights of neutrals, of whom the United States was by far the most important. As had happened in the earlier war, a vast increase in the carrying trade fell to our share. Our ship-owners were making large profits.

England invoked what is called the Rule of 1756. This forbade a neutral to carry on a trade in war time which was denied to him in peace. England claimed that in violation of the rule we were transporting French West India produce to French ports. England also claimed that even if the cargoes were brought to America first and then re-shipped the voyage was "continuous." This theory we ourselves invoked during our Civil War but it was against our interests in the earlier period.

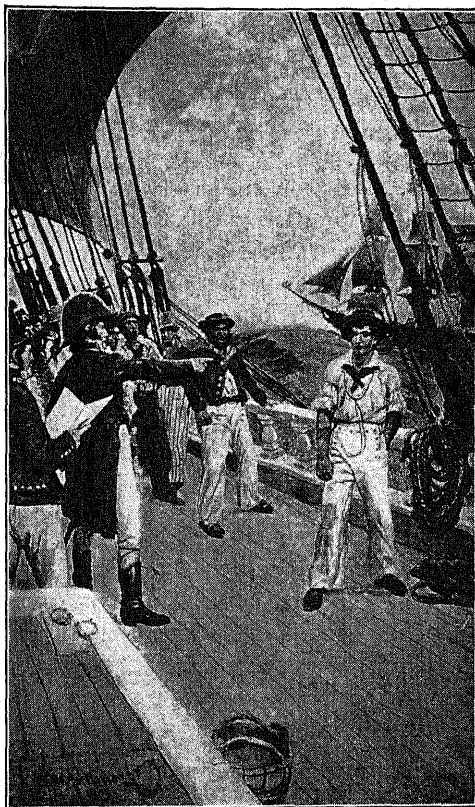
England's Orders in Council and Napoleon's Decrees still further limit our commerce. An attempt to settle matters by a treaty with England failed. The Orders in Council issued by England and the Decrees put forth by Napoleon seemed to leave no scope for American commerce. In November, 1806, Napoleon issued the Berlin Decree which proclaimed the British Isles to be blockaded. It prohibited all intercourse with them and declared that all merchandise coming from them was lawful prize, while no ship which left an English port would

be admitted to a French port or a port of any allied nation. England replied in January with an Order in Council prohibiting all trade between any two ports in the possession of France or her allies. The following November she added another, which prohibited all neutral trade with any port from which British ships were excluded unless the ship called first at a British port and paid duties. Napoleon then replied with his Milan Decree which authorized the confiscation of any vessel which paid duty to the English or sailed to or from any port in the British Empire.

England and France capture our vessels. Consequently both nations not only preyed on our commerce, but infringed our rights even within three miles of our own coast, and used our harbors for war purposes. Between the reopening of the war in Europe in 1803 and our entry in 1812, the British captured 917 of our vessels and the French 558.

Our navy was small in comparison with those of the belligerents, and the cost of defending our coasts seemed prohibitive. Jefferson, on the advice of his naval officials, had about seventy small gunboats built by 1807, but these were absurdly inadequate.

The right of search and impressment causes trouble between England and America. There was little to choose between the two European Powers in their utter disregard of our rights, or what we claimed as such, but there was one point of dispute which em-



BRITISH OFFICERS IMPRESSING SEAMEN ON
AN AMERICAN SHIP

From a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

broiled us with England rather than with France. At that time all nations, including the United States, denied that a native-born citizen had a right to shed his responsibilities by becoming naturalized in a foreign country.

If a French or an English vessel came within our three-mile limit and had on board deserters from the American navy, even if they had become naturalized French or British subjects, we had the right to seize them and put them back in our ships. On the other hand, England and France had similar rights as to their citizens even though they had become American subjects.

The problem never arose with the French, as, largely on account of the difference in language, there was practically none of the naturalized citizens of either nation serving in the ships of the other. We did not have to exercise our right against the English, as no American deserters wished to serve in their navy. The right of search and impressment thus came into question only between England and us, as the bad conditions in her navy and better economic possibilities in America led great numbers of the English to desert and enter our service. As a concrete illustration of this fact, over one-half the men on our ship, the *Philadelphia*, at Tripoli, were English sailors who were not even naturalized American citizens.

England impresses American citizens into her service. Had England confined herself to taking bona-fide British-born citizens off our ships when within three miles of her coasts, we could have had no complaint. But she claimed that she had the right to do so wherever she met one of our vessels on the high seas. It was not easy to find out whether an Englishman, a Scotchman, or an Irishman had been born in the British Isles or in the United States. British officers were never supposed to impress native Americans, but in fact several thousands were so taken, and complaints were constant. The practice was bound to lead to gross injustice and abuse. Finally an incident occurred which nearly precipitated war.

The *Leopard* fires upon the *Chesapeake*. Some French frigates were lying in Chesapeake Bay and some English ships were lying off the Capes in wait for them. A good many of the English seamen had deserted and it was thought that they, with their ringleader, a man named Ratford, had enlisted in the American service. Our officers claimed that they had searched for him on our few ships and had not been able to find him.

On June 22, 1807, our frigate *Chesapeake*, under Commodore Bar-

ron, left Norfolk and set out to sea. She was followed by the British frigate *Leopard* from the British squadron. About ten miles off shore, the British ship signalled to her to stop. Barron, without fear of danger, did so, thinking the British wished to send despatches. When the small boat which put off from the *Leopard* reached the *Chesapeake*, the officers demanded that they be allowed to search the ship for British deserters. Barron answered that the only deserters on his vessel were three men who were native Americans and who had already been wrongfully impressed. He forbade the search.

In reality without the commander's knowledge, Ratford was among his crew. Immediately after the British officers had again reached the *Leopard*, that ship fired a full broadside into the *Chesapeake*, followed by two more. Twenty of our men were killed or wounded, and Barron struck his flag and surrendered. The British then came aboard once more, mustered the crew, caught Ratford, and carried him and the three Americans off to the *Leopard*. The *Chesapeake* returned crippled to Norfolk.

America resents England's outrageous treatment. As soon as the news of the insult spread over the country, the excitement was intense. There was a wave of indignation which would have carried the nation into war had Jefferson so willed. From England, the foreign minister, Canning, at once expressed regret and said he would take all proper steps called for as soon as an investigation was made.

Jefferson, however, in his instructions to Monroe, our minister in London, ordered him not to accept reparation or apology which did not include a complete renouncing by England of her claim to impress her men from our vessels. This Canning refused. In fact, orders were issued in October directing British officers to impress British seamen on foreign vessels to the fullest extent possible. Meanwhile, Jefferson issued a proclamation ordering all British war vessels out of American waters, forbidding others to enter, and prohibiting all intercourse with them.

2. Economic Pressure Instead of Armed Force

Congress passes the Embargo. America was wholly unprepared for war. Jefferson, who had always been interested in the possibility of substituting economic pressure for armed force, decided upon making the experiment. He did not expect to avoid war in the end, but he hoped that there was a chance that England might do us justice. He also realized that we had as many grievances against France as against England, but he decided to settle with England first and then, as he

said, "trust to the chapter of accidents" to see what could be done with Napoleon.

Congress met in October, but it was not until after Canning's despatches arrived that Jefferson sent his message on the situation. In April, 1806, a Non-Importation Act had been passed prohibiting the importing of certain British goods. It was a measure designed to strengthen the hands of our negotiators at that time, and quite clearly drawn from the precedents of the American Revolution. This, however, had not been put into effect.

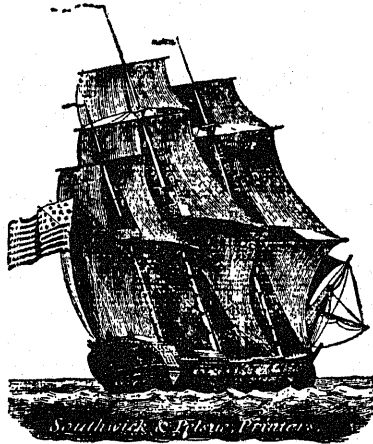
Jefferson now tried the same sort of pressure on a far wider scale, and on December 22, 1807, secured the passage of the Embargo Act. It prohibited the export of any produce from the United States or the clearing of any American vessel for a foreign port. Believing that American trade was essential to both belligerents, he hoped by cutting them off to secure the revocation of the British Orders in Council or the French Decrees, or both. In fact, owing in part to non-observance of the measure and in part to the economic situation, the Embargo proved to have little coercive power over our enemies as well as a disastrous effect on ourselves.

Serious opposition arises against the Embargo. Although the original act was passed in December, two additional acts were required in January and March, 1808. The big ship-owners had time to clear many of their vessels before they could be stopped. Once abroad, they could go on cruising and trading for their owners. Although the risks were great, the profits were great also. The French West Indies suffered some inconveniences, but Napoleon confiscated every ship he could find in a French port, and did not fare badly. English-manufactured goods were smuggled in over the Canadian boundary, and found new markets in South America.

Although some merchants, whose ships were out of American jurisdiction, made good profits, others, whose vessels were tied up in our ports, were ruined. The prices of American agricultural products fell to disastrously low figures.

The value in normal times of the exports of domestic produce from the Middle states was twice as great as those from New England, and three times as great as those from the South. But while the loss in such exports due to the Embargo was about 75 per cent in the two northern sections it was 85 per cent in the South. Although New England and New York lost heavily in shipping, the South suffered as much as any other section.

Agitation against the measure was loudest, however, in New England, although more votes against the embargo measures were cast in the South than in the North. One reason for New England opposition was that such ships as did not sail were tied up to their docks, a dead loss, and their crews were without employment. The Southern



By the Virtue, Firmness and Patriotism of
JEFFERSON & MADISON,
 Our Difficulties with England are settled—our Ships have been preserved, and our Seamen will, hereafter, be respected while sailing under our National Flag.

HEADING OF A REPUBLICAN BROADSIDE OCCASIONED BY MADISON'S PROCLAMATION OF RENEWED TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN, APRIL 22, 1809

From the original in the New York Historical Society.

planter who could not dispose of his tobacco or rice still had his plantation to live on, and his slave labor was as well taken care of as ever. The second reason was that New England was the stronghold of what remained of the Federalist party, bitterly hostile to Jefferson. Such men as Timothy Pickering said that Jefferson favored the Embargo only to aid Napoleon and to ruin New England.

The Embargo is repealed. By March, 1809, Timothy Dwight of Connecticut was preaching sermons on the text "Come out therefore from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord," and a new movement toward secession got under way. A convention of represen-

tatives from the New England states had also been proposed to meet and nullify the embargo measures. Manufacturing in that section was being stimulated and the manufacturing interest was rapidly growing. But the Federalist leaders were connected with the shipping interest which was suffering and paid little attention to any advantages to other interests.

Town meetings and state legislatures passed more and more denunciatory resolutions. Smuggling and violence became more rampant. At last, after fourteen months of the experiment, Jefferson yielded to the storm. On March 1, 1809, he signed a bill which had been passed by Congress repealing the Embargo. The new act merely prohibited trade with Great Britain and France until one or the other should suspend their Orders and Decrees. Intercourse could be resumed as soon as either nation complied with the demand. Three days later Jefferson's term expired and James Madison became President.

Jefferson had "kept us out of war" but at a price which the people were unwilling to pay. His hope of showing Europe that instead of armed action there are "peaceable means of repressing injustice by making it the interest of the aggressor to do what is just and abstain from future wrong" had proved vain. It is impossible to say whether he might have been successful had the people stood by him. In any case he under-estimated the preference which people often have for profit over patriotism, evident in every crisis and for which a statesman has to allow.

Jefferson's influence on American thought is very great. A few weeks before Jefferson's retirement, the assembly of Virginia passed a vote of thanks to him for the services he had rendered. It named among them, justly, the decline in the number of public officials, the reduction of the national debt by \$33,000,000, the peaceable acquisition from the Indians of a hundred million acres for settlement, the doubling of the size of the national domain by the purchase of Louisiana, the lesson taught the Barbary pirates, and the preservation of freedom of speech and of the press.

In thought, perhaps, no man who has ever been President has so permanently influenced every generation of Americans. It may be said that of all men of his period the mind of Jefferson was the greatest moulding force in what we consider the typical American spirit. He himself laid little stress on the presidency. Many years later, when contemplating his end, he asked that the only words to be placed on his tomb should be: "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, Author of the

Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia. It was by these as testimonials that I have lived I wish most to be remembered."

Madison succeeds Jefferson as President. After his second election Jefferson had stated that on no condition would he be a candidate for a third term, thus being the first to strengthen the precedent made by Washington. The President, however, had never concealed the fact that his own choice for a successor was Madison. But Madison was by no means generally accepted by the party which had begun to feel the effects of severe strain. Many leading Virginians wished Monroe to be Jefferson's successor. Madison, although an able thinker on the theory of government, was not at all a capable executive or manager of men.

In the North there was much talk about Southern dictation and a "Southern dynasty," and George Clinton felt that the office should fall to him. Some strength was added to his pretensions since he had been Vice-President under Jefferson as Jefferson had been under Adams, and Adams under Washington.

The campaign was one of local politics and jockeying for position by political machines, particularly in Virginia and New York. In the latter state, the Republican party was split between George Clinton and his nephew De Witt Clinton, the Federalists flirting with each faction. In spite of the revulsion of feeling due to the Embargo, and of the effects of local politics, which swung New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Delaware once more into the Federalist fold, the Republicans won easily. Madison was elected with George Clinton again as Vice-President.

The new President's inaugural address was colorless, and the make-up of the Cabinet disappointing. Gallatin, its only strong man, was retained at the Treasury. But at a time of peculiar international difficulty the office of Secretary of State was given to Robert Smith of Maryland, a man rich in family connections but inferior in ability. He and Gallatin clashed for two years before Madison finally asked for Smith's resignation and appointed James Monroe in his stead.

The United States reopens trade with England. At the very beginning of the new administration it seemed for a few months as if Jefferson's policy might really have borne fruit. Early in 1809 Canning instructed the British minister in Washington, David Erskine, to agree to have the objectionable Orders in Council withdrawn, and to make atonement for the *Chesapeake* outrage, provided that the United States

would maintain non-intercourse with France while restoring trade with England. He further insisted that we should recognize the Rule of 1756, and agree to the seizure of American ships by the British navy when found trading with countries observing Napoleon's Decrees.

The British minister, to bring about accord between the two nations, exceeded his instructions. He informed us that England would rescind the Orders in Council if we would reopen trade with her, and continue non-intercourse with France. Madison, keen as Erskine for peace, accepted this arrangement, raised no question as to impressment, and proclaimed trade open again with Great Britain. America hailed the move as a diplomatic victory, and from all our ports ships quickly cleared for British ports.

We renew non-intercourse with England. Then came the disillusionment. Canning repudiated both the agreement and the minister who had made it contrary to his instructions. Erskine was recalled and a certain Francis James Jackson was sent to Washington in his place. Jackson was not tactful and Smith, still Secretary of State, was diplomatically clumsy. Madison notified the British minister that any further discussions would be futile, and the diplomat asked for his passports. There was nothing further for Madison to do but to issue again a proclamation of non-intercourse with England, and the situation, like an infected wound, became worse than ever.

We reopen our trade to the world. Meanwhile, shippers had again tasted the sweets of profits, and the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809 was to expire with the session of the Congress then sitting. In another effort to solve the problem, Congress passed what was known as Macon's Bill No. 2. The author was Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina whom John Randolph described in his will as "the best, purest and wisest man" he had ever known, and whom Jefferson called "the last of the Romans." By it trade was to be reopened with all the world. The bill said that if either France or England should do us justice and rescind the restrictions on our trade and the other should not, then the President should proclaim non-intercourse against the nation which so declined.

Napoleon draws us into his net. Napoleon now took a hand in the game. He had been seizing and selling American vessels in French ports. The seizures had brought him between \$8,000,000 and \$10,000,000. On August 5, 1810, he issued a decree that the Berlin and Milan Decrees were revoked and that after November 1 they "will cease to have effect." But it was to be understood, he said, that the

English should revoke their Orders in Council or that the United States should cause its rights to be respected.

The ambiguous language was as sticky as flypaper, and intended to be. Were the French Decrees revoked on August 5 or November 1? Were they in truth revoked at all? John Quincy Adams warned Madison that Napoleon had merely laid a trap to embroil us with England. American vessels in French ports were not released, and at least one more was seized.

Madison reopens trade with France. Madison decided to trust the French, and issued a proclamation that, since France had revoked her Decrees, all restrictions on our commerce with her should cease. He also said if England did not similarly revoke her Orders within three months we should be obliged to revive the non-intercourse measure against her.

The British Government declined to believe that Napoleon had really revoked the Decrees. Certainly his actions gave no reason to believe that he had. At the moment there was, unfortunately, no British minister in Washington. Jackson, who had represented the British Government there, had been withdrawn at the request of the United States. No successor had been appointed.

In England, George III had finally lost his reason completely, and it was not until February, 1811, that a regency was arranged. Until that had been done, it was difficult for the British ministry to take any important action. Pinkney, however, insisted upon their coming to an immediate decision as to American matters. When that was not done, he left England and returned home. Thus it happened that at a most critical time neither nation had a minister at the capital of the other.

Madison had already made one great mistake when he had got caught in the Erskine fiasco. Now he would not acknowledge that he might have made another by having been duped by Napoleon. He had announced to the world that the Decrees had been revoked, and he continued to declare that they had been in spite of all evidence. We had fallen into the French trap as Adams had predicted.

3. The Course and Outcomes of the War of 1812

The Northwest Territory causes us concern. While Madison was thus involved in the toils of the astute emperor, our peace was becoming more imperilled by events in the West and in the new Congress.

Unless we consider these carefully it is impossible to understand why we went to war with England.

The Northwest Territory had been developing rapidly. Ohio had



TECUMSEH AND GENERAL HARRISON AT THE
COUNCIL OF VINCENNES

From the painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

been made a state in 1803, Michigan territory was carved out of the Old Northwest in 1805, and Illinois territory (including the present Wisconsin), four years later. The American pioneer had long been a woodsman and he could not, or thought he could not, use the open prairies and plains of the farther West. Not only was the tough sod too much for his rude ploughs, but the absence of timber for house-building and for cooking and warmth made the "great open spaces" seem unusable. As the steady stream of settlers poured westward from the East, the movement of population was turned northward instead of westward, from the Ohio-Illinois country.

Tecumseh organizes the Indians against the whites. The Indians by treaty were in possession of much of the Old Northwest. Across the international boundary were scattered English serving as a reminder that there was a very real barrier to advance beyond the lakes. In the dozen years preceding 1809, the Indians had "sold" 48,000,000 acres, but this did not satisfy the whites' eternal demand for land. Finally two leaders arose among the red men, Tecumseh and his brother who was called the Prophet, sons of a Shawnee. These two men, the finest, perhaps, that the Indians developed in their history, conceived the statesmanlike plan of reforming the Indians, keeping them from drink, stopping the alienation of their lands, and uniting all the tribes into one great confeder-

ation which should hold itself aloof from contact with the whites and defend the natives' own mode of life.

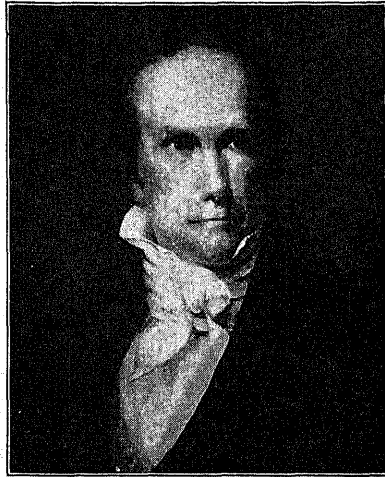
Harrison defeats the Indians at Tippecanoe. For a short while they were successful and even induced their followers to give up rum.

A large settlement of Indians under the leadership of the two brothers was established at the junction of Tippecanoe Creek and the Wabash River, and it seemed as if they might be able to make a final stand against the whites. William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, got together some of the Indians and made a treaty with them which transferred Tecumseh's hunting grounds to the whites, a treaty which Tecumseh regarded as void. The Indian leader's power grew, and more tribes joined him. Harrison moved swiftly with about a thousand troops to Tecumseh's settlement at Tippecanoe. The presence of the troops was a provocation, and the Indians fell upon them in the night.

Harrison routed the attackers, forced them to flee, and then destroyed their entire village.

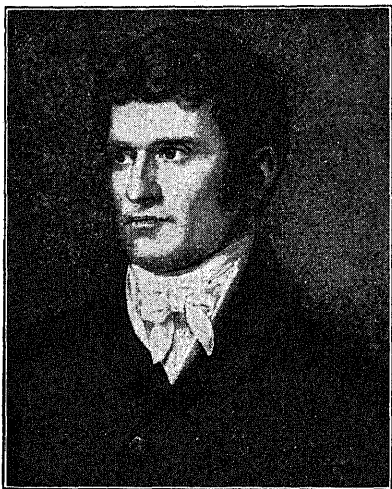
The "War Hawks" organize Congress for war with England. Advantage was taken of the belief through the West that the British in Canada were egging on the Indians against us. The truth of this is still open to question, though the Indians had secured arms from the British. But the country was made to believe not only that we had been right in fighting Tecumseh but that our northwestern settlements were unsafe from Indian attack so long as the British remained in Canada.

Three days before the battle of Tippecanoe, Congress met in Washington. A little over a fortnight later, Monroe became Secretary of State. He hoped to avert war. But there was a group of young new members in the Congress who were yet more insistent upon war. The "War Hawks," as the aggressive newcomers were to be called, formed an important group, though all were so young that they were either



HENRY CLAY, CONGRESSMAN FROM KENTUCKY AND LEADER OF THE "WAR HAWKS"

unborn or in their cradles when the Declaration of Independence was signed. Henry Clay of Kentucky, their leader, was thirty-four years old, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, twenty-nine, Langdon Cheves from the same state, thirty-five, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, thirty-six, and Peter B. Porter of western New York, forty.



JOHN C. CALHOUN, FROM SOUTH CAROLINA

These young men, and others who joined with them, were of a wholly different generation of Republicans from Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. They were impatient with the older statesmen and their methods. Most of them were closely connected with the western frontier. Grundy, for example, had had three brothers killed by Indians, and Porter had bought a large tract of land just this side of the Canadian border along the Niagara River. Quickly combining with sufficient other members to organize the House, they elected Clay as Speaker, thus controlling the appointment of committees.

Madison declares war against England. What the "War Hawks" really wanted was the annexation of Canada, which they claimed could be conquered in six weeks if we went to war with England. In the West, they talked of the perfidy of the British "scalp-buyers" who incited the Indians to attack our settlers, but as this topic did not greatly interest the East, they made their orations about "sailors' rights" and the freedom of the seas.

In May, 1811, Commodore Rodgers in the U. S. frigate *President* was patrolling the coast off New York to carry out the orders of the Secretary of the Navy to resist any infringements of our national dignity. Having heard that the British frigate *Guerrière* had impressed an American seaman, Rodgers gave chase to what he thought was the *Guerrière*. After a fight of several hours he forced the British vessel, which proved to be the sloop of war *Little Belt*, to strike her colors. This added to the desire for war and in the popular mind wiped out the disgrace of the *Chesapeake* affair.

New England, and the shipping interests generally, were bitterly opposed to a conflict with England. But more and more pressure was being brought to bear on President Madison. He would come up for re-election in 1812 and so far his record had been rather a failure. The most aggressive section of his own party, the "War Hawks" with Clay and Calhoun in the lead, demanded war.

On May 19, 1812, despatches arrived from England. In one of these despatches the British Foreign Office refused to rescind any of the Orders in Council until Napoleon plainly rescinded his Decrees. It stated that Madison's acceptance of the emperor's shuffling statements was "utterly subversive of the most important and indisputable maritime rights of the British Empire."

Madison, pressed hard by the "War Hawks" and unwilling to admit that Napoleon had duped him, asked Congress, on June 1, 1812, for a declaration of war with England. War was asked for on the grounds of violation of our three-mile limit, of paper blockades, Orders in Council, and impressment of our seamen. Napoleon and the Westerners had won, and New England was plunged in gloom. On June 18 war was declared.

England suspends her Orders in Council but it is too late. We had no minister in France. Pinkney, unhappily, had left us unrepresented in England. We had, fortunately, an able minister in Russia, John Quincy Adams, who reported that Napoleon's system of Decrees was nearing its downfall. Our *chargé d'affaires* at our deserted legation in Paris warned Madison that Napoleon's sole aim was to draw us into a war with England in order to further his own aims.

England did not want war with us. We should have known these facts if we had had a minister in London. England was almost at her last stand in 1811. Her debt was \$4,000,000,000, which was an almost unbelievably large sum at that time. Her exports had declined a good third in 1811. There were riots among the poor, and the madness of the King and the assassination of the Prime Minister had at critical moments interfered with her consideration of American questions. In May, 1812, the House of Commons was debating the suspension of the Orders in Council to conciliate us, even without action by Napoleon.

Unluckily, Percival's assassination delayed action by requiring a new ministry to be formed. But on June 16 it was announced in the Commons that the Orders in Council would be immediately suspended, and the formal order carrying out this promise was signed June 23. We

had declared war two days after the announcement suspending the Orders had been made in Parliament. Had there been a trans-Atlantic cable in those days, there would have been no war.

New England and New York oppose, while the Southern and Western states favor, the war. Public opinion was much divided in the United States. John Marshall felt mortified that America should have submitted to Napoleon, who, the week after war was declared, started his campaign of complete European conquest against Russia. Many agreed with Marshall. The war for "free trade and sailors' rights" found no sympathy in the chief maritime sections of our country, New England and New York. In the election of 1812, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware voted solidly against Madison. This may be taken as an indication of the sectional attitude toward the war.

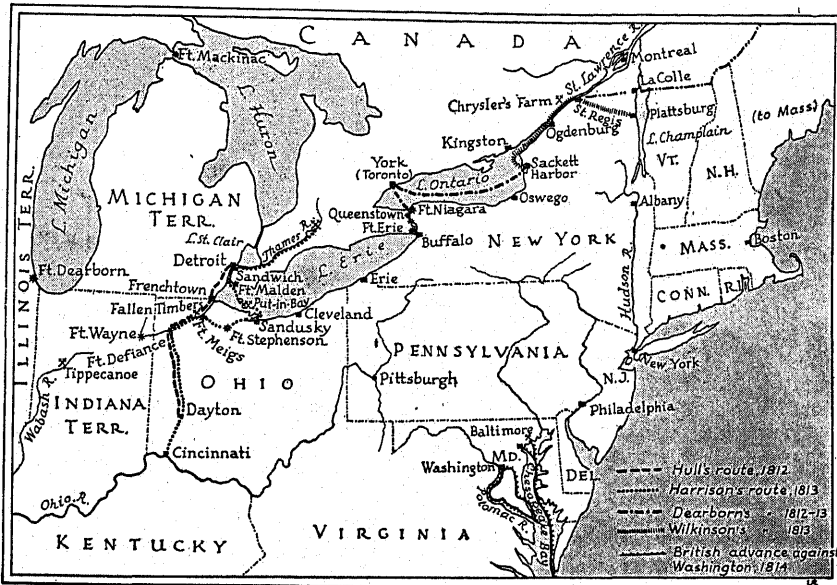
The sections which were solid for the war, the South and the West, had practically never had a sailor impressed and scarcely owned an ocean-going ship. The South, almost solidly Republican or Democratic, both names being then used for the same party, was traditionally in favor of France. The West wanted Canada. We had heavy grievances against both England and France, but France had not impressed our sailors and had no territory which we desired in North America.

Our country is poorly prepared for war. The United States has never prepared for any war in advance, even when hostilities may have been imminent for a long time. The War of 1812 was no exception, though for years the possibility of war had been before us. We had about 8000 troops, mostly located at Indian posts in the West. Our few frigates and the useless small gun-boats were insignificant in comparison with the navy of England, then the most powerful she had ever possessed.

Worst of all was the division of sentiment in the nation. In New England, when the declaration of war was announced, church bells were tolled and flags hung at half mast. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut refused to allow their militia to be ordered out. During the entire war the New England section, which held half the specie in the country, refused to invest its money in the financial operations of the government. It subscribed to less than \$3,000,000 of the \$41,000,000 which was raised by the Treasury. The "War Hawks," however, were as optimistic as they were jubilant. Calhoun declared that within a month the most important sections of Canada would be ours. Clay

boasted that the men of Kentucky could alone effect the conquest of Canada.

The Americans lose control of the Northwest. Fortunately for ourselves, England was so desperately locked in the conflict with Napoleon, in the Spanish peninsula and elsewhere, that she could give little thought to us. In spite of that, the first campaigns were for us disastrous failures. We were to pour our troops into Canada in four



THE WAR OF 1812

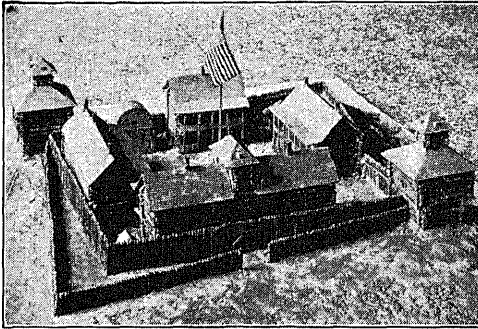
expeditions, one by way of Detroit, one by way of Fort Niagara, one across the St. Lawrence at Kingston, and one by the old route up Lake Champlain.

The two thousand men forming the first expedition under an old Revolutionary soldier, General William Hull, were at Detroit when news of the war reached them, with orders to invade Canada. Hull crossed the border and started to besiege the British post at Malden. While there he heard that the British had captured our garrison at Mackinac at the head of Lake Huron.

The Canadian commander, the able General Isaac Brock, brought up reinforcements to Malden and Hull fell back on Detroit. There he

had over 1000 men and ample arms and ammunition. But when Brock pursued him with 700 troops and several hundred Indians, Hull, in a panic, surrendered both the fort and the entire American force, August 16, 1812. Thus were lost Detroit and the control of the whole of our Northwest.

Instead of our quick conquest of Canada, the Canadian border had



LIKE ALL OTHER TOWNS OF THE EARLY WEST, CHICAGO BEGAN AS A STOCKADE

The Chicago Historical Society has this model to show how Fort Dearborn looked when it was nine years old. Compare it with pictures of Chicago to-day.

been pushed down to the Wabash and Ohio Rivers, for Fort Dearborn, now Chicago, had also fallen. Brock carried off Hull and the Americans as prisoners of war to Niagara. Later, Hull was tried by American court-martial and condemned to be shot as guilty of cowardice, but the President reprieved him on account of his old service in the Revolution.

Our conquest of Canada comes to naught. Early in October, the Americans and Canadians were watching each other across the

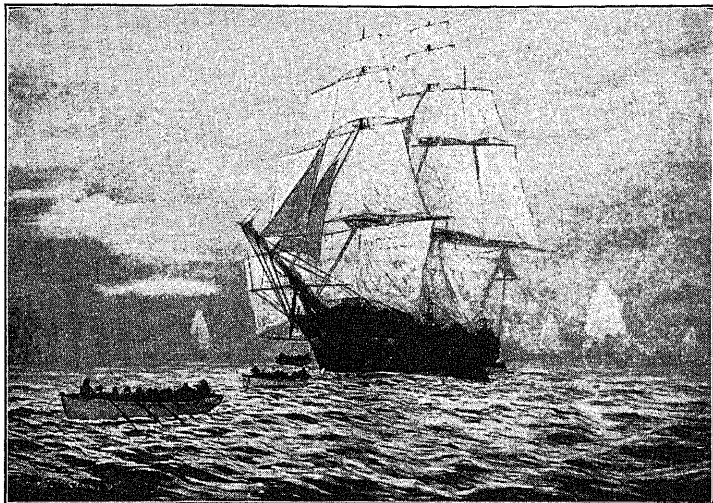
Niagara River. On the 13th, a small detachment of American regulars was ferried across to attack the British on Queenstown Heights. Brock was killed in the subsequent engagement. Nothing was gained by the Americans, for the New York militia under General Van Rensselaer refused to budge over the boundary line of their state.

Nothing came of the Kingston expedition. On Lake Champlain General Dearborn, who had a force of between 1000 and 2000 men at Plattsburg, advanced to the Canadian border. There they, like their brothers in the West, sat down and refused to cross the line. Dearborn calmly marched them back the twenty miles again. The "conquest of Canada," which the "War Hawks" had promised should be completed in a month, was becoming a farce, and even Americans had to laugh between fits of irritation.

The Americans defeat the British in duels at sea. For a while, however, we had better luck at sea, and a few famous fights cheered us greatly. On August 19, 1812, Captain Isaac Hull, a nephew of Gen-

eral Hull, redeemed both the family and national names. Three days after his uncle's surrender of Detroit, he forced the surrender of the British frigate *Guerrière*. His own vessel, the *Constitution*, carried forty-four guns to the thirty-eight of the British, but the chief point was that the Britisher who had been most active in impressment had had to strike his colors to the American navy.

In October came news that the American sloop-of-war *Wasp*, eigh-



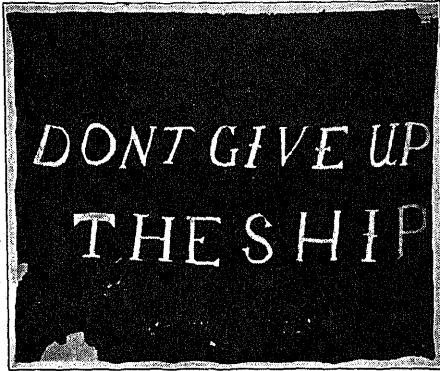
THE "CONSTITUTION" ESCAPING FROM A BRITISH SQUADRON, IN A LIGHT BREEZE, TOWED BY HER BOATS, JULY, 1812

After a painting by Carlton T. Chapman.

teen guns, had captured the British sloop *Frolic*, evenly matched and in fair fight. Then Commodore Decatur, in the frigate *United States*, turned up at New London with the British frigate *Macedonian* as a prize. That one of the best frigates in the British navy should be taken as a prize into an American port was humiliating for the English, who had regarded themselves as invincible at sea.

A few weeks later, Captain Bainbridge in the *Constitution* destroyed the equally powerful British frigate *Java* off the Brazilian coast, and in February, 1813, the U. S. S. *Hornet* sank the *Peacock*. In six months we had forced three British frigates and three sloops-of-war to surrender. We had lost only the gallant little eighteen-gun *Wasp*, which had been captured with small glory by the British seventy-four-gun frigate *Poictiers*.

Moreover, our privateers, partly from New England but more largely from the Middle states, had been playing havoc with British commerce, and had captured over 300 vessels. America was jubilant. It was largely these early and striking naval victories in single battles, with Perry's later exploit, which left the impression that somehow it was a glorious war for us.



IN MEMORY OF LAWRENCE; PERRY'S
BATTLE FLAG AT LAKE ERIE

Photograph from the original in the collection of trophy flags belonging to the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland.

The English blockade our coasts. In June, 1813, Captain Lawrence in the *Chesapeake* met the British frigate *Shannon* off the Massachusetts coast and in fifteen minutes was forced to surrender. From then the control of the sea became British. Our coast was blockaded from New London to the extreme South; by the autumn we did not have a single ship off the shores. How complete the blockade became is shown by the drop in exports from New York from \$12,000,000 in 1811 to \$200,000 in

1814 and from Virginia from \$4,800,000 to \$17,500. England had bottled us up and put in the cork.

Perry defeats the English on Lake Erie. On the other hand inside our boundaries affairs began to look up. Harrison took command of a new and much larger force in the West to recapture Detroit. To support him Captain Oliver H. Perry built five additional ships on Lake Erie. With his little fleet of nine vessels he defeated a somewhat less powerful squadron of the British, September 10, 1813.

The English vessels carried sixty-three guns to the American fifty-seven but ours were heavier, and in the end weight told, although Perry's tactics had been brilliant. His brief despatch telling of the victory read simply, "We have met the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

The Americans secure control of the Northwest. Harrison had already suffered the defeat of two of the three columns which he had directed toward Detroit. But Perry's victory, which cleared

the lakes, caused the British general, Proctor, to abandon Detroit and Malden, which immediately were occupied by Harrison. He pursued the British and defeated them in the battle of the Thames, where Tecumseh, who had gone over to the English side, was killed.

Again the Northwest was in our hands. Some additional fighting on land and another small naval engagement, on Lake Ontario, were indecisive. The war on both sides was becoming more barbarous. An American expedition descended upon York (Toronto) and burned a number of public buildings. We burned the town of Queenstown, leaving the inhabitants to shift for themselves on a bitter winter night. In revenge the British captured Fort Niagara, and destroyed Buffalo, then a small village, letting the Indians loose on the surrounding country.

By the spring of 1814 most of the incompetent higher officers had been cleared out of our army. Among the surviving major or brigadier generals were George Izard, Jacob Brown, Andrew Jackson, Peter B. Porter, and Winfield Scott. On July 5, Scott defeated the British at Chippewa in a well-fought action, and on the 25th, Brown inflicted heavy losses on the British at Lundy's Lane.

Macdonough defeats the English on Lake Champlain. Napoleon had abdicated in April, and the British were at last free to wage war against us in earnest. Large reinforcements were sent to Canada. By August over 10,000 veterans of the Duke of Wellington's Spanish campaigns, commanded by General Prevost, were in Montreal waiting to invade us by way of Lake Champlain, as of old. Prevost marched southward, reaching Plattsburg early in September, where he had prepared a flotilla of lake boats. We also had a fleet of small vessels under command of Commodore Macdonough, although it was much weaker than Prevost's. The Americans won in a brilliant little action. Prevost lost control of the waterways, so there was nothing for him to do but to retreat.

The English burn our Capitol and White House. Good news was sorely needed, for affairs were otherwise going very badly. Our commerce had been almost annihilated, owing to the complete blockade, which had been extended to Massachusetts. The government was nearly bankrupt, the blockade having cut off most of the revenue from customs duties, and New England having refused to contribute to the purchase of loans.

The British were hovering all along our coast, and had been landing marauding parties, burning farms and villages. In August they put ashore forces on the bank of the Patuxent River and marched un-

opposed for some days toward Washington. The capital was wholly undefended, and every one was in a panic. Seven thousand raw militia, hurriedly called out, broke and fled before the enemy. That night the British reached Washington and burned the public buildings and many of our national records. The President had to flee and hide in the woods, leaving his uneaten dinner on the White House table to be enjoyed by the British. Baltimore, however, was successfully defended in two gallant actions.

Jackson defeats the Indians in the South. In the far South Andrew Jackson had been trying to carry out the cherished wish of the Southerners to possess themselves of Spanish Florida. The first year, after having started a little campaign of his own, Jackson was recalled because Madison did not wish to involve us in war with Spain. The next year, however, a rising of the Creek Indians in Mississippi territory gave an excuse for an expedition. After having forced the Indians to sign a treaty giving us two-thirds of the present state of Alabama, Jackson continued his march eastward, and captured the Spanish settlement of Pensacola. However, rumors of a British attack on New Orleans led the War Department to order him westward.

Meanwhile both England and ourselves were heartily sick of the war. The rescinding of the Orders in Council had really removed one cause of the struggle before it had begun, though we did not know it. The English people had never wanted the war with us, and now negotiations began almost immediately to terminate it.

New England calls a convention to consider revising the Constitution. The war was enormously adding to the manufacturing capacity of New England, just as the earlier measures of embargo and non-intercourse had done. But the Federalist party, now in power there again, was still a party of the shipping interest. Disaffection to the national government had been steadily increasing in New England. At the darkest moment, in October, 1814, came a call from the Massachusetts legislature for a convention of delegates from New England to meet at Hartford for the purpose of arranging for another convention from all the states to revise the Constitution. The call created great alarm in the nation. The convention met behind closed doors on December 15, and at last issued suggestions which were the result of compromise. They did not suggest the desire for secession but did say that if the Union was to be dissolved it should be done in peace time, and that "States which have no common umpire must be their own judges, and execute their own decisions."

Jackson defeats the English at New Orleans. While New England was thus toying with the thought of breaking up the Union, suddenly came the news that Andrew Jackson had defeated the British at New Orleans. Sir Edward Pakenham with fifty vessels and 10,000 troops had arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi. He moved against the city, which Jackson had been recalled from Florida to defend. The



THE HARTFORD CONVENTION, OR "LEAP OR NO LEAP"

The New England states are represented on the brink of secession while George III of England urges them to come over to his side. From a cartoon by William Charles in the New York Public Library.

American forces were composed of splendid marksmen from Kentucky and Tennessee, devoted to their commander. As Pakenham delayed, Jackson took up a strong position against which Pakenham determined to launch a frontal attack. There had been some skirmishes when the final assault was made on January 8, 1815. The frontiersmen simply mowed down the British regulars as they advanced according to the orders of Pakenham, who was himself killed. The foolhardiness of the attack was demonstrated by the American loss of only eight killed and thirteen wounded against the loss of over 2000 for the British. Jackson leaped into fame and the war had made a future President.

A treaty of peace is made that does not mention the causes that brought on the war. As it happened the battle was useless for on

Christmas eve a treaty of peace had been signed, unknown as yet to Americans, by our commissioners at Ghent. John Quincy Adams was the head of the American delegation, having associated with him Albert Gallatin, Jonathan Russell, James A. Bayard, and Henry Clay.

The American commissioners had many bitter disputes among themselves. Clay was interested in peace terms as they might affect the Mississippi and the West; Adams in questions affecting New England, such as the fisheries. In the end a treaty was made which did not mention any of the objects for which we had gone to war. Neither side had won, and both were heartily sick of the stalemate. The two peace commissions disagreed on almost everything except that both wanted peace, which was signed December 24, 1814.

The war left behind for nearly a century hard feelings between the two nations. England resented our going into war with her while she was engaged against Napoleon. The only one who had gained from the war was Napoleon, and when peace was made he was already in exile.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Faris, *When America Was Young*, ch. 11; Johnson, *History of the War of 1812-1815*; Latané, *History of American Foreign Policy*; Maclay, *History of the United States Navy*, I; Mahan, *Sea Power and the War of 1812*; McAfee, *History of the Late War in the Western Country*; Page, *Dramatic Moments in American Diplomacy*, ch. 7; Paine, *The Fight for a Free Sea*, chs. 3, 5-9; Pratt, *The Expansionists of 1812*; Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812*; Sears, *Jefferson and the Embargo*; Snow and Gosnell, *On the Decks of "Old Ironsides"*; Stephenson, *A History of the American People*; Zimmerman, *Impressment of American Seamen*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Ames, *State Documents*, 54-88; Calhoun, *Works*, II, 1-13; Callender, *Selections from the Economic History of the United States*, 239-260; Harding, *Select Orations*, 175-190; Johnston, *American Orations*, I, 164-215; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 66-70; Niles, *Weekly Register*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Altscheler, *A Herald of the West*; Barnes, *Yankee Ships and Yankee Sailors*; Brady, *For the Freedom of the Sea*; Gay, *James Madison*; Holmes, *Old Ironsides*; Kaler, *With Perry on Lake Erie*; Key, *The Star-Spangled Banner*; Scollard, *Ballads of American Bravery*, 40-48; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 317, 351; Tomlinson, *War of 1812*; Wallington, *American History by American Poets*, I, 324-382.

III. *QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT*

1. What rules and regulations did England and France make that interfered with our commerce? 2. Why did England impress our seamen? 3. What was the purpose of the Embargo Act? 4. Why was there so much opposition in our country to the Embargo Act? 5. Why was the Embargo Act repealed? 6. What has been Jefferson's influence on American thought? 7. Why did Madison reopen trade with England and later withdraw it? 8. How did Napoleon trick us? 9. Why did Madison reopen trade with France? 10. How did conditions in the Northwest Territory help to cause our war with England? 11. What were the causes of our second war with England? 12. How was public opinion in our country divided on the war? 13. Show that our country was poorly prepared for war. 14. Tell of our attempt to annex Canada. 15. How do you account for our success in the naval duels at sea and our victories on the lakes? 16. Why was New England so opposed to the war? 17. What was the purpose of the Hartford Convention? 18. What was the significance of Jackson's victory at New Orleans? 19. Why did the treaty of peace that ended the War of 1812 not mention or settle the causes that brought on the war? 20. Why is the War of 1812 often called the war for our commercial independence?

IV. *EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES*

1. **IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW:** England's Orders in Council, Napoleon's Decrees, impressment of American seamen, the Embargo and Non-Inter-course Acts, Macon Bill No. 2, battle of Tippecanoe, the duels at sea, England's blockade of our coasts, Perry's victory on Lake Erie, Jackson's defeat of the Indians in the South, the Hartford Convention, Jackson's victory at New Orleans, the treaty of peace.

2. **PROJECT:** Beginning with the War of 1812 and going through our other wars—the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and the World War—make a study of the economic causes of war. Write down all the reasons you find that show that wars are economic.

3. **PROBLEM:** How did the "War Hawks" greed for more land really precipitate the War of 1812?

4. **DEBATE SUBJECT:** **RESOLVED:** That the United States was as much justified in going to war with France as with England.

5. **ESSAY SUBJECT:** The futility of the War of 1812.

6. **IMAGINARY LETTER:** Imagine that you were in Washington when the English burned our Capitol and White House. Write a letter to a friend describing the scene.

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7. DIARY: You were a delegate to the Hartford Convention and kept a record of what was said and done there. Read to the class extracts from your diary.

8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Canning, Timothy Pickering, De Witt Clinton, Gallatin, Erskine, Tecumseh, William Henry Harrison, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Felix Grundy, John Quincy Adams, General Hull, Captain Isaac Hull, Oliver H. Perry, Andrew Jackson, Commodore Macdonough.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1806; 1807; 1809; June 18, 1812; December 24, 1814; January 8, 1815.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Orders in Council, neutral trade, three-mile limit, impressment of seamen, economic pressure for armed force, "Southern dynasty," political machines, "War Hawks," British "scalp-buyers," "sailors' rights."

11. MAP WORK: *a.* In a map talk locate the following places and state the historical significance of each: Tippecanoe, Detroit, Fort Niagara, Kingston, Lake Champlain, Malden, Fort Dearborn, Lake Erie, Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, Florida, Hartford, New Orleans. *b.* On a rough sketch map indicate by red coloring those sections of our country that favored the War of 1812 and by blue coloring those sections that opposed it.

12. GRAPH WORK: By means of bar graphs show how effectively England destroyed our commerce by her blockade of our coasts from 1811 to 1814.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. NEUTRAL TRADE FROM 1789 TO 1807: Adams, *United States*, III, chs. 15-18; Bogart, *Economic History*, nos. 101-107; Channing, *Jeffersonian System*, chs. 13-15; Elliott, *Doctrine of Continuous Voyages*; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, nos. 116-120.

2. THE EMBARGO AND NON-INTERCOURSE ACTS: Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality*, chs. 1-3; Channing, *Jeffersonian System*, chs. 16-20; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, nos. 121-122; Hildreth, *History*, chs. 20-23; Sparks, *United States*, I, 301-312.

3. THE WAR OF 1812: Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality*, chs. 4-8; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, nos. 124-128; McMaster, *History*, III, chs. 21, 23; IV, chs. 24-27; Roosevelt, *Naval War of 1812*; Wilson, *American People*, III, 210-229.

4. OPPOSITION TO THE WAR OF 1812: Johnston and Woodburn, *American Political History*, I, 308-317; Lodge, *George Cabot*, chs. 10-13; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, no. 32; Stanwood, *Presidency*, ch. 8; von Holst, *History*, I, 235-272.

TOPIC V

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To develop the real significance of the "era of good feeling."
2. To understand the rising spirit of nationalism and sectionalism.
3. To see how European complications brought into being the Monroe Doctrine and to set forth how that doctrine has attempted to hold the New World aloof from the Old.

1. *Our Growth and Development After the War of 1812*

At first we are closely connected with Europe. From the beginning of American settlement until that Christmas Eve, 1814, when peace was made at Ghent, Europe and our relations to Europe had occupied the thoughts of the American people. Throughout the colonial period our squabbling with Parliament or royal governors kept constantly before us our dependence upon Europe. We were a part of an European empire and we had been involved in all the wars started in the Old World. Then came the Revolution. After independence we were still caught in every eddy of the Napoleonic conflicts.

For one hundred years we have gone largely our own way. With peace both in Europe and America, however, there began a new era. The Christmas present which the American people received in December, 1814, was nothing less than an almost precise century of time in which to center attention upon their own problems—organizing their government and society, and the physical conquest of the continent, with scarce a thought of wars in the Old World.

We were not completely isolated, we have never been, but our relations with Europe became matters for statesmen and secretaries of state to deal with. There were no forces which compelled the people to keep their eyes turned eastward over-seas.

In May, 1815, we sent Captain Decatur with a small fleet to force Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli to respect our rights and to renounce all levying of tribute on us for the future. It was a significant little gesture, and our final shot in the Old World until 1917. With immense zest we made a complete right-about-face and turned our thoughts and

energies from overseas to the development of the natural resources in the West.

Monroe's administration is called the "era of good feeling." The attitude of the Federalists toward the war, and more especially the nation's extreme dislike of the proceedings of the Hartford Convention, had left the Federalist party without a shred of power or influence save in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware. Largely from the absence of an opposition party, Monroe's eight years of office have been called the "era of good feeling." Rather it may be called the era of "slack water," of pause before new and violent controversies were to be aroused by the problems and personalities coming to the front. The old Federalist party had gone to pieces after swinging over to states rights and local interests, but the Republican party had become more than half Federalist in its policies.

From the purchase of Louisiana by Jefferson onward, one measure after another had come to make it difficult to distinguish a Republican in practice from a Federalist in theory. The break-up of the Federalists was so obviously complete that the Republican party was alone left in the field. But as conditions changed the Republican party also was preparing a break-up. The early Republican party is not, of course, to be confused with the present party of the same name which had its birth in the 1850's, as we shall see later.

Monroe selects a Southern Cabinet. Inaugurated in March, 1817, Monroe chose as Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, son of President John Adams and one of the most distinguished diplomats of the time. Although the appointment could not have been bettered, it was made in part for geographical reasons. Of the five Presidents thus far elected, four had been Virginians, and if Monroe was re-elected, as seemed inevitable, the nation would have had a Virginian for President for thirty-two years out of the first thirty-six of its existence.

Antagonism to this continued control by the South was developing. For that reason Monroe put a New England man in the highest post in the Cabinet. In doing so he disappointed Henry Clay, who declined the offer to the War Department and was elected speaker of the House. Calhoun accepted the war portfolio, and William H. Crawford of Georgia continued at the Treasury. William Wirt of Virginia was Attorney General. The Cabinet was thus drawn from the South with the exception of Adams.

After the War of 1812 our commerce grows apace. Except in trade, our losses of the war had not been great. Only about 1500 men

had been killed in battle, although the total casualties were several times that number. With the exception of the destruction of our new buildings and our records in Washington, there had been little serious damage to property on shore. Raidings of farms or villages along the coast were more exasperating than costly. The blockade had destroyed most of our trade temporarily. With the return of peace, however, trade began to move again like a freshet from thaws in the spring. In one month 144 vessels cleared from Boston for all parts of the world.

The War of 1812 stimulates our manufactures. Embargo, non-intercourse, and the blockade of the war had all acted as forced draughts under the development of American manufactures. In New England in 1807 there had been only 8000 spindles in the cotton mills. In 1815 there were 500,000. By the end of the war it is said that 100,000 men, women, and children were employed in New England in textile mills alone. What was true of the textile industries in that section was also true of iron manufacturing in the middle colonies, and to a lesser degree of manufacturing generally in the North.

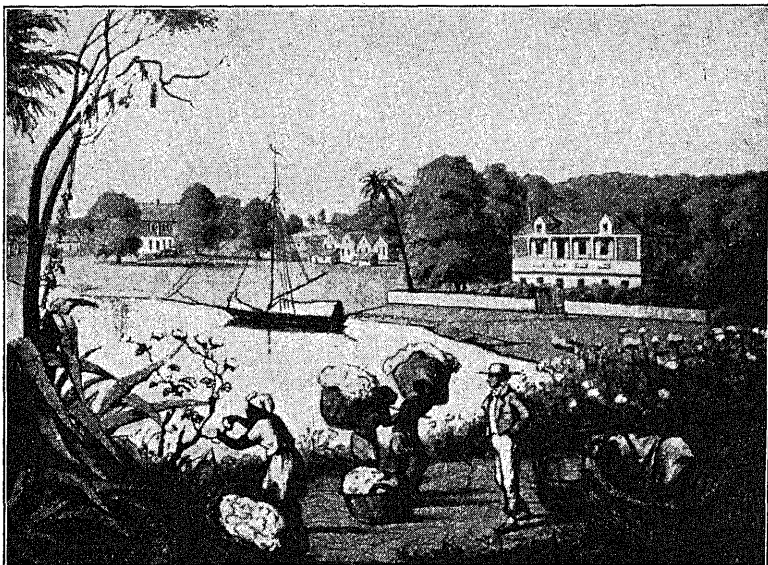
New England did not yet realize that her future was in the factory and not on the sea. So the old shipping merchants fought bitterly against the change. The interests of the two forms of employment of capital were directly opposed to one another. The shippers wanted free-trade and heavy importations; the growing manufacturers wanted protective tariffs and home markets limited to domestic goods.

Our urban centers grow rapidly. Both this growing industrialism and the increasing trade with the interior of the country were rapidly developing the towns and cities. This was true of the North and to a lesser extent of the West, but not of the South. Thus between 1810 and 1820 Boston rose from 32,250 to 43,300, New York from 96,400 to 123,700, Philadelphia from 91,900 to 112,800, and Baltimore from 35,600 to 62,700, whereas the metropolis of the South, Charleston, remained stationary at 24,700 showing an increase of only 69 persons in ten years. New Orleans, however, as the great center for all the direct export trade of the West, was advancing as rapidly as the northern cities. The great trend toward cities was not to set in fully until about 1820, but the difference between North and South had already become evident.

England "dumps" her goods on us. For a time after the signing of peace, the Northern factories were hard pressed by what we would call to-day "dumping" by British manufacturers. Fearing the increasing American competition, the British shipped over goods at

prices below cost of production. This was not done for immediate profit but with the deliberate intent to throttle young and dangerous rivals. It was a practice which could not be sustained indefinitely and our manufacturing had taken too deep root to be killed by it.

Manufacturing brings fluid capital to the North. Manufacturing called for considerable amounts of capital. The capital needed



A COTTON PLANTATION IN THE SOUTH

From Lewis's *Das Illustrierte Mississippthal*, Düsseldorf, 1854, in the Rare Book Room of the New York Public Library.

was coming from manufacturing itself, from shipping, and from various forms of quick trading, such as speculating in the rapid rise in values of real estate in growing cities. It was being produced in the North and West but not nearly so rapidly in the South. At the time of the Revolution, planters like Washington and Charles Carroll had been among the richest of Americans, but fifty years later no Southerner could vie in wealth with new men in the North. For example, Stephen Girard in Philadelphia, starting with shipping, was worth perhaps \$5,000,000 in 1820, and John Jacob Astor in New York possibly twice that amount.

Astor was a German immigrant who had arrived unknown in 1783. In 1808 he invested \$500,000 in one of his enterprises alone, the American Fur Company. His plan to establish the seat of his fur-trading at Astoria in the Oregon country had been interfered with by the war, but the conflict had brought him large winnings in shipping ventures, profits from a single voyage sometimes running to \$70,000.

Agriculture brings little fluid capital to the South. In the South little or no such free capital was being created. Capital was chiefly in the form of land and slaves. The export of tobacco fell off sharply after the war, and the increased production of Virginia had to compete with the richer soils of Kentucky and North Carolina. There was little or no surplus of any sort at the year's end. There the poorer whites scrabbled for an existence, and the richer saw profits eaten up in keeping the slaves with their increase of children.

Many factors reduce profits on the plantations. The big cotton plantation could not quickly adjust the labor supply to the demands of production or price. Where a Northerner was paying fifty cents or a dollar a day to a man or child whom he could turn off at a moment's notice, the Southerner had to buy his slaves at about \$800 each (1818). In addition, he must feed, clothe, and look after the slave in sickness, knowing that death meant a heavy capital loss. Sometimes an epidemic would carry off in a few weeks a third of the blacks on a plantation. Slack working, petty thieving, the difficulty of getting a good overseer, runaways, sickness or death of the slaves, all reduced profits.

2 *The Westward Movement*

The plantation system moves westward. Capital invested in land and slaves could be made profitable only by raising as large crops as possible. There was incessant demand for new and unworn lands, and the "cotton belt" spread ever westward. Many of the big old plantation homes were beautiful, and living in them was on a bounteous scale, but capital was not accumulating in liquid form. The economic life, as well as the social structure, was becoming more and more "set" in the mould of cotton as the one basic industry instead of being increasingly diversified as in the North.

Only a small proportion of all Southerners were rich enough to own slaves, and even some of them preferred not to. The system, however, tended to drive the poorer white planters on to inferior lands. Many of them emigrated to the West, where they glimpsed a possibility of getting

away from the hopeless poverty and the sinking in the social scale which seemed to be their fate in the slave states.

Southern wealth was passing from the old tobacco aristocracy of Virginia, and to some extent from the rice planters of Carolina, to the new cotton magnates of the gulf states. Life in the southern tier of states must have been dull with the somewhat enervating climate, the



PIONEER ROADS

monotonous single industry, the big-scale management of slave labor, and the loneliness of the big plantations. No Washingtons, Jeffersons, Monroes, or Marshalls were to come from that section during its period of rapid development. On the other hand, much of the most vigorous stock of the Old South was passing steadily westward.

Economic conditions cause people of the East to move West. In 1789, when Washington was inaugurated, there were about 220,-

1,000 people living beyond the mountains, or a little over 5 per cent of our total population. By 1820 the number had risen to over 2,600,000, more than 27 per cent of the whole. During the hard times of the East after the war the stream of westward migration rose to a flood. Emigrants poured along the old roads headed for the land of promise. Some were lured by good soils and pleasant sites to linger and settle as they journeyed, and along the Mohawk Valley route, for example, flourishing villages sprang up all the way to Buffalo.

Following the road from Philadelphia, the pioneers struck the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, uniting to form the Ohio at Pittsburgh, and that town quickly became one of the great gateways of the West. There travelers and goods were trans-shipped from wagons to the boats plying down the river. By 1816 it was incorporated as a city, and had its shipyards, rolling mills, steel furnaces, and other industries.

The National Road, which was built at a cost of \$7,000,000, was completed in 1818. For a time this road, connected with one from Baltimore, remained the chief route to the Ohio. It was an amazing improvement over any other we had had and greatly helped the ceaseless westward flow.

In 1802 a line of stage coaches was inaugurated between Boston and Savannah. These took four days from Boston to New York, one and a half from New York to Philadelphia, fifteen from Philadelphia to Charleston, and two more from that town to Savannah, or twenty-two and a half in all. The 1200 miles were traversed at an average speed of fifty-three miles a day. The hard journey cost seventy dollars more for board and lodging on the way. Until the coming of the railroads, considerably later, land transportation remained costly as compared with water.

The steamboat helps in building up the West. A great impetus to the building up of the West came with the development of

PEOPLE'S LINE OF STAGES!



From Pittsburgh to Philadelphia,

RUNNING DAILY, via Columbia Railroad, with splendid New Coaches, and First Rate Horses. WHOLE DISTANCE ACCOMPLISHED WITHIN SIXTY HOURS.

Seats in the above Line may be taken at the People's Office, No. 43 Wood street, opposite the Pittsburgh Hotel, or at the Mansion House of B. Weaver, corner of Wood and Fifth streets.

N. GRIFFITH, Agent.

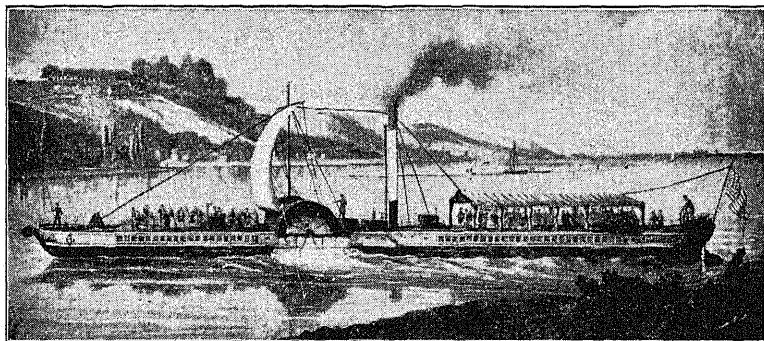
November 20, 1834---tf

AN ADVERTISEMENT IN "THE DAILY PITTSBURGH GAZETTE"

From the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

the steamboat. In 1785, John Fitch had begun his efforts to make steam navigation practicable and had tried a steamboat on the Delaware. In spite of his persistence and the regular running of a boat for a while in 1790, he was not to achieve success. For the most part his experiments met with only jeers from the public.

In 1807, Robert Fulton built the famous *Clermont*, which made her trial trip up the Hudson in August. Although her rudder did not work well, she reached Albany from New York in thirty-two hours, and a new epoch in our transportation was opened. The follow



A PICTURE OF ROBERT FULTON'S STEAMBOAT, THE "CLERMONT," WHEN IT WAS FOUR YEARS OLD

From a lithograph in the Stokes Collection, New York Public Library.

ing summer, the vessel ran regularly. The way having been pointed out, others began to ply on many of our rivers, although their use did not become general until after the War of 1812.

Some idea of the remoteness of even the nearest West may be obtained by noting the best time which could be made after the *Clermont* had reduced the time up the Hudson to thirty-two hours. The best route from New York to Pittsburgh was by way of Albany as that made use of water-routes to the full. Yet by a combination of boat and turnpike it took twenty-three and a half days to cover the 916 miles.

In 1819, the first steamship to cross the Atlantic, the *Savannah*, made the trip between New York and Liverpool, and the modern age was dawning. About the same time there were some three-score stern-wheel river steamers operating regularly between Louisville and New Orleans. They transported freight to the upper Ohio River towns

for less than half the charge for carrying the same freight overland from Baltimore or Philadelphia.

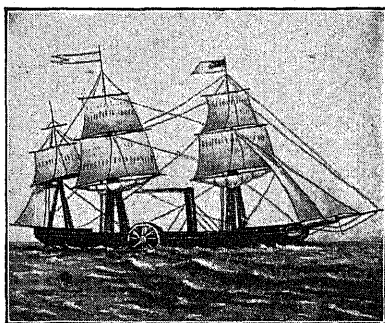
The Erie Canal helps make New York City our metropolis. The possible magnitude of the western trade was realized by the Eastern merchants and capitalists. Each city hoped to become the chief clearing point for it, and to hold it against the menace of the Mississippi route. The National Road gave great advantage to Baltimore, but in 1817 New York state authorized the building of a canal 363 miles long to connect the Hudson at Albany with Lake Erie. This was to prove one of the determining factors in the development of New York City.

The completion in 1825 of the "big ditch"—it was only four feet deep—was celebrated throughout the state. A gaily decorated flotilla of canal boats started from Buffalo on October 26. As the mules drawing it tramped along the towpath, they were startled in every village by cheering crowds. When the flotilla reached New York, Governor Clinton poured the water, which had been brought from Buffalo, into the sea, with the inevitable accompaniment of oratory. The cannon on the Battery roared a salute. That night there were balls, dinners, and illuminations in the city rejoicing in the vistas of a new prosperity.

The West rapidly fills with people. By 1820 the West had filled with incredible rapidity. Ohio, with only 50,000 inhabitants when admitted to statehood seventeen years before, had 600,000 more people than Massachusetts. Wealth was rapidly accumulating in its rising cities. It was a far cry from the log cabin to the houses of the now wealthy Ohio merchants.

The old Federalist fears of a shift in the balance of power seemed to be becoming realities. Louisiana had been admitted to the Union in 1812, Indiana 1816, Mississippi 1817, Illinois 1818, Alabama 1819, and Missouri was to come in in 1821 as part of the bargain by which Maine was added the year before.

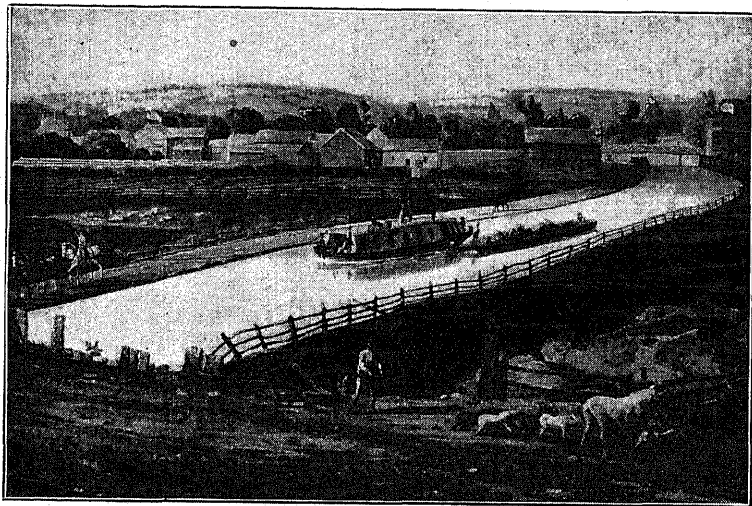
In this new western empire there were already flourishing centers, such as St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, and other towns and cities



THE "SAVANNAH"

The first American steamer to cross the Atlantic.

soon to exceed in population any of the centers of the Old South. For example, in the 1819 edition of *The American Universal Geography*, its author, Jedediah Morse, notes that in 1810 the population of Cincinnati was 2540, in 1815 about 6500, and in 1819 about 10,000. There were nine churches and a stone flour-mill nine stories high. But the author adds plaintively, "so rapid are the improvements in this and other towns, and indeed of this whole Western country, that it cannot be expected that a geographer should be able to keep pace with



VIEW ON THE ERIE CANAL 1830-1831

From a water color by J. W. Hill in the Stokes Collection, New York Public Library.

them." We were, as Calhoun said, "rapidly—I was about to say fearfully—growing."

Our country lags behind in the fine arts. We were not, however, growing in the finer arts. The general level of culture, under the pressure of this new economic exploitation, was lower than it had been a half century earlier. There were no painters to rank with the Copleys Peales, and Wests of the late colonial period.

"Few men, in America," wrote Morse, "have originally sufficient property to justify them in devoting their lives to the pursuits of literature . . . and Mæcenases are indeed but rarely found in a country where wealth or office is the general object of pursuit." If "men of learning of the English stamp" were seldom found in America, he

noted, nevertheless, that nowhere else except in Scotland was general education so diffused among the entire people.

However, Washington Irving had published his *Knickerbocker's History of New York* in 1809. *The North American Review* had started on its long career in 1815, and *The American Journal of Science and the Arts* was established three years later. In 1817 *The North American Review* had printed Bryant's "Thanatopsis," though when that and his "To a Waterfowl" were submitted to the editors one of them claimed that there must be some deception, as no one in America was capable of writing such poetry.

Our country is concerned in producing material goods. The predominant interest of the period, however, was material development. The colossal task before us was that of providing for the material needs of a people multiplying and spreading with incredible speed—the needs of transportation, of housing, of financing, of almost everything. This task, combined with the hitherto undreamed-of size of the prizes which might fall to the fortunate, led us away from the humane culture of our eighteenth century. On the other hand, Morse was right in pointing to the diffusion of education as something to be noted

The West breeds democracy. Our main thought in conquering the continent was profit. Along with it at all times there has been the strain of idealism, expressed chiefly through the concept of democracy, and in this the West led as might be expected. Mississippi demanded that the voter be either a tax-payer or a militiaman, but with this slight exception, every Western state came into the Union with white manhood suffrage.

More than that, they did not claim, as the older Southern states had claimed, any apportionment of representation based on slaves. They founded their constitutions solely on the right of the majority of free whites to rule regardless of any representation based on ownership of property. This fact had influence in the East and between 1818 and 1821 manhood suffrage was adopted in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, and New York.

Madison and Monroe oppose internal improvements. Democracy could not flourish on the gigantic scale contemplated in the settlement of the American continent unless the sections could be linked together by convenient and rapid means of communication. In 1808 Gallatin had made his noted *Report on the Subject of Public Roads and Canals*. He proposed by spending about \$20,000,000 to build a series of roads and canals connecting East and West. Jefferson believed in the

importance of the object, but he doubted that the Constitution permitted the government to embark on such construction work and suggested amendments.

Nevertheless, when the bill for the National Road from Cumberland to Wheeling was passed, it received his signature. Doubts continued, however, and Madison vetoed an important internal-improvement bill sponsored by Calhoun on the ground that he could not reconcile it with the Constitution. His successor, Monroe, took the same ground. Although the government had built the National Road, it declined to undertake any further construction of roads and canals and even to appropriate money for the upkeep of that road.

3. *Nationalism and Sectionalism*

Clay proposes his "American System." Meanwhile Clay and Calhoun, always ardent nationalists, had been pleading for internal improvements. The one from the West and the other from the South, they realized the growing sectionalism of the nation. Two things were clearly necessary to bind the sections—transportation and common economic interest. Clay believed he had found the solution of the problem in what he called the "American System."

Clay held the theory, springing from Hamilton, that by means of a protective tariff, and not a tariff simply for revenue, manufactures would be built up. This would make us to a much greater degree self-supporting. And it would provide employment for a large industrial population. The feeding of this non-agricultural population would provide a domestic market for a large part of the agricultural produce of the growing West, which would, in exchange, buy Eastern manufactures. The South would do the same, in exchange for cotton sold to Northern textile mills. A considerable part of the revenue from the duties under the tariff was to be used for internal improvements, so much desired by the West, linking all parts of the nation together.

The tariff question reveals our growing sectionalism. Owing partly to British "dumping" and the general unsettlement of post-war conditions, a tariff had been passed in 1816. It was only to a slight extent protective, but it had been opposed by New England, where the shipping interest was stronger than the manufacturing interest. On the other hand, the South was in favor of it. The manufacturing Middle states were strongly in favor of protection.

The real struggle for Clay's "American System" lay ahead in the next decade, but the vote on the tariff bill of 1820, which failed by only

one vote, indicated that sectional changes were occurring. In the House, New England's vote was divided 18 in favor to 17 opposed, showing the gain of the manufacturers on the merchants. The Middle states voted solidly in favor. The South now voted 50 against with only 5 in favor. The northern Western states were in favor, while the lower tier, from Kentucky southward, were opposed. In other words, the manufacturing Middle states and the Ohio Valley wished for as much protection as possible. The great tobacco and cotton growers in the South joined with the gradually declining shipping interest of New England to defeat it.

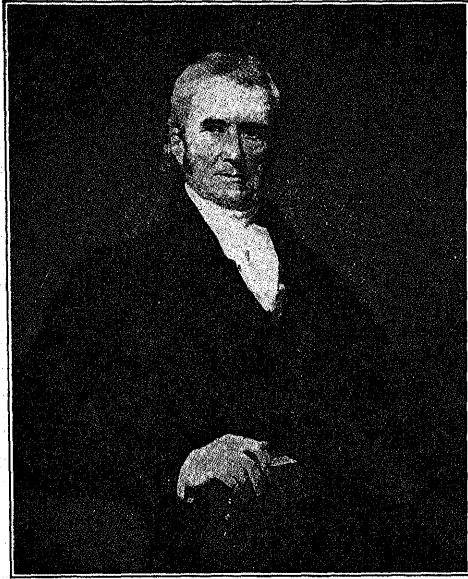
Our government establishes a second United States Bank. The War of 1812 for our commercial independence had cost the government about \$200,000,000 and, partly on account of the blockade, the government finances had become disordered. In 1815 Alexander J. Dallas, Secretary of the Treasury, had advocated the chartering of the second Bank of the United States to resume the functions of the first one whose charter had expired. Although there was a good deal of opposition, the bank was authorized by Congress in 1816.

During the war, specie payment had had to be suspended by all banks outside the New England area. The currency was in confusion, and it was hoped that the new bank might provide a sound one. The bank opened in January, 1817, with nineteen branches in the principal cities of the country. By February 20, specie payment had been resumed by the state banks. The currency was once more on a firm foundation.

A period of speculation leads to financial crash. The banking system of the country, however, was not sound. Peace had led, as always, to a great outburst of extravagance. Everybody wanted credit. The Northern manufacturers had been hard hit by British "dumping," and were struggling against unexpected competition. Speculation in land was rampant in the South and in the West. Planters and speculators bought up tracts at high prices on a large scale. The numerous emigrants to the West had borrowed heavily to pay for the lands which they had taken up on government grants and for the cost of moving from their old homes. The state banks, many of them small, and ir inexperienced hands, made loans to any one who needed credit.

The situation of the whole country was thoroughly unsound. In 1818 the United States Bank, which had been very badly managed and had done nothing to check the orgy of credit, suddenly instructed all its branches to accept no notes but its own, to demand immediate payment of all state bank notes, and to renew no personal loans. State banks

crashed everywhere, and ruin was widespread. Land values dropped in some cases by 70 per cent and staple products by 50 per cent. By the collapse of the local state banks and the foreclosures by the National Bank, a large part of the city of Cincinnati, its hotels, iron foundries, unimproved real estate, warehouses, and so on, passed in title to the Bank of the United States. This story was repeated in other towns. By



CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN MARSHALL
From a painting by Henry Inman.

1819 the country was in the throes of a financial panic.

The bank question reaches the Supreme Court. "The Monster," that is the Bank of the United States, had been unpopular in most of the newer states, as well as the older ones. Many had taken steps, especially by heavy taxation, to prevent it from operating within their borders. Maryland had been one of these, and the Baltimore branch of the National Bank had refused to pay the tax levied on its notes. The case took its course through the courts and in 1819 the decision of the Supreme Court was handed down by Marshall, in what has been called one of the "greatest judicial utterances of all time."

Because *McCulloch* was the cashier of the bank sued by the state, the case is known as that of *McCulloch vs. Maryland*. It rested on the old question of the powers inherent in the Constitution. As always, Marshall was strongly in favor of the loosest construction of that instrument, and the maximum of power for the central government.

Chief Justice Marshall hands down a famous decision. In his opinion he had to discuss, he said, "the conflicting powers of the government of the Union and of its members," a problem which must be decided peacefully "or remain a source of hostile legislation, perhaps of *hostility of a still more serious nature*." From the method of adopting the Constitution, he went on, "the government proceeds directly from

the people . . . their act was final. It required not the affirmation, and could not be negated, by the state governments." The national government is "emphatically, and truly, a government of the people. In form and substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them, and for their benefit."

Having argued the power of Congress to create the bank, he continued to argue against the power of a state to tax it. Finding no "express provision" covering the point, he boldly claimed that there was "a principle which so entirely pervades the Constitution . . . as to be incapable of being separated from it without rendering it into shreds." "This great principle is that the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are supreme; that they control the constitution and laws of the respective states, and cannot be controlled by them."

This he called an "axiom," from which he drew the corollaries that "a power to create implies a power to preserve," that "a power to destroy, if wielded by a different hand, is hostile to, and incompatible with these powers to create and to preserve," and that "where this repugnancy exists, that authority which is supreme must control, not yield to that over which it is supreme."

"In truth," as the Chief Justice said, the whole question was "of supremacy," and, if the states could tax the national government the declaration in the Constitution that it and its laws "shall be the supreme law of the land, is empty and unmeaning declamation." This is an important statement of the doctrine of implied powers. Marshall had not denied that the Federal Government was one of delegated powers. But he insisted that in the exercise of those powers it had the right to choose the means by which they would effectively be put into action. In a few words, then, the decision of the Supreme Court enabled the government to accomplish its purposes to the full. It also enabled the government to develop a vigor which would have forever been denied to it under strict construction not only of its powers but of the methods of exercising them.

Marshall's decisions give power to Supreme Court. In the decision handed down by him in the case of *Cohens vs. Virginia* three years before, he had declared that the Supreme Court could set aside the decisions of state courts or the laws of the state legislatures if in its opinion they were found in conflict with the Federal Constitution. The great work of the Chief Justice was to develop the theory of the Constitution and to give to the Supreme Court the power to determine what is in accord with the fundamental law and what is not

As Lord Bryce once said, the Constitution as originally drafted was "rather a ground-plan than a city," and it was this mere ground-plan which was filled in by the Chief Justice. The work accomplished by Marshall affords an interesting example of personality working in history.

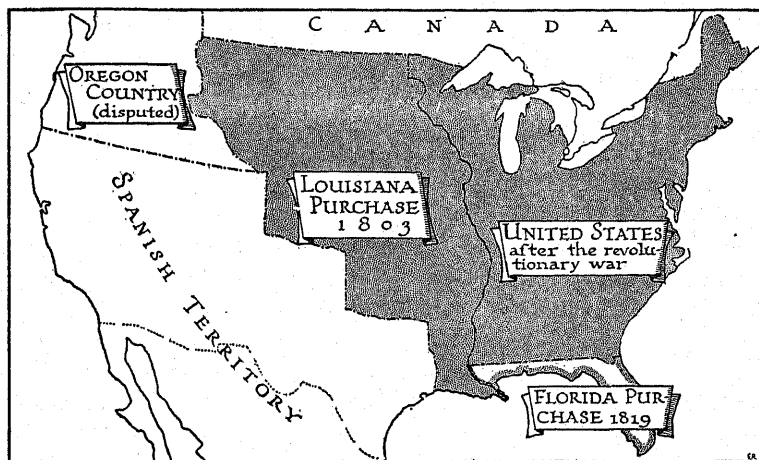
That the Supreme Court has become to-day probably the most important and influential national tribunal in the world is due chiefly to the strength of Marshall's mind and character. It performs an indispensable function in interpreting the Constitution. It has given to what might have become a rigid document that living flexibility to meet the changing needs of social and economic conditions. Moreover, its decisions have shown a remarkable independence of party spirit and a genuine desire to hold even the scales of justice.

Many have felt that the Supreme Court has been at times too careful of the rights of property in comparison with those of man. But the honesty and ability of its members have rarely been called into question. No other body in the nation has had so continuously a distinguished membership or has so retained the confidence of the people.

The question of Florida gives us trouble. While Marshall was thus defining and extending the powers of the government, the boundaries of the country were being rounded out. Our only portion of the Gulf coast had been the somewhat uncertain and comparatively small stretch of land which had come to us by the purchase of Louisiana. In 1810, however, we had taken possession of the coast as far as the Perdido River. We wanted not only all the coast eastward but also the peninsula of Florida. This seemed clearly to belong to us geographically. It was unquestionably the property of Spain, which had three fortified posts there, including St. Augustine. That power, however, although required by treaty to keep the Indians from annoying us, made no pretense of doing so. With our discontented Creeks within our own borders and the Seminoles on both sides of the international boundary, trouble was unavoidable.

Florida was an unpatrolled wilderness. Two Englishmen, an adventurer, Ambrister, and a trader, Arbuthnot, began to stir the Indians to trouble. Our Seminoles did some scalping of settlers who were living on lands the Creeks had "ceded" to us. President Monroe sent Andrew Jackson down to settle the trouble. Jackson chased the Seminoles over into Florida, caught and, after a summary trial, executed the two Englishmen, and then in true Jacksonian style started to take possession of the Spanish posts.

The United States purchases Florida from Spain. England rang with denunciations of the killing of its citizens, but Lord Castlereagh, a wise statesman and always friendly to us, declined to be moved by the demand for war. Adams in the Secretary of State's office took a high tone with Spain. In a sharp note he informed her that she was not complying with her treaty obligations but was leaving Florida "a derelict, open to the occupancy of every enemy," and with no earthly



THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE PURCHASE OF FLORIDA

purpose except as a source of annoyance to us. Either Spain must maintain her authority or cede the peninsula to us. After a good deal of rather amusing diplomacy, we paid that nation about \$5,000,000 for the whole of the peninsula and the Gulf coast reaching to the territory we already possessed.

United States and England settle some questions. John Quincy Adams, who was one of the greatest Secretaries of State we have ever had, had other problems on his hands than Jackson's two Englishmen and the Spaniards. By conventions entered into with England in 1818 the problem of our rights as to the Newfoundland fisheries was thought to be settled. Nevertheless, it recurred at intervals to disturb relations for nearly a century. In the same year the question of ownership of the Oregon country was also compromised for a time on the basis of a joint occupation for ten years.

A far more important, and let us hope a perpetual, agreement was

made between England and America on the Canadian border. We both had boats on the Great Lakes, and the stage was set for a miniature race in armaments. We took the initiative in suggesting the complete "civilizing," in a very real sense, instead of the "militarizing," of the whole boundary. Castlereagh happily fell in with the idea. For over a century, on a 3000-mile boundary between two of the greatest powers of the world, the United States and the British Empire, there has been not a soldier, a fort, or a naval vessel of importance. This is the greatest object lesson which the world has ever seen showing how nations may live together in peace and trust.

Question of admission of Missouri raises the slavery issue. In 1818 there sounded through the nation a sudden dispute which Jefferson called a "fire bell in the night." The population of Missouri had steadily been growing and a bill was introduced in Congress to admit her to statehood. Slavery had been fast dying out in the Northern states and increasing in the South but it had not been at any time a national issue. It was, however, in the back of the people's minds as a political problem.

The compromise, adopted when the Constitution was framed, providing that representation in Congress from slave states should be based on the white population plus three-fifths of the slaves, had never been wholly satisfactory to the North. If the blacks were property and not persons why, asked some of the Northerners, should five white men in the South be given as much representation as seven white men in the North? And if there was to be a property basis for representation, why should slaves count and not ships or factories? Nevertheless, there had been no open agitation of the dangerous question.

When the bill for the admission of Missouri was introduced, however, a representative from New York, General James Tallmadge, moved an amendment. It provided that all slaves born in the state after its admission should become free at twenty-five years of age, and that no more should be imported. Owing to the much more rapid increase of population in the North and Northwest than in the South, the number of representatives in the House already stood at 105 to 81 in favor of the free states. As the slave and free states were equal in number, the Senate was evenly divided. On Tallmadge's attempt to force Missouri to become free, what had been in the backs of people's minds suddenly leaped to the front. The amendment was lost, but the public discussion became bitter. A vision had been opened of what the future might hold.

The Missouri Compromise admits Missouri and Maine. From colonial days what is now the state of Maine had been part of Massachusetts. That province had again expressed its wish to separate and become an independent state. This somewhat happy coincidence permitted a way out of the Missouri discussion. Finally in 1820, in the Missouri Compromise, it was agreed that Missouri should come in as a slave state and Maine as free, and that thereafter slavery should be prohibited in the remainder of the Louisiana purchase north of the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$. This was approximately the southern boundary of Missouri. Although temporarily settled, Adams was right in appraising the unexpected controversy as merely the "preamble to a great and tragic volume."

4. *The Monroe Doctrine*

The Spanish-American countries establish republics. Meanwhile there were wars and confusion to the south of us. During the years that Napoleon had made himself master of Spain, her colonies had enjoyed a semi-independence. Although the Bourbon monarchy was restored, a movement toward complete independence had been started which Spain was unable to control. The new governments set up by the successful revolutionists were republican in form. Much sympathy was aroused among our own people for those of the new states, as yet unrecognized by Spain, which were coming into being in Central and South America.

Henry Clay in particular was eloquent in his appeals to Congress to recognize them. But Adams as Secretary of State took a more cautious and statesmanlike view. Although he wished the new republics well, and preferred that they should be independent of Spain, he had none of Clay's emotional enthusiasm. He clung tenaciously to the policy, which on the whole had served us well, of complete neutrality in wars which did not immediately concern us. To Clay's disappointment, Congress passed a Neutrality Act in 1818.

England fears our influence with the Latin-American states. England had considerable financial and commercial relations with the Spanish American colonies, and Lord Castlereagh had been watching the progress of the revolutions. By 1822 all the former colonies had completely routed the remnants of Spanish authority. In March we formally recognized the independence of Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Chile, and La Plata. Brazil had already become an independent empire.

England's chief interest was to retain her trade and to insure the safety of her investments there. She had hesitated to recognize the

independence of the new nations. This was due partly to the fact that it would be an unfriendly act toward Spain, on whose side she had just been fighting against Napoleon, and partly for fear of our continued expansion southward.

We have always honestly believed that we were not an imperialistic people and did not wish to expand. But other nations have taken a different view of the probable course of our policies. They have realized that expansion, when easily possible, becomes almost inevitable for any nation. Already in our brief history down to 1823 we had doubled our territory by the purchase of Louisiana, had tried to push its boundaries as far as we could and then had forced Spain to cede Florida to us.

If Spanish America, instead of being part of the Spanish Empire, became filled with weak and perhaps warring states, was it not likely that we would intervene and swallow them one after another? In that case, what might become of British trade there was uncertain.

England asks us to join in preserving the integrity of South America. In the beginning of 1823, a new complication occurred. The Quadruple Alliance at the Congress of Verona, 1822, had decided that France should assist the Spanish King, Ferdinand VII, to rid himself of the constitution and restore him as a despot. It began to look as though France might join with Spain in reconquering Spanish America and get a share of it for her pains. This would not have suited English policy. If the prospect of the United States taking a huge bite of the lost Spanish Empire was disagreeable, that of finding France set up again as a great imperial power in the New World was startling.

Canning, the British Prime Minister, suggested to our minister, Richard Rush, that England and the United States should join in a declaration warning France to keep her hands off. He explained that although he believed Spain could not reconquer her colonies, England was not yet ready to acknowledge their independence. England had, he said, no desire to acquire territory herself and would unite with us in pledging both nations against doing so in South America.

Jefferson and Madison favor, Adams opposes, offer. It was a tempting bait, and both Jefferson and Madison swallowed it. The most powerful nation in the world, and our erstwhile enemy, was asking us to unite with her in redressing the balance of power in Europe and in determining the fate of half the New World. To act in concert might heal old sores. And with England pledged never to acquire additional territory in South America, a good part of the difficulties of European intervention on our side of the globe might seem to have been solved.

We had already acknowledged the independence of the new republics. Canning absolutely declined to do so, as the Tories in England were bitterly opposed to the spread of republican principles. Besides, the joint declaration that neither nation would ever acquire territory on the southern continent was more self-denying for us than for England, because Cuba was then lying almost derelict just off the tip of our newly won Florida.

How could the United States, pacific as it might be, pledge itself never to advance beyond the boundaries it then had into adjacent territory which was unquestionably in its sphere of influence? Adams saw the trap. Combined with other events then happening to the north of us, he decided the time had come for a clear statement of our national policy.

Adams sees liberalism everywhere threatened. The Russians had been gradually extending their power over Siberia, and had crossed Bering Strait. They had built fur-trading posts on the west coast of North America as far south as the Bay of San Francisco. California was then, before the Mexican War, a Spanish or Mexican possession. Adams received word that the Czar had ordered all non-Russian vessels not to approach within a hundred miles of the coast of what he called Russian America. The Czar also said that he would not recognize the new South American republics.

Adams watched the whole situation develop from different quarters. He knew that everywhere abroad efforts were being made to stamp out liberalism. The independence of South America was being threatened not only by the restored Bourbons of Spain but by the Bourbons in France. England wished us to guarantee her markets against French aggression but without her acknowledging the republics and at the expense of our agreeing never to extend our boundaries southward. To the northwest, even into the Oregon country which we claimed, the most reactionary European power, Russia, was colonizing. She was warning all other nations to keep out.

The Monroe Doctrine comes into being. The United States was running the risk of being hemmed in, with freedom of action denied to her. Both American continents were becoming in danger of being colonized again and exploited by the European monarchies. It was to meet these particular conditions that Adams and Monroe prepared and announced the declaration of our principles which has ever since been known as the Monroe Doctrine.

The occasion chosen was the message sent by President Monroe to

Congress at the beginning of its winter session, December 2, 1823. In the course of reviewing the international situation, the President laid down certain general principles. The United States had, he said, always made it its policy not to interfere in the internal affairs of Europe or with existing colonies of European powers, and would not do so.

The two American continents, having become independent of Europe, should not be considered as any longer open to new attempts at colonization by European powers. We should consider any effort of such powers, which had a political system essentially different from the American, to extend their system to any part of our hemisphere "as dangerous to our peace and safety."

Adams, who was chiefly responsible for announcing the doctrine, would have liked somewhat sharper protests. The European situation, however, was already shifting, and any immediate danger from that direction was over. The Czar caught the meaning of the message. In 1824 he negotiated a treaty agreeing that the southern boundary of Russia in America should be the parallel of $54^{\circ} 40'$ instead of 51° as he had earlier claimed.

Americans had not generally been aware of all the diplomatic fencing which had made the declaration of policy needful, but when stated it was well received. Although arising chiefly from conditions of the moment, it was to prove a strong bulwark. It was so adapted to meet successive situations and dangers that it may be considered the chief corner-stone of both our practical and emotional attitude toward foreign policy.

5. *The "Era of Hard Feeling"*

Congress passes a protective tariff measure. The panic of 1819 was followed by slow recovery. The West had suffered the worst. The manufacturing interests were asking for a higher protective tariff. Monroe had approached the subject warily in his messages of 1822 and 1823, and in 1824 Congress undertook the framing of a new tariff act.

The sectional alignment proved still to be much the same as on the tariff of 1816. New England on the whole, led by Daniel Webster, preferred shipping and free trade to manufactures and protection. The Middle states insisted upon protection, as did the West, the latter counting upon an industrial population to consume its grain and corn. The South believed that it would gain nothing in sales of cotton and would lose on cost of manufactured goods.

In the long Congressional debates, the question of the constitutional right to protect one class or section in its peculiar industry as against

others was clearly raised for the first time. Sectional feeling was beginning to be inflamed.

The Republican party puts forth four candidates in 1824. Meanwhile, Monroe's presidency and the long reign of the Virginia dynasty were rapidly drawing to a close. Having served two terms, every one understood that he would not be renominated. On the other hand, the Federalist party had completely collapsed. The Republican party, had begun to break up into factions, and four of these placed candidates in the field. America was treated to the peculiar spectacle of a campaign with only one party, but with four candidates.

John Quincy Adams was nominated by most of the legislatures of the New England states early in 1824. But his cold manner prevented him from ever becoming popular, and his high ideal of public office did not permit him to stoop to the usual political means of assisting his own candidacy.

Of the other candidates, Henry Clay was the most brilliant. His great gifts had made him an outstanding figure in the American life of the day. Although a Westerner, he had a dangerous rival in the immensely popular Andrew Jackson, who had become endeared to the West from the days of New Orleans and his Florida and Creek adventures. In him the West found a leader more to its taste and in its image than Clay. The fourth candidate, William H. Crawford of Georgia, suffered a paralytic stroke before the end of the struggle and was thus handicapped in the race.

No one of the four candidates receives a majority. The convention system of nominating candidates had not yet come into existence. The former method of nomination in a congressional caucus of party leaders was not used after 1820. So in 1824, the fight, which is now carried on within the walls of the convention, was carried on in the open. When the electoral votes were counted it was found that Jackson had 99, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37. Adams had carried all of New England solidly; received 26 out of the 32 electoral votes of New York; and had a few scattered ones elsewhere.

House of Representatives elects John Quincy Adams President. No candidate having received a majority, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives. At once it became evident that the contest would be between Jackson and Adams, with Clay following as the deciding factor between the two chief contestants. As between them Clay believed that Adams was the better man for the presidency. Adams had entered diplomacy as secretary to the American

minister to Russia when only a boy; had been our minister to Russia and England; was one of the commissioners to make peace at Ghent; and for eight years had made such a notable success as Secretary of State as to have won, a century later, the highest place in the long line of able men who have occupied that office. Contrasting Adams with Jackson, the latter as yet known chiefly for his military exploits, Clay did not hesitate.

The story, spread by Jacksonites that Clay would throw his influence to Adams in return for a pledge that he would be made Secretary of State, had no foundation whatever. Clay would have done exactly as he did whether he was to become Secretary of State or not. Adams would make an appropriate choice in appointing him Secretary of State, as he did later. In the House, Adams was elected on the first ballot by 13 to Jackson's 7, in accordance with the method laid down in the Constitution.

Although the first man to shake President Adams by the hand after his inauguration was Jackson, whom Adams had consistently befriended, the general was to open war upon the President almost immediately. The bitter campaign of 1828 began even before Adams had become President in March, 1825.

Adams is a brilliant statesman but a poor politician. The four years of Adams's presidency were years of martyrdom. His beliefs carried no convictions either to the South or to the West. The South stood for states rights and a minimum of Federal control, while the West stood for Jackson. The only President who thus far had failed of re-election had been Adams's father, and it was a bitter thought that he himself would be the second. He watched for four years the furious political struggles of those who hoped to inherit his position. But he declined to lift a finger to assist himself by use of patronage or promises. His followers, and he had many, despaired of such a man in practical politics.

Adams was defeated before he began. His influence on Congress and in political life was that of a beaten man, who declined to build a machine and who would not have to be reckoned with beyond the one term. Little that was striking occurred during his administration, although much was happening under the surface.

Adams proves an ineffective President. Our foreign affairs under Adams were peaceful. They were marked only by Canning's efforts to increase the prestige of England and to lower our own among the new Latin American governments, in which he was more or less

successful. We had use at home for far more capital than we possessed, and were not particularly interested in the South American trade, nor did we desire any political control or leadership at that time in the southern continent.

On the other hand, British capital and trade were both seeking new channels and outlets, and Canning saw to it that diplomacy backed them up. Especially did he play a winning hand in the affairs of our nearest neighbor, Mexico, where our own minister got himself so embroiled in factions that he had to be recalled, whereas the British got on the friendliest terms with the Mexican President.

Just before Adams was inaugurated, we had been invited, together with England, to send representatives to a conference of the Latin American republics to be held at Panama. Adams had accepted the invitation. After much delay and wrangling, the Senate finally appointed two representatives, one of whom promptly died and the other reached Panama too late for the conference.

Embittered by factious opposition, the President was powerless to carry out the policies which he believed essential for the welfare of the country. One of the strongest and ablest men we have ever had in public life, his one term of presidential office was singularly ineffective. Happily, his great years and the greatest of his public services lay yet ahead of him.

Washington is "first in the hearts of his countrymen." The Presidents who had thus far served their country had been a remarkable line of men. At their head, in every sense, had stood Washington. One of the greatest characters of all the ages in all lands, his integrity, his patriotism untainted by thought of self or ambition, his common and uncommon sense, his sound judgment and broad views, his even-handed justice meted out to all men, friend or foe, his self-control in spite of the violent passion in his nature, his physical courage in the face of danger, and his moral courage in the face of years of discouragement and adversity—all had marked him out as the one man who could safely lead the struggling young nation through the perils of revolution and, perhaps, the yet greater perils of the ensuing years of jealousies, bickerings, and weakness.

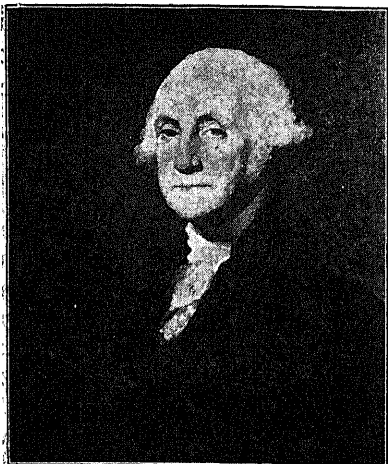
John Adams is a patriot devoted to the welfare of his country. John Adams offered a great contrast to his predecessor. Short and fat—nicknamed "his Rotundity"—he must scarce have measured up to the shoulder of Washington's superb figure. Pompous and fussy instead of, like Washington, calm and dignified, he had minor traits which rather

unjustly obscured for many of his contemporaries the real strength of the man. If he did not possess, as indeed no other American did, a character as rounded and perfectly balanced as that of his former chief, he nevertheless brought to his high office a mind and heart devoted to the service of the country, ability of the first rank, and an independence of thought and action, weighing no question with the slightest idea of its influence upon his own personal fortunes, qualities which have been rare in the career of any statesman, among us or other peoples.

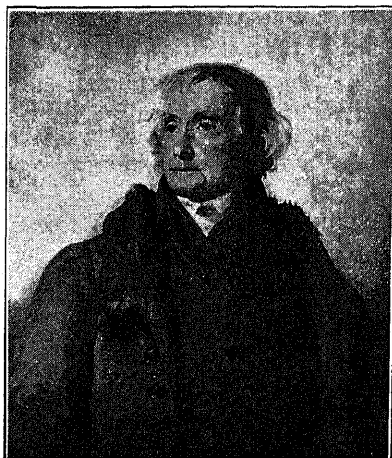
Thomas Jefferson has great faith in the common run of men. Jefferson was more complex. An aristocrat by nature, a democrat in theory and by generous impulse, he had a far wider range of intellectual and æsthetic interests than either Washington or Adams. Like the teachings of great moral leaders, his teaching of democracy and faith in man has been difficult of application in a world as it has been and perhaps as it always may be, but it is the leaven of his teaching which has done much to keep alive in the hearts of Americans that hope of a better and richer existence for the lowly as well as the great which has been the very essence of what we call our Americanism. Philosopher, architect, musician, farmer, statesman, he touched life at many points in his years abroad and at home. Successful founder of a political party as well as apostle of a political gospel of freedom and opportunity for all, he himself cared but little for the struggle of politics.

James Madison is the "father" of our Federal Constitution. Jefferson's successor, Madison, was a scholar. When his fellow-delegate to the Constitutional Convention, William Pierce, described him as a "profound politician" he used the word in the sense of statesman or student of the art of governing. Modest and shy, short in stature, slight in figure, his presence was not distinguished, but no other man has come to the presidency with a wider knowledge of all that concerned the United States combined with so deep an insight and understanding of that Constitution of which he has properly been called the "father." He had less ability in the management of practical politics than had either Jefferson or Madison's own successor in office, James Monroe.

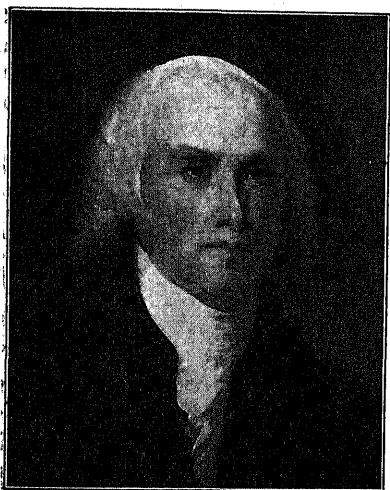
James Monroe is a worthy successor to the other three Virginia Presidents. Monroe, last of the Virginia dynasty, which had been broken only by the one term of John Adams, was in many ways a mediocre man, but he made a most useful President. He reached his own judgments deliberately and shouldered responsibility while displaying a fair-minded generosity toward all men and a magnanimity and



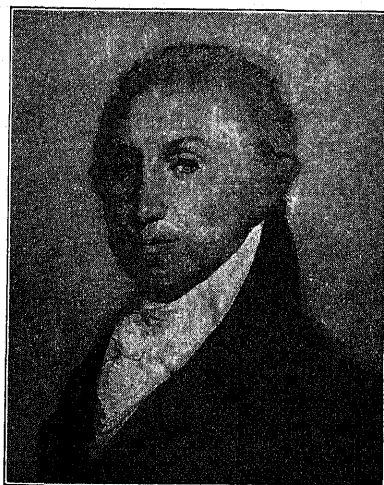
GEORGE WASHINGTON
From a portrait by Gilbert Stuart.



THOMAS JEFFERSON
From the painting by Sully in the
American Philosophical Society, Phila-
delphia.



JAMES MADISON
From the painting by Gilbert Stuart.



JAMES MONROE
From the painting by Gilbert Stuart.

THE VIRGINIA DYNASTY

tolerance which his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, felt that he carried to the extent of weakness. He was, however, a worthy successor of the preceding Virginians, and the dynasty ended undimmed when the presidency once more went to a New Englander.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 357-360; Beveridge, *John Marshall*; Burgess, *The Middle Period*, chs. 1-8; Channing, *History of the United States*, V, ch. 5; Corwin, *John Marshall and the Constitution*, chs. 1-3, 5-7; Johnson, *Jefferson and His Colleagues*, 286-308; Latané, *The United States and Latin America*, chs. 1-2; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, IV, 570-601; Moore, *American Diplomacy*, 131-165; Paxson, *The Independence of the South American Republics*; Ray, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*; Reddaway, *The Monroe Doctrine*; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, ch. 11; Thomas, *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *American History Leaflets*, no. 4; Benton, *Thirty Years' View*; Callender, *Economic History*, 359-373, 487-561; Clay, *Works*, V, 461-480; Ewing and Dangerfield, *Documentary Source Book in American Government and Politics*, 566-570; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, nos. 133-136; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 72-76; Marshall, *Writings*; Nevins, *American Press Opinion*, 66-67; Taussig, *State Papers and Speeches on the Tariff*, 252-385; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*; Webster, *Works*, III, 94-149.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Chittenden, *American Fur Trade in the Far West*; Gilman, *James Monroe*; Lodge, *Daniel Webster*, 129-171; Morgan, *Life of James Monroe*; Morse, *Life of John Quincy Adams*; Schurz, *Life of Henry Clay*, I.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why was Monroe's administration called the "era of good feeling"? 2. Discuss the growth of our commerce and manufactures after the close of the War of 1812. 3. How did England attempt to cripple our industries? 4. How do you explain that there was considerable fluid capital in the North and West but little in the South? 5. How do you explain the westward movement of this period? 6. Explain how pikes and canals aided in the settlement of the West. 7. Why did our people at this time pay more attention to the production of material goods than to the finer arts? 8. How did the West breed democracy? 9. Why did Madison and Monroe oppose internal improvements at national expense? 10. What was Clay's "American System"? 11. How did the tariff question reveal our growing sectionalism? 12. Why was the establishment of a United States Bank

thought necessary? 13. How did a period of wild speculation lead to a financial crash? 14. What is the significance of Chief Justice Marshall's decision in the case of *McCulloch vs. Maryland*? 15. What are the provisions of the Missouri Compromise? 16. How did the actions of the Quadruple Alliance bring into existence the Monroe Doctrine? 17. Why was England interested in Latin-American affairs? 18. What are the main provisions of the Monroe Doctrine? 19. What is the significance of the Monroe Doctrine? 20. Why were there no Federalist candidates for the presidency in 1824? 21. Describe the presidential election of 1824. 22. How did the "era of good feeling" turn into an "era of bad feeling"? 23. Give brief descriptions of our first six Presidents.

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Development of our commerce and manufacturing, the westward movement, the invention of the steamboat, the building of the National Road, the Erie Canal, internal improvements, the "American System," growth of sectionalism, the second United States Bank, the case of *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, the purchase of Florida, the Missouri Compromise, the Monroe Doctrine, the presidential election of 1824.

2. PROJECT: At this point in your history work begin an interpretive study of the Monroe Doctrine. Write down what you understood the Monroe Doctrine to be when we issued it in 1823. As you proceed toward the present in your history reading, you will find new interpretations given to this doctrine both by the United States and by the Latin-American nations. Write down whatever you find. Also throughout your study write down the interpretation given to the Monroe Doctrine by the various European powers.

3. PROBLEM: What would it have meant to the future of the United States had we adopted England's program?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the policy of internal improvements at the expense of the national government is wrong.

5. ESSAY SUBJECT: Clay's "American System."

6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you were a New England manufacturer at the close of the War of 1812. Your business was being ruined by England dumping her goods on your market. Write a letter to your congressman asking for a protective tariff.

7. DIARY: You were one of the pioneers in the westward movement of this period. You jotted down what you saw and heard in your journey westward. Read to the class some of the incidents recorded in your diary.

8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Rufus King, Henry Clay, William H. Crawford, John Jacob Astor, Robert Fulton, Washington Irving, John C. Calhoun, James Tallmadge, Castlereagh, Canning.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1807, 1816, 1819, 1823.

10. TERMS TO IDENTIFY: "Dumping" goods, fluid capital, the "cotton belt," economic exploitation, suspension of specie payment, orgy of credit, political somersault, congressional caucus.

11. MAP WORK: *a.* In a map talk point out the following places and show the historical significance of each: Ghent, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Astoria, Pittsburgh, parallel 36° 30', Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Chili, La Plata, Russian America, 54° 40', Panama. *b.* On a sketch map show how the different sections of our country voted on the tariff of 1820. *c.* On a sketch map show the territory we purchased from Spain in 1819. *d.* On an outline map show the states carried by Jackson, Adams, Crawford, and Clay in the presidential election of 1824.

12. GRAPH WORK: *a.* By means of bar graphs show the growth in population of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston between 1810 and 1820. *b.* By means of a circular graph show the electoral vote for Jackson, Adams, Crawford, and Clay in the presidential election of 1824.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE GREAT CONSTITUTIONAL DECISIONS, 1792-1824: Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality*, ch. 18; Hill, *Liberty Documents*, chs. 19-20; Lodge, *Daniel Webster*, ch. 3; Magruder, *John Marshall*, ch. 10; Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*, ch. 18.

2. ERA OF GOOD FEELING IN POLITICS, 1817-1825: Bassett, *Andrew Jackson*, I, chs. 14-16; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, nos. 34, 42; Schouler, *History*, III, 1-133, 189-270; Sparks, *United States*, I, 358-365; Wilson, *American People*, III, 234-261.

3. THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE: Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, ch. 11; Hildreth, *History*, V, 498-506, 627-644; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, nos. 26, 34-41; Sparks, *United States*, II, 366-382; Turner, *New West*, chs. 9-10.

4. THE MONROE DOCTRINE: *American History Leaflets*, no. 4; Hart, *Monroe Doctrine: An Interpretation*; Schouler, *History*, III, 277-293; Tucker, *Monroe Doctrine*, chs. 1-2; Turner, *New West*, ch. 12.

5. THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS: Schouler, *History*, III, 293-450; Seward, *John Quincy Adams*, chs. 7-10; Sparks, *United States*, I, 411-425; Wilson, *American People*, III, 266-291; Woodburn, *Political Parties*, ch. 3.

TOPIC VI

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To set forth the true significance of Andrew Jackson's election.
2. To show how Jackson was both a nationalist and a states righter.
3. To see why Jackson destroyed the United States Bank.
4. To understand the problems that Van Buren inherited from Jackson's administrations.

1. *Jackson, the Tribune of the People*

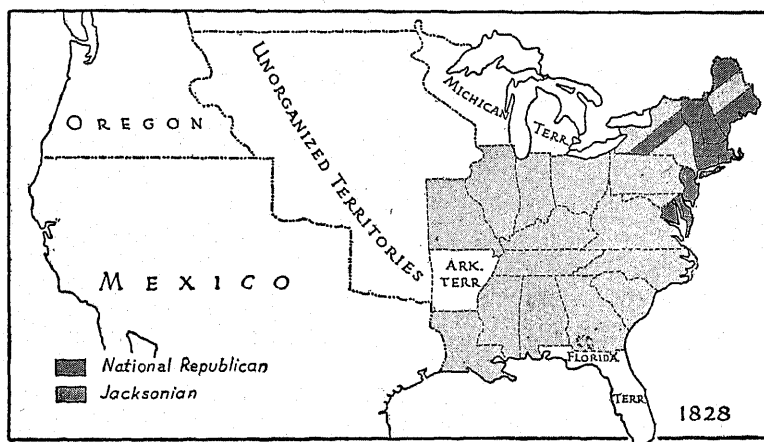
Andrew Jackson seeks vindication. As we have seen in the preceding topic, the long era of "good feeling" had broken down party lines, and the election of 1824 had been dominated not by principles but by personalities. Of the latter, the leading man who had emerged from the struggle was clearly the doughty frontiersman and military hero, Andrew Jackson. Disappointed, he set to work at once to prepare for the next contest. At first he had not been ambitious for the office but, defeated, his fighting blood and powerful will demanded vindication.

In October, 1825, he resigned his seat in the United States Senate, where he represented Tennessee, and announced that he was a candidate for President in the next election. The history of the Adams administration thus really resolved itself into a mere jockeying for political positions in the race of 1828. The four years of his term were the incubating period for the new parties which were to arise. In the absence as yet of clear-cut policies, the Jacksonian following had to move warily in order to consolidate as many factions as possible.

The tariff question gives the Democrats much concern. By 1826 Martin Van Buren, the political leader of New York state, who had been for Crawford in 1824, decided to cast in his lot with Jackson. Gradually the wing of the Republican party which formed around the westerner developed its machinery under the name of the Democratic party. At first, this new party largely contented itself with trying to solidify its strength by merely opposing on every occasion the policies

of the administration. The difficult position of the Democrats, made up of mixed elements, came out clearly in the tariff plot of 1828 at the end of Adams's term.

Adams himself was in favor of protection but the Jacksonians were in a quandary. They wished to alienate as little as possible the support of New England. The Middle states and the upper Western states desired protection for their particular manufactures. In addition, western sheep raisers wished to foster the woolen industry and shut out foreign wool. The growers of grains, largely excluded from the British market



ELECTION MAP OF 1828

by the Corn Laws, desired an increase in the domestic American market. Various elements in the West and East were thus ready to join hands in protectionist legislation.

On the other hand, the whole South had by this time definitely decided that a tariff on manufactures was opposed to the interests of that section. The Southerners, in fact, had reversed their earlier position and had become bitterly hostile to protection.

The Jacksonians frame a tariff bill. Facing the presidential campaign, the Jacksonians plotted a shrewd move. Jackson knew himself to be strong in the South, where support was necessary to him, but he also needed the support of such manufacturing states as New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. What the Democrats planned to do, as Calhoun explained some years later, was to lay before the House a tariff bill which would have a high range of duties but in which the raw

materials, especially needed by New England, would be so heavily taxed that the New Englanders would not be able to swallow the measure. It was expected that the New Englanders, voting against it, as well as the solid South, would prevent its passage and that the bill would fail.

When the votes in the House and Senate were finally taken, all went as planned except for New England. The South voted practically solidly against the bill and the Middle states and manufacturing West voted for it. In the House, sixteen New Englanders voted in favor, and to the dismay of the Jacksonians, the bill was passed. In the Senate six New Englanders voted for it under the last-minute lead of Daniel Webster, and there also the bill was passed.

Webster had previously taken the ground that it was unconstitutional to levy duties for the protection of any particular group in industry. He had argued brilliantly for free trade not merely as economically expedient but as the only legal course to take. Since 1824, however, he had become more allied to the manufacturers of his state and he was evidently alive to the political necessity of circumventing the Jacksonites.

The "tariff of abominations" raises the question of nullification. Thus was passed what has ever since been known as the "tariff of abominations," so bad were its economic features. The South voiced the truth about it when John Randolph said that the only manufacture it was really concerned with was "the manufacture of a President." In South Carolina the question was immediately raised whether it was worth while to remain in a Union in which one section could thus oppress another.

Nullification or secession had frequently been threatened when any state or section felt itself to be especially aggrieved by Federal legislation. Now, in 1828, the South Carolina legislature approved what was called the "South Carolina Exposition." This document, later known to have been written by Calhoun, developed the theory that since the Constitution was a compact between sovereign states, each state retained the right to pass on the constitutionality of the acts of the Federal Government. Therefore, if any state should decide against any act, it had the right within the limits of the state to nullify the act by preventing its enforcement.

Meanwhile, the election of 1828 remained to be fought. Of all disgraceful campaigns that of 1828 perhaps was the worst. Different as were the two candidates, Adams and Jackson, in most particulars,

they were alike in being honest according to their own codes in their private lives. The puritanical Adams of Massachusetts, accustomed to the most polished and intellectual society of Europe, was of an utterly different type from the popular hero of the people from Tennessee. But both, the Puritan and the frontiersman, had the highest code of honor where a woman was concerned. Yet both were bitterly attacked in the press on that score in so scandalous a way as now seems, happily, almost incredible. It was in a storm of abuse and counter-charges that the American people elected their President.

Our country becomes more democratic. The American people now numbered nearly 13,000,000, of whom about 4,000,000 lived west of the Appalachian Mountains, so rapidly had the West grown since we glanced at it last. Of the total population, about 7,000,000 lived in the free states and 5,500,000 in the slave states. Of the 5,500,000, however, less than 3,500,000 were free whites. New York City, which in 1790 had been only double the size of Charleston, South Carolina, now numbered 242,000 inhabitants as against 30,000 in the leading Southern seaboard city.

The figures show clearly the rapidity with which the slave South was being outnumbered by the free North. They also show the importance of the West as holding the balance of power between the Northeastern manufacturing and commercial section and the Southern cotton section, which were growing more and more opposed to one another in sentiment and economic structure.

By 1828, manhood suffrage had become practically universal among the free population. The old mode of election of presidential electors by the legislatures, which had been gradually altering to election by the people, was retained in only two states, Delaware and South Carolina. To a far greater extent than ever before, the people at large had the opportunity of expressing their will at the polls. Democracy was seating itself in the saddle and in 1828 it rode hard.

Jackson defeats Adams for the presidency. Adams's stern morality and unbending honesty, his formal manners, his intellectual eminence, and his forbidding personality made no appeal to the ordinary man. It is surprising, under the circumstances, that Adams succeeded in polling 44 per cent of the popular vote. Jackson, on the other hand, seemed the embodiment of everyday humanity, a man of the people, whom they could understand and who they therefore believed would understand them and their needs. The South, violent against New England on the tariff question; the democratic West;



DAVY CROCKETT

Frontiersman, scout, congressman, and defender of the Alamo
From the painting by Major John W. Thomason, Jr.

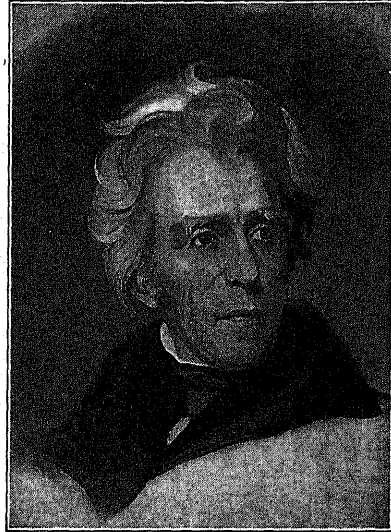
and the poorer classes in the East, who found democracy embodied in "Old Hickory," voted solidly for Jackson.

The West has acquired new power. The "revolution" of 1828 was far more a genuine upheaval of the democratic elements among the people than had been that of 1800 which had swept Jefferson into the White House. Jefferson himself, though a democrat in theory, had been essentially the cultivated, intellectual aristocrat by nature and training. The people had at last declared itself tired of such, and had elected a man in its own image. One has only to contrast the background of Jackson with the line of previous Presidents—Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and the second Adams—to realize that the democracy had made a complete break with the traditions of the past.

Jackson had received an absolutely solid vote in the West, though he had needed also the South, combining with Pennsylvania and New York, for election. From this point onward we find both eastern sections making bids for the support of the section over the mountains.

Something more had happened than that a man of "the Western Waters" was for the first time seated in the White House.

Jackson has great faith in the common people. If the common people of the nation had elected Jackson because he was one of themselves, it was no ordinary man whom they had chosen. The old picture of Jackson as an illiterate radical has long since passed from history. Although his knowledge of books was slight, he was far from illiterate, and his judgment was firm and quick. He possessed not only courage and strength but, on the whole, sound judgment, tenacity of purpose, and inflexible honesty, together with what was to prove a surprising independence of opinion and character. Completely sincere, he believed in democracy to an extent that no other President had yet done with the exception of Jefferson. Even Jefferson had



ANDREW JACKSON

From the painting by Sully in the Corcoran Gallery of Art.

had mental reservations on the subject that were not shared by Jackson.

The times and circumstances had made Jackson the leader of the rising democracy of the nation. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to point to any other man of his day who could have carried out the task with greater ability or success. The people had given their approval to him much as they did later to Theodore Roosevelt, not on account of his military or other glamour, but because they believed he would give them a "square deal" in the national administration, which they considered to have fallen too much into the hands of the rich and conservative classes. Such classes were frightened at Jackson because they found he was too radical. But in point of fact, the new President was far more a conservative than a radical. Before he left the White House at the end of eight years, the nation was to owe much to his single-hearted devotion to the people as a whole.

Jackson relies upon the advice of friends. Jackson's first task was to choose a Cabinet. In this he was disappointingly unsuccessful. In his inaugural address he had spoken of the need of filling public office with men "uniting as far as possible the qualifications of the head and heart." On the whole, in his Cabinet those of the head, at least, were markedly lacking. Martin Van Buren as Secretary of State proved a good choice, but the membership of the rest of the Cabinet was far below mediocrity. Nevertheless most of them, because of quiet times, were to make respectable officials. The President consulted his advisers less than has been done by any other holding office. He preferred the advice of old and tried friends, such as Amos Kendall, Major William B. Lewis, Isaac Hull, and Francis P. Blair. They formed the group which came to be known as the "Kitchen Cabinet," a term which carries, as it was intended to, a rather unfair impression.

The common people celebrate Jackson's inauguration. On the day of the inauguration, it seemed to the conservatives that their worst fears had come true. Jackson was followed from the Capitol to the White House by a motley mob of all sorts, who pressed into the mansion to see the new President of the people. They clambered upon the satin furniture with their muddy boots for a better view, and there was such a jam as more and more poured in that their hero had to be rescued by a side window. Only after disgraceful scenes in the parlors, and several thousand dollars' worth of damage, was the situation relieved by the device of setting tubs of punch on the lawn to lure the people out of the house.

Jackson enlarges the scope of the "spoils system." The scramble for drink and a view of the President, however, was nothing compared with the scramble for office which immediately began. In the Senate, William L. Marcy of New York gave voice to the now famous doctrine that "to the victor belong the spoils."

In Jefferson's day the situation had been unique. There was reasonable excuse for the moderate changes which he made in the personnel of the civil service. Since Jefferson, that service had been maintained on a high level of permanency of tenure with the thought of service to the people rather than of spoils for the party in power.

Now, however, all was to be changed. A new era opened in American practical politics. Hereafter distribution of public offices as rewards for campaign services was to become one of the means of building up party machines. Even so staunch a Jacksonian as Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri saw the mischief that the new system was to bring into our public life. He protested violently against it, but the pressure was overwhelming. Jackson, believing that any honest man could perform any public duties, made no effort to control the situation.

2. Jackson and Nullification

Calhoun urges nullification. Like most of the public men of his day, Calhoun was consumed with ambition. One of the best speakers of his time, he had been in public life for twenty years, as Congressman, Secretary of State, and twice as Vice-President. Starting as a nationalist and then swinging round to sectionalism, he had become the most extreme advocate of states rights and the interests of the South. Coldly intellectual but vigorous and courageous, he was not widely popular though politically powerful. He had come to Jackson's support with the expectation that he would succeed Jackson in the presidency. Unquestionably the leader of the Southern political thought, Calhoun had begun to lead his state of South Carolina on the road to nullification. It is well to point out here that although in time slavery was to become a paramount issue in the minds of many, the sectional conflict now beginning to loom was basically due to an economic conflict of interests between North and South and not to any moral issue.

Since the South Carolina legislature had published and distributed Calhoun's "Exposition" as an official document, nullification had been

a topic of more and more heated discussion. It had reached into Congress itself. Calhoun, as presiding officer of the Senate, was unable to voice his own doctrine, but Senator Robert Y. Hayne of Calhoun's state became the spokesman of the nullifiers.

Hayne defends Calhoun's nullification. In 1830 a debate on the disposition of western lands had brought out much sectional feeling. Senator Benton of Missouri claimed that the Northeastern states in their attitude toward the West had always been "selfish and unprincipled." Hayne suggested that on the question of the tariff the West and South form an alliance against the North. Finally, near the end of January, Hayne made a long speech, lasting part of two days, in which he not only attacked Webster's stand on the tariff but went on to advocate Calhoun's doctrine of nullification as a proper remedy against Northern despotism.

Webster replies to Hayne. On the 26th of that month, Webster began his famous reply, the greatest speech of his career, and by many considered one of the greatest of the nineteenth century. The first day, speaking for three hours without a pause, he confined himself to defending himself and his section against Hayne's charges, and to the question of the tariff.

The second day, he launched into a magnificent denunciation of the nullification doctrine. He interpreted the Constitution as he had when he had appeared as counsel in the cases of *McCulloch vs. Maryland* and others.

"It is to that Union," thundered Webster in the ending to his speech, "we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. . . . Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. . . . I have not allowed myself, Sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chance of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder.

"I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union may be best preserved, but how toler-

able might be the condition of the people when it should be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day at least that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dis-severed, discordant, belligerent, on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood!

"Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as 'What is all this worth?' nor those other words of delusion and folly, 'Liberty first and Union afterwards'; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

The rhetoric to-day seems somewhat ponderous but it suited perfectly the taste of the people and the time. The speech gave a living soul to the intellectual concept of union. It both expressed and developed a passionate devotion to the belief in union as the paramount good of the nation.

Jackson opposes Calhoun on the question of nullification. Calhoun and his followers believed that President Jackson, known to be a strong states rights man, would take their side. Some weeks after Webster's speech, they planned a dinner to celebrate Jefferson's birthday, April 13. After several speeches, all with the object of showing that nullification was good democratic doctrine, approved by both Jefferson and Jackson, it came to the President's turn to propose a toast. He rose, and looking straight at Calhoun proposed "Our Federal Union—it must be preserved!"

The toast was drunk, but in silence. Then Calhoun stood up. Hesitating a moment, he proposed "The Union—next to our liberty the most dear," adding "may we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the states, and by distributing equally the benefits and burdens of the Union."

Jackson breaks with Calhoun. The President had spoken in a way that could not be mistaken and the breach was clear between his views and those of the Vice-President. About this time Jackson also discovered that Calhoun, when Jackson had got into hot water in Florida over Arbuthnot and Ambrister, had demanded that the general be arrested and tried. Jackson demanded an explanation from Calhoun. Calhoun replied insincerely in such a way as to destroy Jackson's confidence in him.

Jackson makes changes in his Cabinet. Almost at the same time came the resignation of Van Buren and Eaton from the Cabinet. The President then demanded the resignation of the others and completely reorganized the Cabinet. Edward Livingston of New York was appointed to the State Department, Lewis Cass of Michigan to War, Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire to the Navy, and Roger B. Taney of Maryland was made Attorney-General. Van Buren, now confident of being the heir-apparent to the presidency after Jackson, was given the post of minister to England. Calhoun and the South were wholly excluded.

South Carolina carries out its theory of nullification. For nearly two years after these events, Calhoun and the nullifiers remained quiet. But the storm broke in 1832 when Congress passed a new tariff, more equitable than the old, but a compromise which suited no section of the country completely. In November a state convention was assembled in South Carolina which passed an ordinance declaring the tariff act to be null and void within the state. The convention also declared that if the Federal Government employed force the state would be absolved from all obligations to the Union and would secede. The state legislature passed various acts providing for the purchase of arms and the raising of a military force to protect the people against the enforcement of the tariff by the Federal authorities.

Meanwhile Jackson had just been triumphantly re-elected, with Van Buren replacing Calhoun as Vice-President. The Democratic candidates, who for the first time in American national elections had been nominated in a national convention, won from Clay and Sergeant, who ran as National Republicans, every state except Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky. The electoral vote was 219 to 49. South Carolina, then in the throes of the nullification controversy, deliberately threw away its electoral vote on John Floyd of Virginia, who did not run in any other state.

Jackson proposes to use force against South Carolina. Jackson had countered the threats of the South Carolina convention and legislature by sending General Winfield Scott, a warship, and several revenue cutters to Charleston. He posted the troops conveniently near but sufficiently far off not to precipitate an immediate clash. In December, the President issued a proclamation to the people of South Carolina (where he himself had been born), pointing out that armed resistance to the Federal Government was treason. He also said that as President he would have to perform his duty to put down rebellion. In January he asked Congress to give him the power to use the army and navy to enforce the tariff law. Then Congress passed a new tariff measure which conceded some of the Carolinians' demands. South Carolina, receiving no support from her sister states, decided to be content with what she called her victory, and the crisis passed. There had been a somewhat general demand in the country for a lowering of the tariff. It may be questioned, however, whether by passing the act in seeming compromise with nullification the way was not made easier for the far more serious revival of the doctrine in 1860. Jackson, himself, declared that he believed the tariff was only an excuse, that South Carolina really aimed at a new Southern Confederacy, and that the question would be raised again with slavery as the pretext.

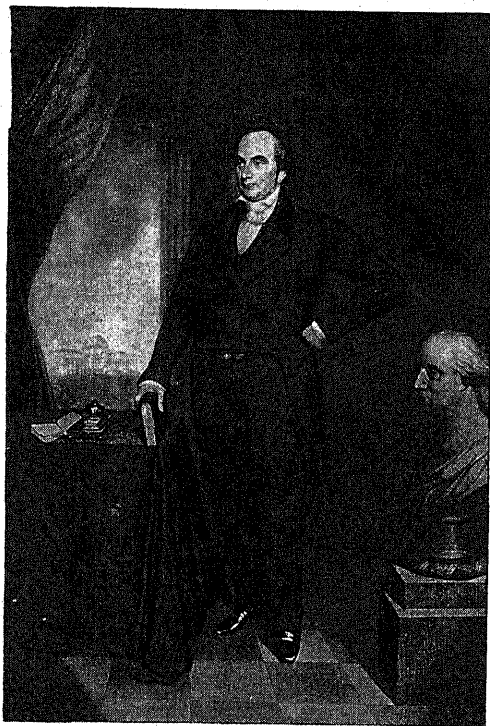
3. Jackson and the United States Bank

Jackson vetoes the bill rechartering the United States Bank. Although the President had shown himself a thoroughgoing nationalist, he had been nurtured in the West. As we have already noted, the West had had its distressing experiences with banks in the panic of 1819. There had become deep-seated in that section a mistrust of banking and in particular of the "money power" concentrated in the East.

In 1816 the second Bank of the United States had received its charter. Although the charter was not to expire until 1836, Jackson had expressed his hostility toward it. There was nothing to be done about the matter for the time, but the President's increasing dislike of the institution was well known. The head of the bank, Nicholas Biddle, preferred to leave the question of securing a recharter open until near the date of the expiration of the old one. But various politicians urged him to apply for a renewal before the end of Jackson's first term.

Although a bill for rechartering passed in Congress, Jackson promptly vetoed it. The fight over the bank was on in earnest.

The bank is the principal issue in the campaign of 1832. On



DANIEL WEBSTER

A line engraving, after a portrait by T. B. Lawson.
In the Mabel Brady Garvan Institute of American Arts and Crafts, Yale University.

the whole, the bank had been managed honestly and had performed useful service. It was interwoven, however, at many points with politics. The period was not one of much delicacy of feeling as to the relations of public office to private profit. Congressmen and other officials, as well as leading newspaper editors, were favored with loans. There is little doubt that the bank was thus securing influence.

In his veto message Jackson expressed views on the Constitution which many people thought were dangerous. He claimed, for example, that there was no one branch or officer of the government that had the right to pronounce definitely on the constitutionality of any act. He denied completely that the Supreme Court had any such power and asserted that every

official had to interpret the Constitution for himself. To the surprise of the bank and its supporters, Congress sustained the veto. The party formed in opposition to the President, the National Republican, decided to make the bank the issue in the election of 1832, following the veto. The idea, which was Clay's, was most unfortunate. Jackson won an overwhelming victory. The latter now had a clear mandate from the people, as the result of the election, to destroy the hated institution.

Jackson removes deposits from the bank. There was no longer any hope of securing a new charter. But Jackson, having been

stung by the opposition, did not wish to wait even for the natural dissolution of the bank in 1836. In 1833, soon after his second term began, he ordered the removal of the government deposits—about \$10,000,000. When the Secretary of the Treasury, Lewis McLane, refused to sign the order, Jackson dismissed him and replaced him by William Duane. When he also declined, after some hesitation, Jackson again changed his Secretary and installed Roger B. Taney, who



THE DOWNFALL OF CLAY AND THE UNITED STATES BANK IN JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION

From a cartoon in the Library of Congress.

avored his policy. This crippled the bank which failed a few years later.

Jackson attempts to stop the growing tide of speculation. Meanwhile, under unwise laws and the absence of such restraint as the bank had exercised, the currency became inflated by excessive issues of state bank notes. There had been in any case great prosperity, marked by speculative excesses. In 1835 the national debt had been completely paid off, and a surplus of \$28,000,000 had accumulated by 1836. Under Clay's leadership an act was passed in Congress distributing this among the several states. This took money out of the banks. Shortly before the end of his last year of office, Jackson attempted to stem the tide of speculation and inflation. He ordered that only specie could be accepted in payment of public lands bought from the govern-

ment. Gold and silver were scarce, and the demand for them was now increased. The full effects of the financial situation that developed were to be felt by his successors.

Jackson collects debts due to us from France. In his diplomacy with France, the President also gave expression to another emotion of the now rapidly growing nation, our pride in our increasing strength. America, like other nations, had claims against France for destruction by Napoleon of the property of its citizens. Although France paid those of other countries, she declined to pay ours, which we considered as an insult.

The matter dragged along, and it was not until France had haggled for sixteen years that an agreement was reached in 1832. Then, for certain concessions and counter-claims, the French Government consented to pay us 25,000,000 francs, in six annual installments. Even yet, however, France haggled again, and declined to pay the draft for the first installment, imposing on us \$170,000 in charges for its protest.

In June, 1833, tired of French methods, Jackson ordered our fleet to be ready for service. In a message to Congress he recommended that if France did not pay its debt which was acknowledged and overdue, we should seize enough French property to pay ourselves. France claimed that we had insulted her and refused to pay until we had apologized, which we declined to do. In November, 1835, our minister asked for his passports and left Paris. Neither nation really desired war, and both were glad of the mediation of England to bring matters to a peaceful settlement. This was accomplished by the payment by France of four installments due at the time. The payments were not made, however, until the old soldier in the White House notified Congress that "the honor of my country shall never be stained by an apology from me for the statement of truth and the performance of duty."

4. Van Buren, the Protégé of Jackson

Van Buren succeeds Jackson as President. In 1836 Jackson was a worn man in his seventieth year. With the well-established tradition of two terms only for a President, it was natural to look for some one else to lead the Democrats in the campaign. The Whigs, who combined the National Republicans and other groups, nominated William H. Harrison, the old frontier hero of Tippecanoe. Jackson's triumph over his enemies was completed by the election of his favorite,

Van Buren. It was a thorough defeat, Van Buren receiving 170 electoral votes to Harrison's 73. South Carolina again threw away her entire vote on Willie P. Mangum of neighboring North Carolina. Massachusetts gave hers, as a compliment, to Daniel Webster, who was never to achieve the high office which his ambition had craved for years.

In one respect the election of 1836 had been unique. No candidate for Vice-President received the necessary majority of the total votes. For the only time in our history the choice had to devolve on the Senate, which chose Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, the Democratic candidate, who had secured the largest vote in the electoral college.

The new President, Van Buren, was more or less of a puzzle to his contemporaries, who called him the "little Magician." They considered him rather as the slyest of political foxes than as a man of any outstanding ability. A popular bit of doggerel which went the rounds proclaimed that:

"With his depths and his shallows, his good and his evil,
All in all he's a riddle must puzzle the devil."

There could be no greater contrast than between him and the blustering but open and frank-minded "Old Hickory," now gone to end his days at his beloved "Hermitage" in Tennessee. The short, plump, and dapper little politician from New York, suave and silken in manner and manœuvre, has come to rank rather higher for ability in our day than he did in his own. Van Buren's one term of office was to be chiefly marked by one of the great economic catastrophes which America has periodically suffered.

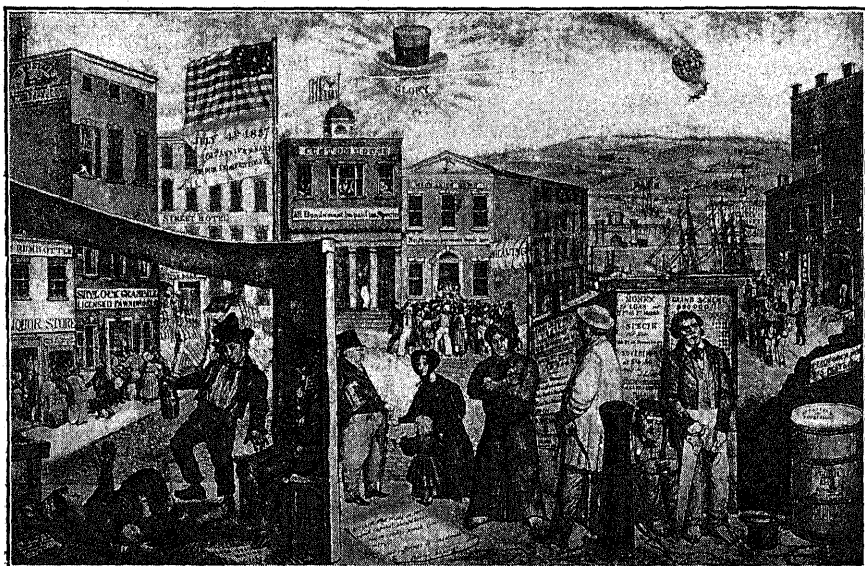
Wild speculation helps to bring on period of depression. We had been going through one of our speculative debauches in Jackson's term. We had plunged ourselves in debt, to an extent not less than \$500,000,000. A great part of this was tied up in lands and owing to the North by the South and West.

The sale of public lands almost doubled in one year's time from 1835 to 1836. It is quite evident that such an increase did not mean substantial development but wild speculation. The rage seized every one. New York City real estate rose from a valuation of \$250,000,000 in 1830 to over \$400,000,000 five years later. Farm lands on Long Island were boomed like bubbles to bursting. In Maine waste tracts of timber were sold in some cases at 1000 per cent of their ordinary value.

In June, 1836, the distribution of the national surplus among the states caused a heavy shifting of deposits. In July the specie circular,

making only gold and silver receivable for public land sales, had tended quickly to drain much specie from the East to the small localities in the West. Nervousness grew among business men. Failures began and steadily increased in the early part of 1837.

The panic of 1837 grips the country. In New York two banks failed, and on May 9, over \$650,000 in coin was withdrawn from the financial institutions of that city. The next day its banks suspended



HARD TIMES IN 1837—A CARTOON PUBLISHED DURING THE PANIC
From the Library of Congress.

specie payment, soon to be followed by banks throughout the whole country. New York became almost like a dead city, with building operations stopped and ships and barges lying idle at their docks. What was true of that center was true of the others. It was said that the great merchants of New Orleans could not pay five cents on the dollar of their debts to New York.

With many of the banks in which the government had been depositing its money failing, it became a problem what to do with the national funds. The President proposed a plan for an independent treasury to care for government moneys. But this was bitterly opposed by the Whigs. Meanwhile, the Bank of the United States itself had crashed,

and brought on the second stage of the crisis. Up to that time, the West had fared rather better than the other sections but after that event it felt the full force of the financial storm.

In the East the streets had been filled with men and women of all sorts out of work. Nine-tenths of the factories closed in New England and shipping and whaling were largely suspended. The "white-collar" class of the day felt the catastrophe almost as heavily. It was estimated that one-half to two-thirds of all clerks and salesmen in Philadelphia had been discharged. Thefts by bank officers became notable in frequency. Owing to counterfeiting, confidence was all but destroyed in the currency; it was said that at one time there were in circulation nearly 1400 different forms of counterfeit and worthless notes.

It was estimated that between 1836 and 1840 there were 33,000 commercial failures, involving a loss of \$440,000,000, in addition to the far bigger but incalculable losses in the values of lands, merchandise, and other forms of property. The winter of 1838 was unusually severe, and the number of unemployed was so great that even in New York the means of carrying them through were insufficient. In spite of private charity, and overflowing poor-houses, not a few of the destitute died of starvation or were frozen to death. The condition of labor did not reach its lowest point until 1841, after which the general situation began to improve.

Americans settle in Texas. While the helpless President in the White House and the people at large were suffering this long agony, events of considerable significance were happening on our Southwestern border. For some reason, the government of Mexico had early encouraged settlement by Americans within the empire. It had



STEPHEN AUSTIN

From the painting in the State Capitol,
Austin, Texas.

offered far better terms to settlers than our own government. Under the leadership of Stephen F. Austin, several hundred American families had settled in one of the best parts of the Mexican province of Texas. By 1834 there may have been 20,000 Americans there, of whom 2000 were negro slaves. Austin and his first followers had intended to become loyal Mexican subjects.

By the beginning of the fourth decade of the century, however, the situation had become complex. On the one hand, the government in Mexico had been overthrown, and there seemed little prospect of established order. Slavery, which had been illegal but had been tolerated, seemed to be in danger. The settlers had no wish to lose their property in slaves and to be reduced to till their soil in the absence of any other form of labor. On the other hand, a different type of settler had been emigrating into Texas, slave-smugglers like the Bowies, adventurers of the frontier sort, or restless and ambitious spirits like Sam Houston.

Texas gains its independence and establishes a republic. In 1835 Santa Anna, the new ruler of Mexico, proclaimed a constitution which swept away the local rights of the Texans. An uprising occurred. In March, 1836, Santa Anna, with 2000 troops, attacked about 200 Texans shut up in the Alamo in San Antonio, and captured it only after every one of its defenders had been killed or wounded. He murdered the wounded after the surrender. Revenge was near at hand. On April 21, a Texan force completely routed Santa Anna and drove the Mexicans out of the province.

The leaders then drafted a constitution legalizing slavery, and proclaimed Texas to be a sovereign and independent state. We had allowed many Americans to join the Texan army, and it can scarcely be said that we had remained neutral in the struggle. On the last day of his term, Jackson recognized the new republic. This, however, did not satisfy the Texans, who clamored for annexation to the United States.

The demand of Texas for admission brings up slavery question. Van Buren inherited the problem from his predecessor. It was far from being a mere diplomatic question with Mexico, which had refused to acknowledge the independence of her revolted province. The more serious aspect of the problem was domestic for us, and involved the whole dangerous subject of slavery. The South had begun to realize that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was working badly for her. Her steadily decreasing weight in numbers, influence, and wealth, as contrasted with the more rapidly growing North and West, seemed to call for additional territory in a zone where slavery would be profitable.

Texas was large enough to be cut up into possibly eight or nine states of approximately the average size of the old ones. The drift into Texas had been as natural as the drift to any other attractive frontier, and the subsequent course of events had also been natural. The demand of Texas to be admitted to the Union, however, at once changed the aspect of affairs.

The ensuing debate was completely occupied with the question of the extension of slavery within our own borders. The South was as strongly in favor of annexation as the North was opposed to it. A resolution was introduced into Congress in 1838 for the purpose of annexing the southern Republic. But Van Buren, who had no wish to have the slavery question come to sharp issue, was able to keep annexation from more than simmering during his term.

As we shall see in the next topic, slavery as an issue had distinctly come to the front. The reopening of the controversy in a more serious form than ever before was to be one of the two distinguishing features of the administration of the unfortunate "little Magician," whose term was marked by ill luck from start to finish. We were to recover promptly from the panic but the darker issue of slavery was to permit no such normal and peaceful settlement. Its shadow was now beginning to darken the whole land, and the wisest of statesmen could indulge only in sad foreboding.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Beard, *The American Party Battle*, chs. 2-3; Bowers, *The Party Battles of the Jackson Period*; Burgess, *The Middle Period*, chs. 9-12; Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States*; Channing, *History of the United States*, V, chs. 12-14; Elson, *Side Lights on American History*, I, chs. 11-12; Fish, *Civil Service and the Patronage*; Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy*, 272-280; Garrison, *Westward Extension*, chs. 6-7; Houston, *Nullification in South Carolina*; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V; Nicolay, *Our Nation in the Building*, ch. 8; Ogg, *The Reign of Andrew Jackson*; Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*; Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies*, chs. 8-9.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Benton, *Thirty Years' View*; Calhoun, *Works*, I, 1-107; IV, 164-212; Callender, *Economic History*, 564-592; Harding, *Select Orations*, no. 15; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, 158-164; Kendall, *Autobiography*; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 44-68, 81-95; Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*; Wise, *Seven Decades of the Union*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Bacher, *The Light in the Clearing*; Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*; Fisher, *The True Daniel Webster*; McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 139-149; Rogers, *The True Henry Clay*; Scollard, *Ballads of American Bravery*, 48-53; Shepard, *Life of Martin Van Buren*; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 353.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How did the conflicting views on the tariff question cause the Democrats much concern? 2. What was the "tariff of abominations"? 3. How did this tariff bring forth in South Carolina the theory of nullification? 4. Why was Jackson able to defeat Adams for the presidency in 1828? 5. How was Jackson the tribune of the people? 6. Describe Jackson's inauguration. 7. What is meant by the "spoils system"? 8. What is the theory of nullification? 9. What is the substance of Webster's reply to Hayne? 10. What attitude did Jackson take on nullification? 11. What attitude did Jackson take when South Carolina threatened secession? 12. Why was Jackson so opposed to the United States Bank? 13. How did he weaken the Bank? 14. Tell how Jackson collected the spoliation claims against France. 15. How did the wild speculation in Jackson's administration help to bring on the panic of 1837? 16. Describe the effects of the panic of 1837. 17. Why did Americans settle in Texas? 18. Why did Texas gain its independence from Mexico? 19. How did the question of the admission of Texas to the Union bring up the slavery question?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The "tariff of abominations," Jackson's election in 1828, the "spoils system," the Webster-Hayne debate, Jackson's fight on the United States Bank, the panic of 1837, the independence of Texas.
2. PROJECT: Compare and contrast the democracy of Andrew Jackson with that of Thomas Jefferson and Woodrow Wilson.
3. PROBLEM: Was Jackson justified in his destruction of the United States Bank?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the South was justified in its theory of nullification.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The theory of nullification.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you were one of the spectators who heard the Webster-Hayne debate. Write a letter to a friend in South Carolina telling him how you were affected by the speeches you heard.
7. DIARY: You were living in Indiana in 1828 and were greatly interested in the presidential election of that year. You attended many of the rallies

and heard the speeches of the rival candidates, jotting down many of the things you heard. Read to the class extracts from your diary.

8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: John Randolph, Amos Kendall, William L. Marcy, Thomas H. Benton, Daniel Webster, Robert Y. Hayne, Roger B. Taney, Nicholas Biddle, Martin Van Buren, Stephen F. Austin, Santa Anna.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1828, 1837.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Doughty frontiersman, "tariff of abominations," doctrine of nullification, a compact between sovereign states, "Kitchen Cabinet," "to the victor belong the spoils," tribune of the people, civil service, "practical" politicians, "money power," tide of speculation and inflation, spoliation claims, specie circular, suspended specie payment, "white-collar" class.

11. MAP WORK: On an outline map color red the states carried by Jackson in 1832 and color blue those carried by Clay.

12. GRAPH WORK: By means of bar graphs show the sale of public lands in 1835 and 1836.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. ANDREW JACKSON'S POLICY: Bassett, *Andrew Jackson*, I, chs. 1-3; II, chs. 19-22, 24-25; MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, chs. 2-4, 12, 14, 18; McMaster, *History*, V, 513-536; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, chs. 7-8, 15-16; Wilson, *American People*, IV, 1-21.

2. JACKSON'S WAR ON THE BANK: *American History Leaflets*, no. 24; Dewey, *Financial History*, nos. 86-87; MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, chs. 7, 11; Peck, *Jacksonian Epoch*, 167-193; Wilson, *American People*, IV, 41-52.

3. TARIFF AND NULLIFICATION: Callender, *Economic History*, ch. 10; Fuess, *Daniel Webster*, chs. 6-7; Loring, *Nullification, Secession*; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, nos. 44-45, 47-49, 53, 55; Peck, *Jacksonian Epoch*, 158-161, 193-214.

4. THE REMOVAL OF THE DEPOSITS: *American History Leaflets*, no. 24; Bassett, *Andrew Jackson*, II, ch. 29; Peck, *Jacksonian Epoch*, 215-244; Roosevelt, *Thomas H. Benton*, ch. 6; Schurz, *Henry Clay*, II, chs. 15, 18.

5. TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS AND SURPLUS REVENUE: Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I; Bourne, *Surplus Revenue of 1837*; Dewey, *Financial History*, nos. 91, 94; MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, chs. 8, 10, 15-16; Sparks, *United States*, II, chs. 2-3, 5.

UNIT III

HOW OUR COUNTRY FACED SECTIONAL CONFLICT AND PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION

TOPIC I

HOW SLAVERY DIVIDED OUR COUNTRY

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To develop the relationship between politics and the slavery question.
2. To understand how the slavery question permeated our life from 1840 to 1860.
3. To set forth the conflicting interests of North and South.
4. To see how slavery divided our country.

1. *Slavery and Politics*

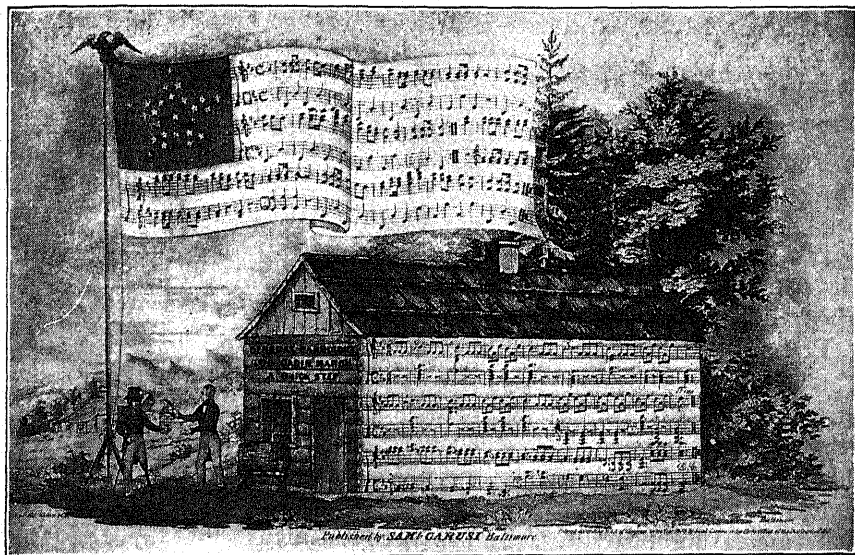
Territorial expansion raises the slavery question. The catastrophe suggested at the end of the last topic was not to arrive in the form of secession and a threatened break-up of the Union until 1860. But from 1840 the situation grew almost steadily more menacing. Between that year and 1850 the national boundaries were vastly extended. This increase of territory raised questions which brought to men's minds a possible splitting-up of the United States into at least two separate nations. By 1849 the situation seemed desperate, when by a compromise the evil day was put off for another decade.

The Whigs nominate Harrison, the Democrats Van Buren. The election of 1840 was fought out in the shadow of the panic of 1837 and the hard times following it. The Whigs, when they met in convention at Harrisburg in November, 1839, to nominate candidates and to formulate a platform, were able to agree on candidates but not on a platform. They had, in fact, no policies to propose to the country. It was a mixed party, made up of all sorts of elements united chiefly by their fear of democracy and their desire to secure a tariff. It consisted for the most part of the wealthy and conservative of the several sections. The old perennial Whig aspirants for the presidency, Webster and Clay, were again passed over. The western military hero of earlier days, the victor over the Indians at Tippecanoe, General William Henry Harrison, was nominated with John Tyler, a Virginian, as his running mate.

The Democrats, in their convention at Baltimore in May, reasserted the principles of Jefferson and Jackson in unmistakable terms. They

renominated Van Buren but were unable to agree upon a candidate for Vice-President. Several states had nominated candidates for that office, and the convention decided not to choose between them but to leave the decision, if necessary, to the Senate. For this they were jeered at by the Whigs. But they gaily flung back the retort that if they could not agree upon men, at least they could agree on principles.

Whigs defeat Democrats in "log cabin and hard cider" campaign. In a widely extended democracy, an outstanding figure



GENERAL HARRISON'S LOG CABIN MARCH AND QUICK STEP

A cartoon in the 1840 campaign. From the Library of Congress.

in public life, with a career of accomplishment behind him, is bound to have made powerful enemies in groups, classes, or sections. The plan adopted by the Whigs in 1840 of selecting as a candidate a known man, but one who had a minimum of enemies because he had a minimum of political accomplishment, was henceforth to become an accepted rule of playing safe in the fights for the presidency.

The campaign of 1840 made little pretense of appealing to the intelligence of the electorate. It was not marred like that of 1828 by bitter attacks on the morality of the candidates. It was a campaign of torch-light processions, songs, and nonsense. To catch the votes of the

poorer classes, General Harrison, who was moderately well-to-do and lived an easy and hospitable life in his large house in Ohio, was pictured carrying an axe and wearing a coonskin cap in front of his "log cabin." Van Buren, on the other hand, was accused of using gold spoons in the White House, and many a procession marched to the beating rhythm of "Van, Van, is a used-up man."

The "log cabin and hard cider" campaign, so notable in our annals, was extraordinary in showing how lightly a democracy can decide who shall be its leader in a grave crisis. The Whigs had gauged the electorate accurately, "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too" rode easily into victory, receiving 234 electoral votes against Van Buren's 60. The votes of the people themselves made a much more favorable showing for Van Buren, who received 1,129,000 to Harrison's 1,275,000. Increasing interest in politics, as well as our expanding population and perhaps better means of communication, was indicated by the fact that over a million more votes were cast than in the preceding election of 1836.

The triumph of the Whigs was short lived, however, for President Harrison died a month after his inauguration and Vice-President Tyler, who had little in common with the Whig leaders, became President.

The Liberty party enters the presidential field. Harrison and Van Buren had not been the only candidates. Although the Liberty party polled scarcely 7000 votes in the whole nation its participation demands more consideration than these figures would indicate. From the day nearly a decade earlier, when Garrison had set up in Boston his standard of abolitionism, that movement had been carried forward with increasing bitterness. It has been estimated that by 1840 the several hundred abolition societies in the Northern states numbered over 150,000 members.

The South takes drastic action against the abolitionists. The violence of the views of the radical abolitionists is shown in 1843 in Garrison's denunciation of the Constitution, "that the compact which exists between the North and the South is 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell'—involving both parties in atrocious criminality, and should be immediately annulled." The abolitionists were ready to place their own cause above all others. Slavery was a great evil, which civilized mankind was gradually growing away from, but unless the abolitionists could end it immediately, they were willing to sacrifice the Union.

The South was caught between what seemed the inevitable crash of its economic system and type of life if slavery was destroyed, and the

let sleeping dogs lie. Both the close business ties between Southern producers of cotton and Northern manufacturers, and a genuine love for the Union untainted by money interest, made them desire to put off what might be the fatal day of decision.

Slavery, quite as much as Northern factories and mills and bank accounts, was protected by the Constitution. Some day, the conservatives argued, the problem might be capable of solution, without force or injustice. Changed economic conditions had fastened slavery on the South, and another shift some time might make it possible for the South to get rid of it. England had done so in the Empire by spreading emancipation over a number of years and compensating the slave owners.

In America the abolitionists aroused passion and focused attention in such a way as to make the question of slavery a burning one. The country was under the black shadow of dangerous sectional feeling, even when the people so light-heartedly marched and sang their way through a contest between a party without a platform and one without a vice-presidential candidate.

A spirit of lawlessness seems to pervade our land. Meanwhile the ferment in America continued. We presented in the last topic something of the swirling currents in the mental life of the period. We have to note now that much of the passion and prejudice developed by new ideas and conditions found vent in mob action and a general reign of violence. Nor was this by any means confined to the dispute over slavery and abolition. The mobbing mania which attended that problem was merely a symptom of a far wider unsettlement in a society changing so rapidly that the forces of law and order were outrun by those making for new adjustments.

The great increase in the number of foreigners arriving as immigrants was raising religious, economic, political, and social questions which were often treated in the spirit of the mob. Although the Germans suffered in places, the Irish were the special target for violence. There were anti-Catholic riots in numerous villages and cities. In many states Catholic churches were burned and priests maltreated. Almost invariably sufferers could get neither redress nor protection.

Popular unrest arises in Rhode Island. In 1842 the effort to settle a question by means of violence almost precipitated civil war in Rhode Island, which had been backward in abolishing the freehold qualifications for the franchise. In this particular eddy of the national life, economic conditions, democracy, the negro, and the foreigner all

played a part. Both the franchise and representation of the towns were antiquated in that state, which was yet being governed under its old colonial charter. In the early days the freehold qualifications had not been questioned when almost every one was a farmer and could own a few acres.

The economic change from agriculture to shipping, and especially to manufacturing, had produced a considerable class of citizens who were no longer freeholders, but they considered that they had the right to vote. The conservatives in control were stubbornly opposed to enlarging the electorate, but the malcontents found a leader in Thomas W. Dorr, the son of a wealthy manufacturer and a graduate of Phillips Exeter Academy and of Harvard College.

The Dorr War achieves its purpose. When the new People's party, as it was called, was rebuffed by the legislature, which declined to consider its grievances, a convention was assembled. A new constitution for the state was drawn up by the convention and submitted to the people. Nearly 14,000 votes were cast in favor of it, a majority of the qualified voters of the state. Technically neither the convention nor the new constitution had any legal status, but an election was held and Dorr was elected governor.

Meanwhile, the legislature had been stung into action, and had prepared a new constitution, which, however, was defeated at the polls. There were now two governments in the state, and both appealed to President Tyler for aid. This he declined to give to either. The Dorrites next attempted to seize the arsenal, but the legal government of the Landholders, as they called themselves, broke the rebellion, and Dorr had to escape from the state.

The Landholders had sought to make political capital by claiming that the Dorrites were trying to give the vote to numbers of undesirable persons. By the passage of laws of extreme severity against the rebels and by the condemnation of Dorr to life imprisonment, the Landholders lost almost all popular support. Before the end of 1842 they were forced to submit a new constitution to the people. It gave the franchise to all male citizens over twenty-one without regard to color, provided they paid a tax of not less than one dollar a year. Three years later Dorr was liberated from prison. The Dorr War was thus successful, though the armed revolt itself had been suppressed.

John Quincy Adams opposes the "gag rule" in Congress. Meanwhile, the slavery agitation was continuing as an ominous undertone in the national life. Almost every question before Congress became

tinged with it, and many men who were far from being abolitionists were dragged into it.

John Quincy Adams, defeated for re-election to the presidency in 1828, had accepted election to Congress in 1831. From then until his death on the floor of the House in 1848 he fought gloriously for the right of every issue, as he saw it, which arose during his long period of office. In doing so he displayed a fearlessness, a singleness of purpose, and a disregard of political consequences to himself which at last won the admiration of even his foes.

Early in this new phase of his career, petitions against slavery began to be presented to Congress by societies and groups of individuals. These petitions continually increased in the South the swelling flood of anger which the abolitionist literature was producing. Adams, although opposed to slavery, was not an abolitionist. Nevertheless because of his independence and his refusal to be intimidated, the petitions came more and more to be presented to the House through him.

In May, 1836, the House finally passed a rule that thereafter all such petitions should be laid on the table without being read or printed. That rule not only prevented the exercise of free speech in Congress but unconstitutionally deprived the citizen of the right of petition. For eight years after this, at every session of Congress, Adams continued to fight for constitutional freedom and for repeal of the "gag rule." He won at last by sheer strength of will, at the December session of 1844.

Slavery splits the Methodist and the Baptist churches. How slavery was beginning to affect all aspects of our life was indicated in that same year by the split in the Methodist church. From 1816 the rule of the church had been that no clergyman should own slaves in a state in which they could be legally emancipated. In 1832 a Georgian, the Reverend James O. Andrew, had been elected a bishop, one of the recommendations being that he was not a slave-owner. In January, 1844, he married a woman who did own slaves, whereupon the church took action. In the general conference it was resolved that he should not perform the duties of his office so long as "the impediment remains." As a result of the discussion, the church was divided into northern and southern sections. The following year the Baptist church also split. Clay feared that these incidents might serve as examples both "perilous and alarming."

Our expansion of territory brings up the slavery question. The question of the annexation of Texas, with an area capable of being

divided into many states, all of which would be slave, was becoming serious. The Mexican War, which will be discussed later, had been extremely unpopular in the North, especially among the abolitionists and other strong anti-slavery groups who had seen in the Texas question merely a scheme of the South to extend slavery.

The huge acquisitions of territory in 1846-48 had increased the part of the Union which must be free by nature far more than it had increased the slave portion. Slavery was economically impossible in most of what was to become New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, and Utah. So it was also in Oregon, which we had received by compromise with England. The states which might be carved out of Texas, but never were, could not counterbalance these others in Congress. This, however, was not foreseen, and the partisan bitterness of the nation had been immensely increased by the Mexican War. Expansion had won a colossal victory, but at the cost of an equal colossal increase in the tension of sectionalism.

Polk, Calhoun, and Webster take different views. Even before peace with Mexico was declared, the question of slavery in the new Far West had already agitated the country. The new western acquisitions were without established forms of government. Polk, who had become President in 1845, wished to organize territories on the basis of the old Missouri Compromise of 1820, that is, to make the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$ the dividing line between slave and free. Calhoun, the acknowledged leader of the most fiery pro-slavery party in the South, insisted on the other hand that since the new West had become the property of the nation, and slavery was legal under the Constitution, it was legal everywhere in the new additions.

Webster took the ground that the Constitution affected only the states of the Union, and that since slavery had not existed in California or in the Oregon country, those sections were free as they stood. After heated debates in May, 1848, Oregon was made a territory on the basis of the fundamental provisions of the old Northwest Ordinance, as free soil. But Congress could reach no compromise as to California and the rest of the territory included as New Mexico.

The Democratic party in New York splits into factions. Meanwhile, the election of that year was drawing on, to be dominated by the politics of the slavery controversy. Although he had shown a doggedness of purpose which had not been expected from him, Polk was not a great man. A man of no personal magnetism, he did not possess the qualities of a great leader. Yet he had added, oddly enough as

Democratic President, a greater proportional amount of new territory to the United States than any other President except another Democrat, Thomas Jefferson. When elected, he had declared that he would serve but one term, and as a matter of fact he could not have been elected to another.

The Democratic convention met at Baltimore May 22, 1848, in some confusion owing to the bitter factional fight which had been going on for some time in New York. There the party had become completely



SMOKING HIM OUT. A "BARN BURNER" CARTOON IN THE 1848 CAMPAIGN
From the Library of Congress.

split into what were known in the political slang of the time as the "Barn Burners" and the "Hunkers." The "Barn Burners" were made up of a reform element which included Silas Wright, with the support of Van Buren, and the editor of *The New York Evening Post*, William Cullen Bryant. Considered impractical they were given their political designation from the story of a dull farmer who burned his barn to get rid of the rats. The other group, under the lead of William L. Marcy, were the practical politicians of the state, and, it is said, derived their title of "Hunkers" from their "hunger for public office." Each faction

claimed to be the Democratic party in New York, and each sent a full delegation to the convention. After much wrangling over which should be seated, both finally declined to vote. The "Barn Burners" withdrew entirely from the convention.

The "Barn Burners" desert the Democratic party. Although the platform endorsed the administration of Polk and the righteousness of the Mexican War which had been fought during his administration, Polk received no votes. Lewis Cass of Michigan was unanimously nominated for the presidency, with General William O. Butler as running mate. All the candidates suggested for President had been men who were opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, which, if it had passed, would have prohibited slavery in any of the territory secured from Mexico. It was hoped that the election might be won by proclaiming Southern principles and nominating a man personally popular in the West.

The "Hunkers," as practical politicians, agreed to endorse Cass. The "Barn Burners" broke with the party, and at a later convention held at Utica nominated Van Buren on an anti-Southern platform which demanded the enactment of the Wilmot Proviso.

The Whigs win the presidential election of 1848. The Whigs at their convention at Philadelphia in June had nominated General Taylor, a Louisiana slave-holder but a war hero who, it could be claimed, deserved well of his country because he had been neglected by the government. United with him on the ticket was Millard Fillmore of New York.

The situation already mixed was to be made more so by the dissatisfaction of many Northern Democrats, who insisted upon a more definite stand as to slavery, by both the Baltimore and the Utica conventions. As "Free-Soilers" they held a convention of their own at Buffalo in August. They adopted a platform demanding the rescue of the government from the control of the slave-power. They also demanded the acknowledgment that Congress had no power to permit slavery in any territory beyond the original slave states. Van Buren received the nomination for President on this ticket also, with Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts as Vice-President. As the slogan of the campaign was, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," the sectional character of the party was clear.

General Taylor, the military hero of two wars, was elected by 163 to 127 in the electoral college. He received only 1,360,000 popular votes as compared with 1,512,000 for his opponents combined. Defeated by Cass in such Southern states as Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Missis-

issippi, Missouri, Virginia, and Texas, it was evident that the Whigs, even with a Southern platform and a slaveowner and a Southerner at the head of their ticket, could not carry the South against a Democrat.

2. *The Compromise of 1850*

The slavery question threatens disruption of the Union. On the day when Taylor was inaugurated, Congress adjourned after three months of wrangling over the problems of the new territories and of slavery. No progress had been made toward establishing governments in New Mexico and California. Only new bitterness had been aroused. The Southerners had freely indulged in threats of secession. A committee of leading Southern congressmen had issued a manifesto calling upon the South to resist the North and to demand its fair share of the conquered territory. The new President, "Old Rough and Ready," took office under conditions which appeared to presage a downfall of the Union unless some agreement could be reached between the sections.

Congress is confronted by five serious questions. The intensity of the political situation was shown when Congress met in December, 1849. Sixty-three ballots had to be taken before the factions could agree upon the election of a speaker of the House. In its personnel that body was one of the most brilliant which had assembled in America since the days of the First Continental Congress and of the Constitutional Convention. Foremost, and almost at the end of their careers, were the great trio of debaters, Webster, Calhoun, and Clay. There also were Benton, Cass, Seward, Douglas, and Jefferson Davis.

The five leading questions all deeply involved with slavery were whether the new state of California should be admitted as free; whether slavery should be allowed in the territories of Utah and New Mexico; how far westward should the Texans be allowed to establish their boundary; what should be done about the growing scandal of publicly selling slaves in the federal District of Columbia; and what to do about the unenforced Fugitive Slave law.

Slavery had been forbidden in Mexico, so all territory we had acquired by our war with Mexico had been free according to Mexican law. In defiance of that law, slavery had existed in Texas. There was no intention of disturbing it. The problem was what to do in the remainder of the annexed territory.

The politicians, North and South, had been busy with the question. The Virginia House of Delegates had expressed the Southern view by passing a series of resolutions that the Union would be subverted if the

Federal Government should attempt to prevent the citizens of any section from carrying their property of "whatever description" into a territory owned by the nation. If such an attempt was made, Virginia declared she would be called upon to resist at all hazards.

President Taylor takes the initiative. Taylor, with a soldier's contempt for politicians and with a desire to settle the disputes before they could be wrangled over, had already taken action which dismayed his Southern followers. First, he sent to California a representative to stir up the Americans there to frame a constitution and to apply for immediate entrance to the Union as a state, deciding the slavery question for themselves. Second, he warned the Texans that if they made any move to extend their boundary far beyond that of the old Spanish province, he would immediately head the United States army personally and march to the border.

No plan for the settlement of the group of problems that would satisfy all sections seemed possible. The North would have nothing to do with the suggestion that the old line of the Missouri Compromise, 36° 30', be extended to the Pacific coast. California, of which fully half was south of that line, had adopted Taylor's suggested constitution by an overwhelming majority in December, 1849. It had prohibited slavery, and now by the almost unanimous wish of her citizens was seeking admission as a free state. Texas was restless, and New Mexico and Utah had no government at all. The President's suggestion that California be admitted and that then the rest of the questions be taken up met with no favor. In the South, talk of secession was rapidly spreading.

Clay proposes the Compromise of 1850. If both North and South insisted upon the demands of their more extreme elements, a break-up of the Union appeared inevitable. So serious had the situation become that Clay, who at seventy-three had been out of Congress for some years and had only two more of life, had fought and won an election to the Senate so as to return to public life and secure, if possible, some compromise which might preserve the Union.

In January, 1850, he made his proposals, the last of his great compromising efforts. As concessions to Northern anti-slavery feeling, he suggested that California be admitted as free soil, and that the slave-trade be forever prohibited in the District of Columbia. To the South he offered the passage of a more stringent Fugitive Slave law; an agreement not to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland; the payment of the state debt of Texas in return

for her abandonment of most of her claim to an extended boundary; an official denial that Congress had any control over the inter-state slave trade; and the erection of New Mexico and Utah into territories without the enactment of the Wilmot Proviso, leaving the question of slavery to be settled by their own citizens.

For parts of two days Clay, ill, hollow-eyed, and haggard, almost exhausted, pleaded for his compromise as the only means of saving the Union. He urged tolerance in the North and acquiescence in the South. He warned the North that a Fugitive Slave law must be enforced to meet the legitimate constitutional demands of the Southern owners of property. In turn, he warned the South that secession was not only unconstitutional but could never be effected without a bloody war. It was enough that the North and West would never again yield the mouth of the Mississippi to any nation but their own.

Calhoun threatens secession. Webster had already made up his mind to support Clay, but took no important part in debate until March. On the 4th of that month, Calhoun, who was to die within the month and was too ill to speak himself, sat glowering at his opponents while Senator Mason of Virginia read his prepared speech for him.

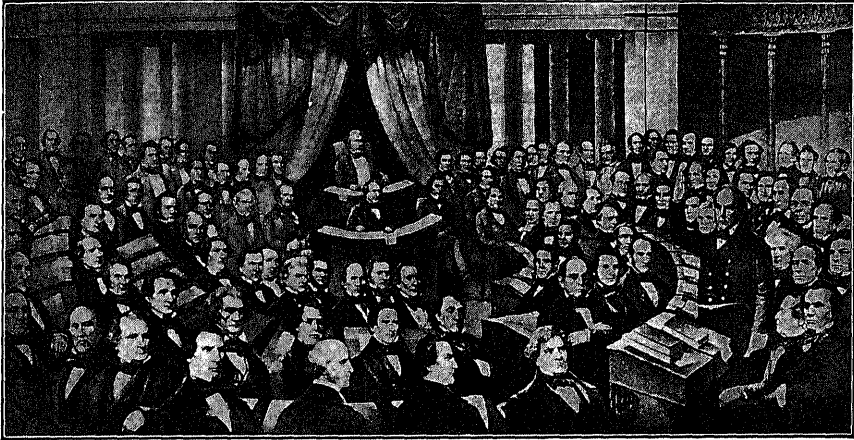
The old defender of slavery threatened secession, unless the North ceased to agitate the slavery question, would admit slavery into the lands acquired from Mexico, and would honestly enforce the act for returning fugitive slaves. He demanded that the North give the South its rights and that balance of power which was slipping from her.

Two years earlier he had urged that the South force the issue at once while "stronger than we shall be hereafter, politically and morally." Now, in spite of his expressed love of the Union, he pointed out that the cords were fast breaking which bound the sections together. Unless a perfect balance could be maintained between the slave and free portions, the secession of the South was inevitable. This balance, he explained later, involved the election of two Presidents, one from each section and each with a veto on the other! His statement that the South had nothing either to compromise or to concede expressed all too clearly the belief of that section.

Webster urges preservation of the Union. Three days after his own speech, Calhoun tottered like a figure of death into the Senate chamber to hear his old enemy, Daniel Webster, make his famous "Seventh-of-March" speech which was to rank only below his "Reply to Hayne." Webster himself, sixty-eight years old and ill, with but

two years of life before him, seemed like a shadow of the national past and of his former self.

It was the last great speech that America's most noted orator was to make. "I wish to speak today," he began, "not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American. . . . The imprisoned winds are let loose, the East, the North, and the stormy South, combine to throw the whole sea into commotion, to toss its billows to the skies, and disclose its profoundest depths . . . I speak today for the preservation of the Union. 'Hear me for my cause.' "



WEBSTER ADDRESSING THE SENATE, MARCH 7, 1850

From the engraving in the Library of Congress.

Calmly he discussed the history of slavery in the nation and stressed the permanent nature of the Missouri Compromise. He pointed out that even without legislation slavery would never gain a foothold in New Mexico and California by reason of the nature of their soils and climate. He asserted that the South was right in demanding that the Fugitive Slave law like any other law should be enforced. He said that the abolitionists had done no good and much harm by the violence of their agitation. At the end he pleaded for the preservation of the Union above all other considerations. He warned again that there could be no such thing as a peaceable secession.

Webster is denounced by radical anti-slavery men. It was not as great as his former speech, nor of such lasting importance as an interpretation of the Constitution, but it made a greater immediate

impression. It deeply exasperated the anti-slavery elements in the North. In his own state Webster was denounced as a Benedict Arnold and a traitor to his followers and to humanity.

Webster's speech brought down upon him such wrath as few statesmen have been called upon to face at the end of such a long and distinguished career. In the Senate, however, it brought heavy support to Clay and his compromise. As the summer went on, it began to appear that Clay might win, and feeling grew more bitter in the South.

Sentiment in the North had been peculiarly bitter against the laws for the capture and return of slaves who had escaped from their masters into the free states. There had been many instances of open resistance to the enforcement of such acts. The "Underground Railroad," as it was called, had been organized among the abolitionists in the North to hide escaping slaves and help them on their journeys. Many who were not abolitionists disliked intensely to see men who had escaped from slavery captured and returned to it.

Southern delegates meet at Nashville. In June, a convention of delegates from the Southern states met at Nashville to consider the situation. Langdon Cheves of South Carolina introduced a resolution declaring that secession was the only remedy "from the usurped and unrestrained power of the Federal Government." The resolutions adopted did not go quite so far. Certain interesting points, however, were made in an address which was prepared for circulation. It claimed that the North wished not only to destroy Southern property in the form of slaves but to place on Southerners "the brand of inferiority." This was an inference, of course, derived from the Northern contention as to the essential immorality of slavery. The address also noted the increasing predominance of the North in Congress, and predicted that in fifty years the South would be hopelessly outnumbered. At an adjourned meeting of the convention in November, it was clear that the compromise spirit had greatly increased. But South Carolina, largely under the influence of R. Barnwell Rhett, was as strong as ever for secession.

The Compromise of 1850 becomes law. Meanwhile, the position in Washington had been much altered by the unexpected death of President Taylor on July 9. Millard Fillmore, who now became President, was a friend both of Clay and of the compromise. In September the compromise complete, Fugitive Slave law and all, was passed by both houses of Congress and received the President's signature.

Though Clay and Webster, with their followers, had saved the Union, no compromise could be lasting. Slavery had become an outdated institution among modern civilized races. Calhoun had been right when he believed that the South had no time to lose if it was to settle the question in its own favor for its own type of civilization. Slavery was not merely a local problem. It permeated the thought of the entire nation, and would one day have to be settled.

3. Conflicting Interests of North and South

The South feels it has real grievances. Had the radicals not aroused the South to fury, and sections of the North to frenzy, it is possible, though no one can say truly, that the problem might have been worked out peaceably in time and with a minimum of hard feeling. Economic changes, such as have occurred in the South, might have induced the Southerners to admit the economic wastefulness of slavery as contrasted with free labor.

The South had in reality two problems. One was racial, the presence in its midst of the millions of the black race. The other was economic—whether a slave or a wage system of labor was the more profitable for the plantation owners, even if they could recover the capital invested in slave property.

The latter question had ceased to be one of economics alone and had been made one of fear and passion. The North had threatened the "peculiar institution" of the South. The South could regard every increase of free territory and of every additional Northern senator, only as bringing greater peril to the constitutional rights of the Southern states. There was no question at all that the right to hold slaves was as strongly imbedded in the Constitution as any other right which could be claimed by either North or South.

Our people try to forget the slavery question. For the time being, however, the storm which had threatened destruction had been lulled. It was in that sense only that Clay and Webster had been successful. They had not devised a formula which was to be permanently workable. They had merely put off for another decade the day of reckoning. That was of supreme importance.

Meanwhile, North and South, with the exceptions of the extreme radicals of both sections, settled down to accept the compromise as though it were permanent. This was made somewhat easier by the rapid growth of business and the coming of a boom so wild as to bring on the economic depression of 1857. Under the apparent protection of

the compromise, men gave themselves up to making money rather than to splitting hairs over the slavery problem.

England and the United States become interested in Central America. An important bit of European diplomacy was concerned with the respective rights, or perhaps it would be truer to say ambitions, of England and the United States in Central America. For two hundred years England had claimed a protectorate over the Mosquito Indians in Nicaragua. In January, 1848, British warships seized Greytown on the San Juan River. In April, Polk announced his strong insistence upon maintaining the Monroe Doctrine, "a policy which no European power should cherish the disposition to resist."

Apart from our general reasons for having proclaimed that doctrine which warned all European nations not to establish new colonies in America, we had a peculiar interest in the isthmus of Central America. Since our acquisition of California, it was the shortest route between our East and our far West.

We make the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with England. For a long time there had been talk of the possibility of a canal being dug across Central America, which would permit a continuous water passage between our two coasts. In any case a railroad there was a simple matter as contrasted with our yet unbuilt transcontinental lines. England also had a stake in whatever might mean a new trade route for the world at large. When, in 1849, we secured by treaties with Honduras and Nicaragua the right of transit across their territories, England was concerned about her own rights.

At the end of that year a special envoy, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, arrived from England with the offer to negotiate a treaty that would define the rights of each nation. The negotiations were in the hands of John M. Clayton, then Secretary of State. A treaty, known from the two chief negotiators as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, was signed on April 19, 1850. England agreed not to try to extend her territory in Central America. The United States agreed not to seek new possessions there. The treaty provided that both nations would guarantee the neutrality of any canal built. It said that neither would fortify it or ever insist upon exclusive control over it. And it was further stated that it was to be built for the benefit of the world and to be operated on "equal terms for all." No canal was built during the century, but the treaty undoubtedly cleared the international atmosphere.

Much anti-English feeling still remains in our country. It was well that it should be so cleared, for by the mid-century a new factor

had entered American politics. As we had previously noted, the Irish had been coming in great numbers. By 1850 there were nearly a million of them, settled for the most part in the industrial centers of the East. The relations of Ireland to England had always been extremely difficult. The Irish who reached America as immigrants came for the most part with intense hatred of England. Although they were at first not popular among ourselves, partly due to economic causes, they developed a marked aptitude for politics. Locating in large masses in important centers like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, they became an important and even at times a determining factor in elections.

Politicians were quick to see the need of catering to the Irish vote and the simplest way was to play upon hatred of England. There was still enough feeling left from the Revolution and the War of 1812 to make a strong anti-British policy almost as welcome to Americans as to the Irish. Our history in 1850 was still brief. History as written in those days was largely a record of politics and wars. Until the Mexican struggle, our only two wars as an independent nation had been those against England. Our whole history appeared one long struggle against that power. "Twisting the lion's tail" thus came to be one of the surest means of winning votes in the absence of important domestic issues.

The Democrats approve the Compromise of 1850. For a moment, in 1852, it seemed as though the chief domestic issue, slavery, had been settled. The election proved that the people as a whole wished to forget. In the platform drawn up by the Democrats at their convention in Baltimore in June, 1852, the compromise as passed by Congress in 1850 was unqualifiedly approved. A further plank pledged the party to "resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made." Certainly nothing could have been more explicit than that, and whoever voted the Democratic ticket knew what he was voting for.

The two wings of the party into which it had split in the previous election were willing to unite, and the only difficulty was a candidate. To satisfy the North and South and the two united Democratic factions, it was necessary to choose as colorless and recordless a candidate as could be found. But it was not until the forty-ninth ballot that he was found by a stampede to Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. He had probably been agreed upon from the first by the party leaders, who did not, however, bring out his name until the thirty-fifth ballot.

Whigs approve, Free-Soilers denounce Compromise of 1850. The Whigs in their convention, which also met in Baltimore ten days after the Democrats adjourned, likewise had their difficulties in settling on a standard bearer. Their greatest statesman, Webster, who had long aspired to the presidency, had seriously injured himself by his "Seventh-of-March" speech. He could not count even upon a united New England to support a favorite son, as Maine had not forgiven his settlement of its boundary question. Fillmore was approved by many for re-election, but the Whig party, driven also to straddle North and South, finally chose, as did the Democrats, a man whose views were little known to the public. On the fifty-third ballot the nomination was given to General Scott, the seventh general to run for President in our history of sixty years.

The Whigs, however, unlike the Democrats, hedged carefully in their platform. They merely "deprecated" and agreed to "discountenance" further agitation of the slavery question, and insisted upon maintaining the acts making up the compromise "until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation."

The Free-Soilers, in their convention at Pittsburgh in August, where John P. Hale of New Hampshire was nominated for President, roundly denounced the compromise.

The people vote to let the slavery question sleep. If we consider the platforms, it is quite evident what the people wanted when we find that of the electoral votes Pierce received 254, Scott 42, and Hale none. The popular vote, though not quite so overwhelming for the Democrats, was unmistakably clear also: Pierce, 1,601,000, Scott 1,386,000, Hale 156,000. The Democrats, accepting the Compromise and pledging themselves to avoid any possible controversy over slavery, carried every state in the Union except Kentucky, Massachusetts, Tennessee, and Vermont. In only three states, Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts, did the Free-Soilers poll over 10,000 votes.

Many forces and factors will not let slavery question sleep. Although the nation had voted overwhelmingly, both North and South, to let the slavery question lie sleeping, there were many forces at work tending powerfully to keep it awake. The South could not fail to be alarmed as the free states drew rapidly ahead of the slave states in both population and economic resources. Calhoun had pointed that out long before. Unless the North could develop a tolerance that would enable the two types of civilization to live peacefully side by side in the Union, the contest would merely become more and more hopeless for the South.

In spite of the Democratic platform and the desire of the ordinary business man to forget slavery, there were those in the North who would not allow it to be forgotten. Attempts to enforce the Fugitive Slave law among a people who were not slaveowners themselves and who were coming more and more to view slavery as a crying evil, aroused the passion of humanitarianism which was one of the chief emotional currents of the age.

This humanitarian sentiment was also continually stirred and played upon by the Massachusetts group of authors, then the most distinguished and popular in the nation. Whittier and Lowell in verse and Emerson in prose had kept up their propaganda against slavery and its attendant laws and evils. Emerson swore he would not obey the Fugitive Slave law and advised every one else to break it "on the earliest possible occasion."

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" stirs the North against slavery. In 1852 there appeared, first in magazine form and then in a book, one of the most famous appeals made in the entire history of literature, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It was considered many years later by Lincoln to have been one of the leading causes of the Civil War. It roused such a storm of emotion and anger as no other book in the annals of America, and perhaps in the world. Three hundred thousand copies were sold in the first year and the work was translated into twenty foreign languages.

It told a highly emotional story and its picture of the sufferings of the slaves was much overdrawn so far as the normal life of the South was concerned. Each of the incidents might, however, have

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By courtesy of the Yale University Press.

occurred separately in real life. Like Paine's *Common Sense*, at the time of the American Revolution, the enormous influence of the book lay in its powerful appeal to some of the most fundamental and generous feelings of the common man.

Especially to women and youth it presented an unforgettable picture of what *might* happen to human beings under slavery and it was falsely assumed that it was a picture of what was happening daily in our own country. Continuing to sell in large quantities and dramatized for the stage with phenomenal runs, its influence was cumulative year after year. Its characters became as well known in the ordinary Northern household as any in real life. "Uncle Tom" and "Little Eva" worked steadily in the minds of ordinary people against the merchants and statesmen who were doing their best to keep slavery out of the national sight.

Northern capitalists wish to build a railroad through free territory. Meanwhile other events were rapidly destroying the new assumed harmony in the Union. A large section of the public domain, west of Missouri and Iowa and north of Texas, was as yet unorganized, without even a territorial form of government. It all lay north of the old Missouri Compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$. If organized as free soil in accordance with the agreement of 1820, it would have further disturbed the balance of power in both the House and Senate in favor of the North. There had been suggestions of organizing it into one territory under the name of Nebraska. The Southerners were alarmed. Senator Atchison of Missouri swore he would never vote for it as free soil.

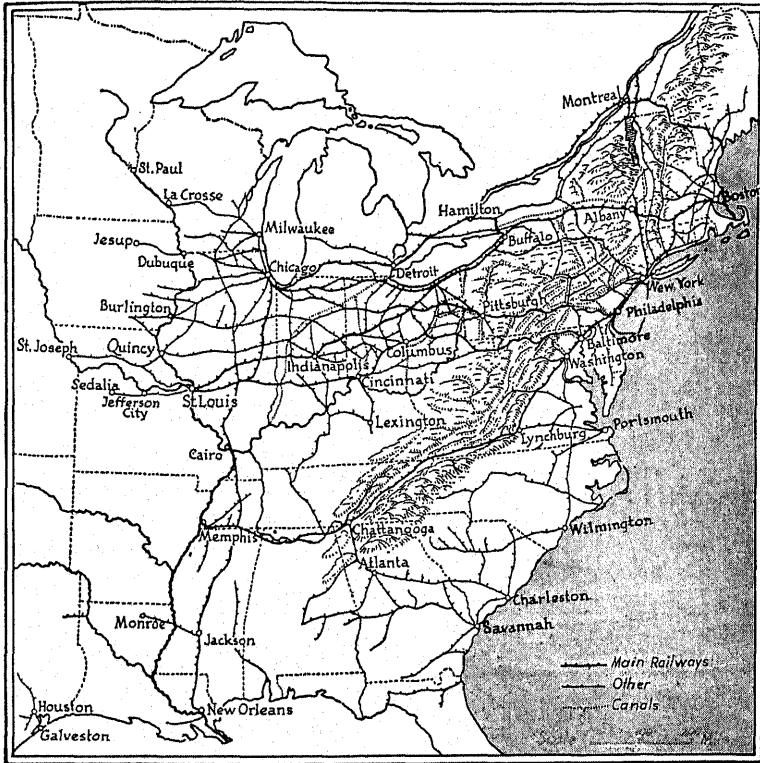
There were complications, however, which illustrate the increasing pressure of new economic forces against the slave power. It was a period of rapid railroad construction, the lines fast extending westward. For the most part they were being built by the industrial North which had capital and could secure ample credit for such enterprises, while in the South the capital was largely "frozen" in lands and slaves.

The Northern capitalists preferred to extend their trans-continental projects across free territory. Although the Missourians were slaveholders who sympathized with Atchison, they did not wish to lose the advantage of making St. Louis a railway center from which to tap the business of the growing West. The senator, therefore, consented to reverse himself, he would allow Nebraska to be made a territory, leaving the question of slavery to be determined by its future citizens.

The matter came to a head in the Congress which met in December, 1853. It confirmed the Gadsden purchase that we had made with Mex-

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ico and that gave to us what is now the Southern part of Arizona. The preceding Congress had authorized four surveys for railways to the Pacific coast. The most southerly would have to run through the new purchase, the organized states of Texas and California, and



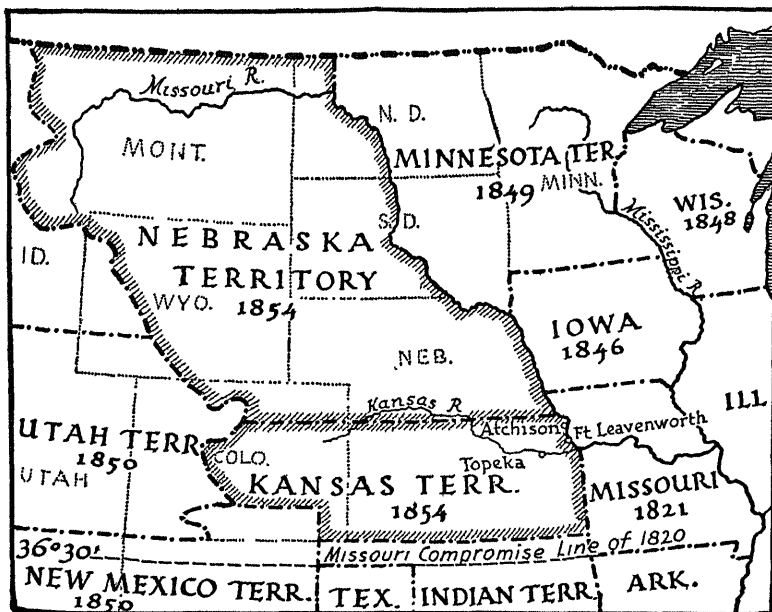
RAILROADS BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

the territory of New Mexico. The three more northerly ones would cross the unorganized territory in dispute.

Senator Douglas proposes organization of Nebraska. The chairman of the Senate committee on territories happened to be Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who was heavily interested in railroad extension and Western land speculation. Douglas wished the new railroad to follow the route westward from St. Louis. He was a great debater and a self-made man who had rapidly risen to a position of national distinc-

tion. He was immensely popular with the Democrats of the North and also had the usual senatorial ambition to become President, which meant that he must win the South. He now introduced a bill to organize the entire region as the Territory of Nebraska.

When a bill to erect Nebraska into a territory emerged from Douglas's committee to which it had been referred, it came out with an



NEBRASKA AND KANSAS TERRITORIES

amendment embodying Atchison's plan of allowing the citizens to decide as to the question of slavery within its borders. Douglas's real-estate holdings and his railroad plans called for a settled government in the territory. He seemingly was led to favor the amendment by the two facts that the South might not permit the bill to pass without it and that by aiding it he would strengthen himself in that section for the presidential nomination.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill opens the territory to slavery. After much opposition, a bill passed Congress in 1854 substantially on the lines proposed by Douglas except that out of the lower portion of the huge Nebraska territory two territories were to be carved instead

of one. The southern part was to be made into what is now the state of Kansas and the part immediately north of that into what is now Nebraska. A clause inserted in the measure also explicitly repealed the Missouri Compromise.

At once vehement objections went up from the Northern anti-slavery ranks. The South might claim that the Missouri Compromise had really ended when Utah, New Mexico, and California had been admitted, forgetting that in the Compromise of 1850 the South had received special favors in exchange for what it might be giving up. The explicit repeal of the older compromise, however, opened the whole of the national domain, not yet organized, to the advance of slavery. What the South was planning was suggested in an amendment moved by Senator Dixon of Kentucky. This expressly provided that Southerners should be at complete liberty to take and hold their slaves "within any of the Territories of the United States," or the states later to be formed from them.

Kansas-Nebraska Bill throws old parties into confusion. Rufus Choate is quoted as having said that "*Uncle Tom's Cabin* would make 2,000,000 abolitionists." Now Greeley wrote in *The Tribune* that the Kansas-Nebraska Bill would make more of them in three months than Garrison and the abolitionist orators like Wendell Phillips would make in fifty years. Politically the country was thrown into chaos. The Whigs were completely split. Every Whig congressman from the North voted against the bill, while all but seven from the South voted in favor of it. The Whig party had ceased to exist.

On the other hand, Douglas had forced a large section of the Democratic party out of its ranks. With the two great compromises of 1820 and 1850 broken, with the parties in confusion, with the old leaders dead, and lesser known and less experienced men in command, it was clear that the ship of state was drifting perilously. No longer was there any one to stand with the authority of Clay or Webster for Union as the supreme good of the nation. In the White House, the President, although a Northern man, had gone over to the side of the South, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was his Secretary of War.

The American party comes into existence. An effort was made, largely by side-steppers from the old parties, chiefly Whig, to form a new party, based on nativism and Protestantism. In form it was an odd mixture of a secret society and a political party. All of its members were pledged to follow the dictates of the inner council, and none could join who was not native born and wholly unconnected with

Roman Catholicism. The appeals to the love of mystery and ritual, and to racial and religious prejudice made the new party grow at first like a mushroom.

When asked anything about it, its members were required to answer that they "did not know," hence it came to be called the "Know-Nothing party." In 1854 it was a formidable power at the polls, with a quarter of the total vote of New York, two-fifths of that in Pennsylvania, and two-thirds of that in Massachusetts. In the last state it elected the governor and entire legislature. The next year, after having required an oath from all its members to maintain the national Union, it carried Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, claiming a million enrolled members. In preparation for the campaign of 1856, it held a national convention in Philadelphia in June, 1855, calling itself the American party. There the Southerners got control and ended its career by passing resolutions denying the authority of Congress to legislate on the subject of slavery.

A new party, the Republican, opposes extension of slavery. The year before, however, a far more important event had happened in the formation of the present Republican party, which may be considered to date from a convention held at Jackson, Michigan, on July 6, 1854. Composed of men pledged to resist all encroachments of slavery, it put a state ticket in the field, and invited other states to hold conventions and to do the same. In the general confusion, the crumbling of the American party added greatly to the strength of the Republicans.

President Pierce attempts to buy Cuba. The administration was giving the anti-slavery men plenty to think about. Pierce in his inaugural address had hinted at the acquisition of Cuba. That island, large, rich, full of slaves, Polk, when in full expansionist career, had offered to buy from Spain for \$100,000,000. Spain, however, had declined to part with any portion of its domain in exchange for American dollars.

The rejected offer was followed by filibustering expeditions from the South. These were sent out to the island with the hope of intensifying the disorder there and bringing about successful revolution and subsequent annexation. These also failed. In 1854, when the Spanish authorities seized the cargo of an American vessel, the *Black Warrior*, for having disobeyed regulations of the port of Havana, there was for a moment prospect of war. But the "insult" was apologized for unexpectedly by Spain, and the world went on as before.

The Ostend Manifesto is issued. The chief interest in Cuban affairs was due to one of the most foolish episodes in our diplomatic history. Pierce had sent as minister to Spain a Louisianian, Pierre Soulé. In London, we were represented by James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, and in Paris by John Y. Mason of Virginia. Soulé was in-



A CARTOON ON THE OSTEND MANIFESTO, SHOWING BUCHANAN, THEN MINISTER TO GREAT BRITAIN, ROBBED BY FOUR SCOUNDRELS WHO ARE JUSTIFYING THEIR ACT BY QUOTING FROM THE MANIFESTO

From the original in the New York Historical Society.

structed to confer with both of these when it became evident that he was making no headway in persuading Spain to sell us Cuba. The report signed by the three conferees on October 18, 1854, has always been called the Ostend Manifesto from the place where they first met.

The manifesto as finally completed recommended the offering to Spain of \$120,000,000 for the island. It said that if that nation, "actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor," should decline again to sell it to us, then "by every law, human and divine, we shall

be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power." Whatever Secretary of State Marcy's intention had been when he sent his instructions for all these extraordinary proceedings, he turned a cold shoulder at once to the manifesto. For a while we allowed Spain to do as she would with her own.

We open up the ports of Japan to trade. In the same year when we were trying to "detach" the much-coveted island of Cuba from its owners, we engaged in a more epoch-making adventure with Japan on the other side of the world. Japan was practically a closed land to to the rest of the nations. The ruling powers there had resisted all attempts to open the empire to a general commerce for fear of the effect of the impact of our Western civilization on their own.

In 1844 we had made a commercial treaty with China, one with Hawaii in 1849, and another with Borneo in 1850. Commodore Matthew C. Perry was next despatched to secure a treaty by show of force with the tightly sealed Japan. Arriving in July, 1853, he declined to leave, as requested, and insisted that the letter from the President be sent to the shogun. This having been agreed to after an examination of the guns on his sloop-of-war, he sailed for China, to give the Japanese time to think it over.

When Perry returned in February of the following year, the Japanese had decided that there was nothing to do but yield to our threats, and receive the gifts of American civilization which included both farming machinery and munitions of war. They signed a treaty March, 1854, by which thereafter American vessels would be allowed to enter certain Japanese ports for trade. Few events have been so important in their effect upon the entire world as this forcing by us of a hermit nation into the main currents of modern history against its own will.

The struggle for Kansas begins. In these diplomatic matters, the American people were taking comparatively slight interest. Far more exciting events nearer to their lives and thoughts were happening in our own West, where in a real sense the great Civil War, so long threatened in senatorial rhetoric, was beginning in earnest.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill had determined that the question of slavery in those territories should be settled by their own inhabitants and not by Congress. Both sections poured settlers into Kansas. As the more southern of the two territories and adjoining Missouri, it would be the first scene of the struggle. Many crossed from Missouri, carrying their slaves with them. The North sent men who went, not

with the spirit of the usual pioneer but with that of crusaders. When the anti-slavery Northerners organized an "Emigrant Aid Society" to assist financially in peopling the territory with men pledged to keep it free soil, indignation became even greater in the South. For the most part the slaveowners settled along or near the Missouri River, at Atchison, Lecompton, and Leavenworth. The Northerners located along the Kansas at Topeka, Lawrence, and Osawatomie.

"Bleeding Kansas" establishes two rival governments. Both factions were armed. Constant conflicts took place, giving the title of "bleeding Kansas" to the territory. In March, 1855, an election was held for a territorial legislature. Bands of Missourians crossed the state border, voted illegally, and promptly returned to their own state. The pro-slavery party won at the polls, but the anti-slavery citizens refused to accept the result. They held a convention at Topeka in October and adopted a constitution prohibiting slavery, the pro-slavery men throughout the territory refusing to vote. The anti-slavery men also set up a rival government. The violence steadily increased. The following May John Brown, with seven other men, including four of his sons, killed five pro-slavery settlers in their cabins along Potawatomie Creek.

At about the same time, the anti-slavery settlers, who had adopted the Topeka constitution, petitioned Congress to admit Kansas as a state with their constitution. In the debate in the Senate, characterized by bitter feeling, Senator Sumner of Massachusetts outdid himself in heaping abuse on Senator Butler of South Carolina. Three days later, Butler's nephew, a member of the lower House, entered the Senate chamber, and approaching Sumner while he was writing at his desk, beat him over the head with a heavy stick until the Massachusetts senator was unconscious and so badly wounded that he was unable to return to the Senate for three years. The ungentlemanly language of the Northerner and the dastardly act of the Southerner, both denounced by important bodies of public opinion in their several sections, showed all too clearly that the day of violence predicted and feared by Clay and Webster could not long be postponed by paper compromises.

The political parties take different views. It was in the midst of such passion and tumult that the political parties held their conventions for the presidential campaign of 1856. The delegates of the American or "Know-Nothing" party had met as early as February, nominating Millard Fillmore for President and rejecting the platform which had before been adopted by the national council. The rejecting

motion stated that no candidates would be nominated who were not in favor of forbidding slavery by congressional action north of the old line of $36^{\circ} 30'$. A seceding section of the party later held another convention and nominated Colonel John C. Frémont in place of Fillmore.

In spite of all the turbulence in Kansas, the Democrats reiterated their adherence to the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act,



YE ABOLITIONISTS IN COUNCIL—YE ORATOR OF YE DAY DENOUNCING
YE UNION

From a cartoon in *Harper's Weekly* of May 28, 1859.

the impotence of Congress to deal with the question of slavery, and the right of "squatter sovereignty." The American minister to England, James Buchanan, was nominated for the presidency, and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky was joined with him on the ticket.

In June the new Republican party assembled at Philadelphia with tremendous enthusiasm and nominated Colonel Frémont, who had already secured the backing of the seceding "Know-Nothings." In their platform they declared that it was not only the right but the duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories, denounced the Ostend Manifesto, and demanded the immediate admission of Kansas as a free state. In September the dying Whig party convened and nominated Fillmore on a rather colorless platform.

Buchanan is elected President. The campaign was spirited in the North but aroused no excitement in the South, where there was little question which way it would go. Although not absolutely, the election followed almost the line between the two sections. Buchanan carried the entire South except Maryland, where Fillmore got his only electoral votes, whereas Frémont carried all the North and West above 36° 30' except Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, and California, which last was bisected by the line. Slavery had made the sectional character of our politics clear, and it was known that the South would not remain in the Union if an anti-slavery man won. The Union would have to bow to slavery, be dissolved, or face a war. The next election in 1860 would decide.

The disloyal talk by no means all came from the South. The abolitionist elements in the North were preaching disunion. At a disunionist convention at Worcester, Massachusetts, in January, 1857, Garrison urged separation from the South and demanded "No Union with Slaveholders." Wendell Phillips called our Union "accursed of God" and declared that we were in reality two nations. The Reverend S. J. May wanted New England immediately to secede, even if Massachusetts had to do so by herself alone. Clergymen preached to their congregations to "tread under their feet" such parts of the Bible as sanctioned slavery. Both whites and blacks were urged by Parker, Phillips, Garrison, and others to kill without hesitancy any one attempting to capture a runaway slave. It is little wonder that the more radical Southerners returned defiance for defiance and gave back hate for hate.

4. The Dred Scott Decision and the Panic of 1857

The Dred Scott case reaches the Supreme Court. Buchanan had been in the White House only two days when a decision of the Supreme Court caused a shock which jarred the two sections of the nation farther apart. The case had been leisurely working its way up through state and federal courts for ten years. Briefly, it began in suits brought by a negro named Dred Scott and his wife Harriet for their freedom from their mistress who claimed them as slaves. Scott had been a slave in Virginia, had been sold to an army officer, and had been taken by him as a servant into Illinois and Wisconsin, both free soil. In the North, Scott had married and had two children. All of the family returned with the officer Emerson when he was ordered to a post in Missouri. Emerson died and left the slaves in trust for his wife who later married again.

There were three fundamental questions involved in the suits. Could Scott claim to be a "citizen" of the United States, with power to sue? What was his status since he had been taken to a free state and subsequently back to a slave state? Had Congress the right to legislate as to slavery and was the Missouri Compromise, making free the domain north of 36° 30', a valid exercise of power by the legislature?

The Dred Scott decision opens the territories to slavery. Of the members of the Supreme Court, five, including the Chief Justice, Roger B. Taney, were Southerners, and four were Northerners. All the Southerners and one Northerner agreed in substance with the decision as handed down by Taney on March 6, 1857. This declared that at the time of the formation of the Constitution negroes had not been considered as forming part of "the people," and that negroes, free or slave, were not and never had been citizens.

It was also stated that Scott's having been free in a free state would not have prevented his return to the status of a slave when he returned to a slave state. In addition the decision said that slaves were property and that Congress had no right to deprive citizens of their property without due process of law. Hence it had no right to legislate slavery out of the territories, and consequently the Missouri Compromise had always been unconstitutional.

In a dissenting opinion, Justice Benjamin R. Curtis from Massachusetts argued that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution negroes had been citizens in several of the states, and that Congress had power to legislate with respect to property in slaves.

The North is disturbed by the decision. Our Constitution, which was adopted and ratified only with great difficulty and as a result of a series of compromises, tacit or expressed, was by no means a clear document in many respects. Much had been left in it for future interpretation should need arise. The varying individuals and states that accepted it did so at the time with mental reservations in favor of their own varying interpretations. In some respects, notably its attitude toward slavery, the South had remained at the general point of view of 1787. The North, partly from economic conditions, had advanced to a position very different from that of 1787. There was thus ample room for a genuine difference of legal opinion.

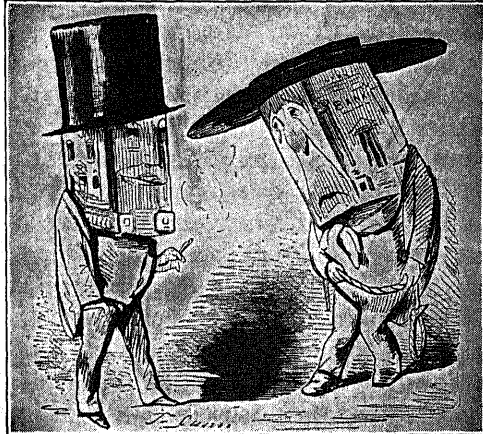
But slavery was no longer a matter to be argued from the supposed intentions of the framers of the Constitution. It had become a burning political issue, rapidly passing from the sphere of law to that of force. The decision of the Supreme Court was received in the North as a

blow aimed against all the progress for freedom which had been made in more than a generation.

One result of the decision was considered to be the legalization of slavery in all the territories, including Kansas, where the struggle between the two groups of citizens was still proceeding. The Topeka constitution having been rejected by Congress, another attempt was made, this time by the pro-slavery element, to have the territory admitted as a state. Drawing up a constitution at Leecompton so worded that whoever voted for it had to sanction slavery as an institution, they submitted it to the people. The anti-slavery men refused to vote at all, and the pro-slavery group declared it carried. They offered it to Congress, where a sufficient number of members denounced it as a fraud to prevent its acceptance. Kansas had still four years to wait.

A severe panic comes to our country in 1857. Meanwhile, one of our periodic panics was sweeping the country. After our recovery from that of 1837 we had, as each generation does, forgotten its lessons. As the business of the nation rose to new levels, we had expanded our operations on credit far beyond what was safe. This expansion had been easily fostered in an unhealthy way by the huge quantity of gold from California, rising to \$55,000,000 in one year.

In the nine years from January 1, 1849, we had built 21,000 miles of new railroads, with too little regard for immediate traffic. This sudden construction of about seven-ninths of the entire mileage of the country had entailed an expenditure of about \$700,000,000, a sum far greater than the people could provide. The failure of a great life-insurance company which had lent heavily on the new lines precipitated a crash in April, 1857. Within a short time practically every bank in the United States had to suspend specie payment.



NEW YORK TO PHILADELPHIA BANK: "GOING TO SUSPEND YOURSELF, EH? IS THAT YOUR IDEA OF BROTHERLY LOVE?"

A cartoon from *Harper's Weekly* of October 17, 1857.

The nation was prostrate. Property fell in price anywhere from 25 to 75 per cent, business became stagnant, and the suffering among the unemployed, estimated at between 30,000 and 40,000 in New York City alone, was intense. Mobs paraded the streets with cries of "Bread or Death," and Federal forces had to protect the sub-treasury in that city. Construction work on the new railroads was stopped, and not only individuals and firms but cities and counties in the West were practically bankrupt. Conditions were worst in the North, the South suffering lightly in comparison. Slaves were selling there at top figures of from \$1500 to \$2000 each.

It was not until 1860 that a real recovery started. From that point we should undoubtedly have entered upon another period of great national prosperity had it not been that the storm of war, so long gathering, was then at last to break upon us.

The slavery question begins to divide the Democrats. For a little while the terror of the panic overshadowed the discussion of slavery. The Dred Scott decision and the attempt to bring in Kansas as a slave state some months later, had widened the break between the Northern and Southern elements in the Democratic party. The situation had begun to grow difficult for Senator Douglas of Illinois, whose theory for the settlement of the slavery question in the territories was apparently torn to shreds by the Supreme Court. Moreover, Douglas had sacrificed much of his popularity in the South by his opposition to the Lecompton constitution for Kansas.

5. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

The Republicans nominate Abraham Lincoln for senator. Political conditions in the mid-term elections of 1858 appeared to give the new Republican party an unusually good chance to consolidate its forces with a view to 1860. The campaign in Illinois, where Douglas had to stand for re-election, promised to be lively. In fact it was to become the most famous state campaign in American history.

The Republicans decided to nominate for the senatorship against the great Douglas a man, forty-nine years of age, not nationally known, though he had been elected to Congress in 1846 for one term, Abraham Lincoln. He had made no reputation in Washington, where he had opposed the Mexican War and voted in favor of the Wilmot Proviso in his single term. He had, however, taken no great part in the slavery debate until in a political speech at Peoria on October 5, 1854, he had come out clearly with his own sentiments.

Speaking on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he declared that the repeal was "wrong—wrong in its direct effect, letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, and wrong in its prospective principle, allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world where men can be found inclined to take it."

Of the slave system he said: "I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it enables the enemies of our free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity; and especially because it forces so many good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty." The holders of slaves, however, Lincoln added, were not to be blamed—"they are just what we would be in their situation."

He could appreciate all that the South said about the difficulty of ridding itself of the institution. "I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given to me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution."

If Lincoln was little known in the East and South, his political activities and especially this speech had made him famous in the Northwest. On the other hand, raw, gaunt, unattractive in personal appearance, poor, a failure in his political career, running on the ticket of a party that had become a national one only two years before, he seemed an unimportant antagonist for the great Democratic leader. Douglas was a man of international repute, popular, a noted speaker, buttressed with powerful friends and influences, and one of the outstanding figures in the nation.

Lincoln defines his views on slavery. Lincoln, however, dared to challenge his opponent to a series of debates through the summer and autumn. The debates were to be held at such places throughout the state that all the voters might have an opportunity to hear the two candidates thresh out the questions of the campaign. Before they began, Lincoln made a speech at the nominating convention which expressed the heart of its doctrine for the Republican party in the coming years of its eventful history.

In his speech, the senatorial candidate made what was to become a classic declaration. He pointed out that all attempts at compromise had failed, and that the policy of the Democrats to suppress the agitation of the slavery question had been without effect. He continued: "In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis has been reached and passed.

'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new—North as well as South."

Lincoln is defeated by Douglas but becomes a national figure. This speech was taken up by Douglas after the debates began, with the question why, after all, a Union of slave and free states could not continue in harmony. In the course of their swing around the circuit, speaking before vast audiences which numbered thousands, every aspect of the slavery question was debated. In view of the situation created by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, Lincoln asked: "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?"

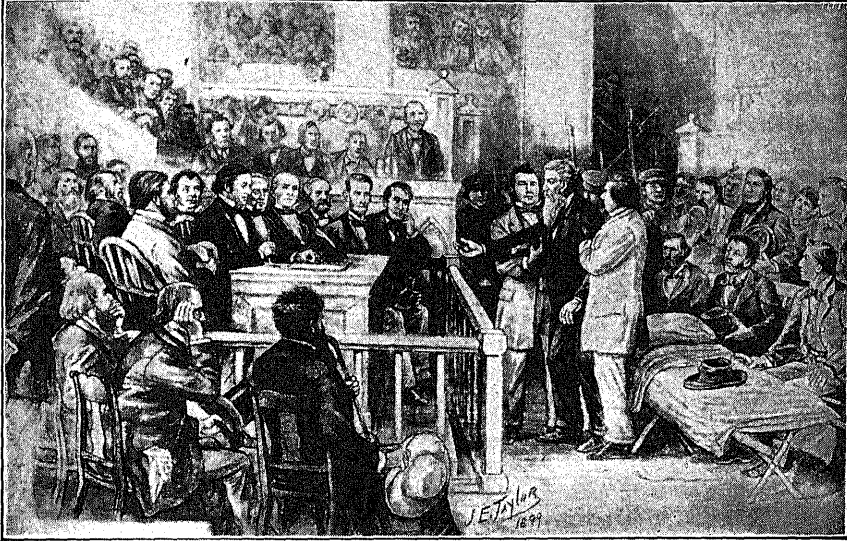
Douglas answered Yes to Lincoln's question, an answer that was in harmony with his popular-sovereignty idea. He answered that slavery had a legal right in the territories but that it could not exist where people did not want it and they could keep it out by "unfriendly legislation." This "Freeport Doctrine" was displeasing to the South.

Although Lincoln had destroyed any chance which Douglas might have had for the presidency by forcing him into expressions of opinions that ruined him in the South, Douglas won the senatorial election for candidates to the legislature. The legislature later elected him to the national Senate by 54 to 46. The chief result of the famous campaign was that Lincoln had become a national figure.

John Brown's raid hastens the "impending crisis." Even amid crashing banks and failing firms, the slavery question had once more come to the front. In Wisconsin the legislature threatened to nullify the Fugitive Slave law in defiance of the Supreme Court. A few months later an act of violence by a Northerner startled the nation.

On October 16, 1859, John Brown, whom we had already found murdering Southerners in Kansas, seized the arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, and with his party of nineteen, part white and part black, terrorized the town. His plan had been to start a slave insurrection, the nightmare of the South for two centuries. The party was quickly

captured by a small federal force under Colonel Robert E. Lee. After a trial Brown was condemned and hanged for treason, criminal conspiracy, and murder. Emerson claimed him as a "new saint" who had made "the gallows glorious like the cross," but soberer Northern opinion condemned him. The only effect in the South was to inflame passions yet more and bring one step nearer the "impending crisis."



From a photograph in the Library of Congress

JOHN BROWN ARRAIGNED BEFORE THE COURT AT CHARLESTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA

Painted by James E. Taylor.

In 1857 a book with that title, severely criticising the economic value of slavery, had been published by a Southerner, H. R. Helper. About the time of Brown's raid it was republished and spread broadcast by the Republicans, again adding to the resentment of the South, which at that time had reached a high point of prosperity as contrasted with the North, not yet emerged from the panic. Steps, frequently violent, were taken in the South to prevent the circulation of Helper's book. Perhaps nothing shows more clearly how impossible any fair consideration of slavery had become, in either section, than this refusal of the South to permit a book written by one of its own citizens to be read by its people. The approaching election of 1860 was clearly to be the most fateful in the history of our nation.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Bassett, *Short History of the United States*, chs. 21-23; Brown, *The Lower South in American History*; Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*; Channing, *History of the United States*, VI, chs. 4-9; Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I, part I; Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, 161-184; Elson, *History of the United States*, chs. 20-22; Fite, *The Presidential Campaign of 1860*; Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*; Macy, *The Anti-Slavery Crusade*; Powell, *Nullification and Secession*; Ray, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*; Siebert, *The Underground Railway*; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, chs. 19-20; Stephenson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Union*; White, *The Secession Movement in the United States*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *American History Leaflets*, nos. 2, 17, 23; Calhoun, *Works*, IV, 542-573; Harding, *Select Orations*, nos. 16, 19, 20, 21; Hill, *Liberty Documents*, ch. 21; Johnston, *American Orations*, II, 183-255, 268-340; III, 3-207; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 108-116; *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 82-85.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Bradford, *Lee, The American*; Bryant, *Our Country's Call*; Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln*; Clarke, *Anti-Slavery Days*; Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*; Howland, *Stephen A. Douglas*; Lynn, *Free Soil*; Meigs, *Life of John Caldwell Calhoun*; Morgan, *Our Presidents*, 81-132; Page, *In Ole Virginia*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 360-361, 385, 388; Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; Swift, *William Lloyd Garrison*; Trent, *Southern Statesmen of the Old Regime*; Villard, *John Brown*; Wallington, *American History by American Poets*, II, 47-68; Whittier, *Anti-Slavery Poems*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How did territorial expansion raise the slavery question? 2. Describe the "log cabin and hard cider" campaign. 3. What was the attitude of the South toward the abolitionists? 4. What were the political principles of the Native American party? 5. What was the significance of the Dorr War? 6. What views did Polk, Calhoun, and Webster take on slavery in the territories? 7. How did slavery split the Democratic party in New York? 8. How did the slavery question threaten the disruption of the Union? 9. What were the provisions of the Compromise of 1850? 10. What conflicting interests were there between the North and the South? 11. Give the substance of Webster's "Seventh-of-March" speech. 12. What grievances did the South have against the North? 13. What were the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty? 14. What attitude did the different political parties take in 1852 on the Compromise of 1850? 15. What was the effect of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on the North? 16. What

was the relation of railroad building to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill? 17. Give the substance of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. 18. What caused the Republican party to come into existence? 19. What was the Ostend Manifesto? 20. Tell of the struggle of the North and the South for the possession of Kansas. 21. What views did the political parties in 1856 take on the slavery question? 22. What was the significance of the Supreme Court's decision in the Dred Scott case? 23. How did the slavery question divide the Northern and the Southern Democrats? 24. What was the significance of the Lincoln-Douglas debates? 25. How did John Brown's raid hasten the "impending crisis"?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. **IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW:** The presidential election of 1840, the Dorr War, the Compromise of 1850, the Nashville Convention, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, the election of Pierce, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, The Ostend Manifesto, the struggle for Kansas, the Dred Scott case, the panic of 1857, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, John Brown's raid.
2. **PROJECT:** Beginning with our first acquisition of territory, that of the Louisiana purchase in 1803, and going through the Gadsden purchase in 1853, show how westward expansion brought not only political conflict but conflict over the slavery question.
3. **PROBLEM:** In how many places does the Constitution mention slavery either directly or indirectly? From these references to slavery would you say that the South was right in its contention that the Constitution recognized and protected slavery?
4. **DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED:** That the South was justified in taking drastic action against the abolitionists.
5. **ESSAY SUBJECT:** The Dred Scott decision and its consequences.
6. **IMAGINARY LETTER:** Imagine you were present when Lincoln and Douglas debated at Freeport, Illinois. Write a letter to a friend describing the two men and how Lincoln trapped Douglas into giving expression to the "Freeport Doctrine."
7. **DIARY:** You lived in Kansas at the time the free states and the slave states were struggling for possession of that territory. You kept a record of many of the happenings there. Read to the class extracts from your diary.
8. **PERSONS TO IDENTIFY:** Elijah P. Lovejoy, Thomas W. Dorr, James Russell Lowell, William Cullen Bryant, Lewis Cass, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Wendell Phillips, William L. Marcy, Matthew C. Perry, John C. Frémont, Benjamin R. Curtis, Dred Scott, Stephen A. Douglas, Robert E. Lee.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1840, 1848, 1850, 1857, 1859.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Freehold qualifications for the franchise, "gag rule," "Barn Burners," "Hunkers," practical politicians, slave power, "frozen" capital, "squatter sovereignty," "Know Nothing party," reciprocity, suspended specie payment, "unfriendly legislation."

11. MAP WORK: *a.* In a map talk locate the following places and state the historical significance of each: Tippecanoe, Alton, Baltimore, Nashville, Nicaragua, St. Louis, Jackson, Ostend, Lecompton, Topeka, Harpers Ferry. *b.* On an outline map color red all the states carried by Buchanan in the presidential election of 1856 and color blue all the states carried by Frémont.

12. GRAPH WORK: By means of bar graphs show both the electoral and the popular vote for Pierce and Scott in the presidential election of 1852.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. PUBLIC CONTROVERSY AS TO SLAVERY: Adams, *America's Tragedy*; Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, chs. 10-18; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, nos. 180-181, 184; Peck, *Jacksonian Epoch*, 267-282, 313-316; Roosevelt, *Thomas H. Benton*, ch. 8.

2. THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT: Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*; Greeley, *American Conflict*, I, chs. 9-11; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, ch. 28; Reed, *Brothers' War*, ch. 6; Smith, *Liberty and Free-Soil Parties*, chs. 2-5.

3. SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES: Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, 104-113; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, nos. 15-18; Reed, *Brothers' War*, ch. 3; Schurz, *Clay*, II, ch. 25; Wilson, *American People*, IV, 122-141.

4. THE COMPROMISE OF 1850: Dodd, *Statesmen of the Old South*, 157-191; Garrison, *Westward Extension*, ch. 20; Lunt, *Origin of the Late War*, chs. 7-8; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, nos. 78-83; Macy, *Political Parties*, chs. 9-10.

5. THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL: MacDonald, *Select Documents*, nos. 85-88; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VIII, 192-231; Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*; Rhodes, *History*, I, ch. 5; Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, ch. 8.

6. THE DRED SCOTT DECISION: Gray and Lowell, *Case of Dred Scott*; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, no. 91; Rhodes, *History*, II, 242-277; Tyler, *Roger B. Taney*, 359-438; von Holst, *History*, VI, ch. 1.

TOPIC II

THE SOUTHERN STATES LEAVE THE UNION

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the beliefs of the different political parties on the slavery question in 1860.
2. To see the reasons for the secession of the Southern states.

1. *Slavery and Politics in 1860*

The slavery question splits the Democratic party. The tension of the nation could be felt clearly in the Congress which sat through the winter and spring months of 1860. Not only did members go armed, but it is said that armed supporters of the two parties often crowded the galleries. Almost any move precipitated a crisis. The Democratic party found itself in difficulty when trying to please both the South and the West. In February, Jefferson Davis gave warning to the head of that party, Douglas, by introducing a resolution demanding a slave code for all of the territories. In spite of straddling, it was evident that the Illinois senator, who was also a presidential aspirant, would find it difficult indeed to keep his party together.

In April the Democrats held their convention at Charleston, South Carolina—the first time they had gone farther south than Baltimore. Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts was *chairman, and the Douglas wing was in the majority. A platform embodying Davis's demand for a territorial slave code was voted down, and one more in harmony with Douglas's stand was adopted.

The change resulted in the withdrawal of almost all of the delegates from South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas. The seceders held a convention of their own later at Richmond. The regular Democrats who remained in Charleston could not agree on a candidate after fifty-seven ballots, and adjourned to meet at Baltimore on June 18. Douglas had not been able to poll more than 152½ votes of the necessary 202.

The Republicans nominate Abraham Lincoln for President. Meanwhile, the Republicans met at Chicago on May 16. No delegates

to this convention appeared from the Carolinas, Tennessee, Georgia, or any of the Gulf states except Texas. It was a question whether some of the delegates from the slave states really represented anybody, as has been said, but themselves, although they were allowed to be seated. The party generally expected the nomination of William H. Seward of New York, but as the result of only three ballots it became evident that he could not win and Abraham Lincoln received the unanimous vote of the convention. Although the nation had watched him as he had swung around Illinois in his debate with Douglas, his future greatness was as yet wholly unsurmised. It was with dire forebodings, difficult for us to appreciate now, that great numbers in the new Republican party saw this rather uncouth Westerner, who had never held high office and whose abilities as an executive were greatly mistrusted, chosen to lead instead of the noted Seward. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was nominated for Vice-President.

Republican party opposes the extension of slavery. The Republicans were confident of victory against the divided and demoralized Democrats, although they knew that they themselves would have no strength except in the North and West. The Republican party of 1860 was distinctly sectional but it was very practical. To succeed it must carry not only states like New York and Pennsylvania, on account of their heavy votes in the electoral college, but also the newer West. There it undertook to enlist the support of the settlers, notably of the substantial Germans and Scandinavians, under the influence of men like the young immigrant, Carl Schurz of Missouri.

The platform was skilfully constructed to please as many as possible of the discordant elements, not yet welded. Quoting the Declaration of Independence, it deduced that "the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom"; rebuked talk of disunion; stood for states rights and freedom in the territories; branded the slave trade as a "crime against humanity"; and demanded the immediate admission of Kansas. To catch the West, it advocated free homestead lands and a railway to the Pacific, whereas for the East it suggested a tariff for the encouragement of industry. When the South heard of the proceedings at Chicago, it muttered secession. But the Republicans did not even yet believe that their own success would really bring about disruption.

The Democrats nominate two candidates. Meanwhile, the Democrats had been trying to arrange matters for their adjourned meeting at Baltimore, where the delegates arrived on the appointed 18th

of June. With a good deal of difficulty over the question of delegates, organization was effected in three days, but only after most of the Southern members and a few from the North had bolted a second time. Those who were left nominated Douglas for the presidency on a platform favoring his "popular sovereignty" idea. The seceders, who included delegates from twenty-one of the then thirty-three states, met in a near-by hall and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, on a pro-slavery platform which included a demand for the annexation of Cuba.

A fourth party enters the political field. A fourth party, called the Constitutional Union, had also come into being which had existence only in this campaign. It nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President, writing a platform which insisted chiefly upon maintaining the Union and obeying the Constitution and the laws.

Lincoln is elected President. The Republicans were regarded as unquestionably the strongest. It was generally realized that neither of the other three candidates could possibly be elected, though in a four-cornered fight it might be possible to throw the election into the House of Representatives, as in 1824. The chief danger for the Republicans was the fear of the public that if they elected Lincoln they might be bringing on the dissolution of the Union. This fear the Republicans laughed at and smoothed over the best they could.

When the votes were counted, the result revealed more clearly perhaps than in any other election the peculiar workings of our electoral system. It had originally been intended, of course, that the people at large should have little or nothing to do with the election of a President. The Presidential electors, chosen for the most part in early days by the state legislatures, were expected to meet in their respective states and—by exercising a knowledge of public men and a wisdom and experience in affairs which the people could not possess—to vote for a suitable person for President.

With the development of democracy, this system, though retained as machinery, had really come to be discarded, in principle. The people voted directly for electors who were pledged to vote for certain candidates for President. Owing, however, to the fact that the number of electors from each state has to be the same as the number of the state's senators and representatives in Congress, a majority of *popular* votes under our system does not mean a majority of *electoral* votes.

In 1860, Lincoln polled in round numbers 1,866,000 popular votes, Douglas 1,376,000, Breckinridge 859,000, and Bell 588,000, but the

electoral votes were respectively 180, 12, 72 and 39. Thus not only was Lincoln elected President, although he polled nearly 1,000,000 less votes than his combined opponents, but Douglas, who polled 1,376,000 popular votes to Breckinridge's 859,000, received only 12 electoral votes to the latter's 72.



AFTER THE 1860 ELECTION

Uncle Sam serves notice on Douglas, Breckinridge, and Bell that "Old Abe Lincoln" is his choice for President for the next four years.

Southern slaveowners feel that election means loss for them. In 1860 it was fortunate for the Union that chance had given us Lincoln to occupy the White House. Whatever might have been possible under happier conditions, passions had been aroused too deeply and for too long to permit a peaceful compromise. We had at last come to the inevitable turning which led to the field of blood. Whatever Republicans in the North might have said in the campaign, secession at once became the leading issue in the South, when the result of the election became known.

The Charleston Courier struck the popular Southern note when it

estimated that the immediate drop in the price of slaves would amount to \$430,000,000 for the whole South. It asserted that "slave property is the foundation of all property in the South. When security in this is shaken, all other property partakes of its instability. Banks, stocks, bonds, must be influenced. . . . The ruin of the South, by the emancipation of her slaves, is not like the ruin of any other people. . . . It



A PRINT BY CURRIER AND IVES OF A SOUTHERN HOME BEFORE THE WAR
From the Library of Congress.

is the loss of liberty, property, home, country—everything that makes life worth having."

Southern slaveowners know that emancipation means economic ruin. There were approximately 4,000,000 slaves in the Southern and border states. A good field-hand in the cotton belt was worth \$1500 to \$2000, but if we take the average of all as somewhat under \$400 each, the Southerners had \$1,500,000,000 invested in this form of property. Had emancipation come about as in the British Empire by freeing the slave and compensating the owner, the South would still have had to face a great economic and social problem in training the

negro to rise from the status and characteristics of a slave to those of a free laborer.

In the first place, the South knew it would *not* be compensated. For several decades the abolitionists had been shouting for emancipation or dissolution of the Union. It was true that the government had never claimed to interfere with slavery in the states where it had been legal, but that was not the view of the increasing anti-slavery party in the North. Even Lincoln had said that eventually the Union must become all one thing or the other. As it would obviously never become all slave, the inference was clear.

The discussion had for long centered about slavery, and, as *The Courier* had rightly pointed out, all Southern property was dependent upon that in the last analysis. The Southerners had watched the rising tide of abolitionism, and had feared that eventually it must spell ruin for their property.

Although there are no accurate statistics, the great majority of Southern whites owned no slaves at all. The estimates place slave-owning families as one in five, but this had little influence on the general situation. Not only did the slaveless white hope to own one some day, as the Northern poor man hoped to accumulate property, but if the crash occurred in all forms of investments—lands, banks, and so on—the slaveless Southerner would suffer with the slaveowners. In addition, there were the strong racial feeling and the social and economic complications that might ensue from turning loose 4,000,000 blacks to compete as freemen with the poorer whites.

The North and the South are really two different nations. Although slavery was the topic foremost in the discussion, there were in the background all sorts of less obvious points. The whole way of life and the outlook on life in the South and in the North had become entirely different. Each section naturally prized its own ways and, unfortunately, despised those of the other. The South had had a great history, and had given a great heritage to the Union. The first successful settlement had been within its borders. Virginia had for long been the most important colony, and throughout the colonial period the part which the South had played had been as brilliant as that of the North. In the Revolution and the early years of the Republic the North had no such list of leaders to give to the common cause as the South had furnished in Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Marshall, and others.

Both sections had started with slavery, but economic conditions in

the North had made it unprofitable and its passing had been painless. In the South, on the other hand, economic conditions had fastened it on the people with such apparent finality that even Lincoln had said he would not know how to get rid of it if he were a Southerner.

Slavery had been a huge misfortune for the South. It had developed its social life on a false basis; forced it to justify itself by opposing the strong moral currents of the day; sapped its intellectual life; made it intensely sectional in its anxiety to save what was in truth a lost cause; and bred that supersensitiveness which always accompanies such conditions.

On the other hand, many of the Northern anti-slavery men, without sympathy for the plight of the other section of our nation, cruelly and bitterly assailed the South in every aspect of its life—economic, intellectual, and moral. There were labor conditions in their mills and mines as bad as those on most Southern plantations. The South, feeling itself in no way inferior to the North, returned the scorn and disdain with interest. It believed itself wantonly singled out for attack by a portion of the Union bent upon its destruction.

2. Secession of the Southern States

South Carolina leaves the Union. The Southerners' hopes of keeping the balance at least even by the extension of slave territory had failed. To many, Southern civilization seemed to be standing at bay when the Republicans elected a sectional and Northern administration. The November election was the signal for action but Lincoln would not be inaugurated until March. Meanwhile Buchanan, honest, but weak and incapable, was President for another four months.

South Carolina at once called a convention to consider the situation. This met first at Columbia, and then adjourned to Charleston. In the convention, assertions were made that the constitutional guarantees had been destroyed. It was said that for its own industrial benefit the North had persisted in burdening the South with heavy tariffs, that it had hired men to go to Kansas and armed them to prevent that state from becoming slave, that it was intent on abolition, and that, finally, there was no possibility of safe compromise or of continuing the bonds of union. On December 20, 1860, the convention repealed the act which had bound the state to the Constitution in 1788 and declared that the union of South Carolina with the United States of America was at an end.

Seceded states form the Confederate States of America. Even yet throughout the South there were conservative men, like Alexander H. Stephens and Jefferson Davis himself, who advised caution and

delay. But the secessionist elements rapidly gained control in the cotton states, and by February 1 Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas had seceded. On February 4, delegates from the seceded states met at Montgomery, Alabama, to draw up a provisional Constitution for the Confederate States of America, and to elect officials of the new government.

In main outline the new Constitution followed that of the United States, but there were a few notable changes. There were no definite relations established between the sovereignties of the individual states and that of the Confederation. This was left to be worked out later.

Although in some respects inferior to the old Constitution, in at least two the new one contained marked improvements. One of these was the provision that the President, instead of having to veto an appropriation bill as a whole or not at all, was enabled to veto specific sections in it. This was a device that could prevent an enormous amount

CHARLESTON MERCURY

EXTRA:

Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M. December 20th, 1860.

AN ORDINANCE

To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,

That the Ordinance adopted by me in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America, was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

THE

UNION IS DISSOLVED!

THE "CHARLESTON MERCURY" EXTRA ANNOUNCING SECESSION

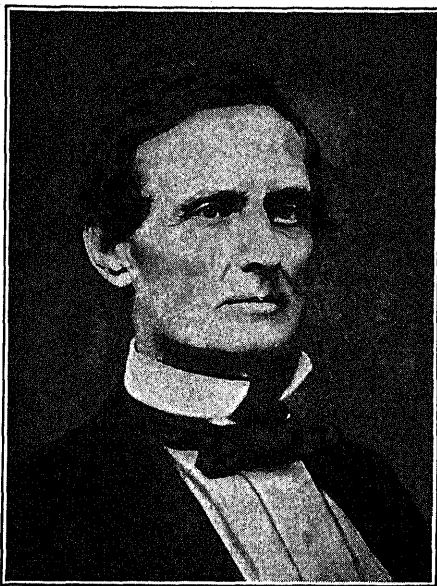
From the original in the Confederate Museum, Richmond.

of ill-advised expenditure of public funds. The other improvement was that members of the President's Cabinet might be given seats in Congress and take part in the debates. It thus grafted one of the most valuable portions of the British parliamentary system on to our congressional system. Provision was made for a Supreme Court. The slave trade was prohibited, but slavery was protected and guaranteed extension in any new territory which the Confederacy might acquire.

Jefferson Davis becomes President of the Southern Confederacy.

Although it might have been expected that one of the ardent secessionists would be chosen to head the new government, such men as W. L. Yancey, Barnwell Rhett, and Robert Toombs were passed over and Jefferson Davis was elected President, with Alexander H. Stephens as Vice-President. The failure of the convention to recognize the claims of South Carolinians to high office roused that state to wrath. Moreover, Davis, from the standpoint of conciliating all Southern interests, was not wise in the selection of his Cabinet. It contained scarcely any of the aristocracy and only one man, Judah P. Benjamin, who was nationally well-known. Benjamin, however, who was an English Jew, had not been popular among the planter aristocrats. President Davis himself did not get on well with them. Delicate in health, he was sensitive, sincere, and honest. He was a West Point graduate and in his career as a colonel in the army, as a member of Congress, as Secretary of War in Pierce's Cabinet, and as United States senator, he had acquired a supreme self-confidence in his abilities as a soldier.

While all this was happening in the South, the position of the weak and amiable Buchanan in the White House was one of extreme delicacy and difficulty. Seven states of the Union of which he was President had seceded and formed a separate government, defying that of the United States. His difficulties had, indeed, thickened from the day his successor was elected. Even had the President been a man of great strength and ability it would have been very difficult to strike out with a policy of his own, when he had only four months to serve and knew nothing of the policy of the man who would soon have to take up the reins.



JEFFERSON DAVIS
From a photograph.

The Confederates fire upon the "Star of the West." There were eight federal forts with garrisons in such states as would probably secede, including Fort Sumter at Charleston. Major Anderson, a devoted Union officer, was in command there, and in January, 1861, an effort was made to reinforce him by sea. A small merchant ship, *Star*



A CARTOON SHOWING BUCHANAN IMPLORING SOUTH CAROLINA TO POSTPONE THE FIRING ON FORT SUMTER UNTIL THE EXPIRATION OF HIS TERM
From the original published by Currier and Ives in the New York Historical Society.

of the *West*, was despatched from New York. But on her arrival at Charleston she was fired on by Confederate batteries, which Anderson did not feel justified in silencing by his own fire, and was forced to return. There was yet hope in the North that permanent secession might be avoided, so Buchanan delayed.

Final attempts to save the Union fail. Congress was debating another compromise measure, suggested this time by Crittenden, the successor in the Kentucky senatorship to the great compromiser Clay. The plan included the re-establishment of the Missouri Compromise line

of 36° 30' for territories only, a hands-off policy by Congress in states and in the District of Columbia, and a provision for paying fugitive-slave owners if the slaves were not returned.

It might have been accepted by the cotton senators had the Republicans agreed, but they absolutely refused to do so. In this they were firmly backed by the President-elect, Lincoln, who believed that it would only result in a vigorous Southern insistence upon further territorial expansion to the south of us.

Crittenden, having been defeated in his measure in the Senate, suggested a referendum to the people at large. While this was being debated in Congress, the seven Southern states seceded, and the situation became greatly altered. A peace conference, held in February at the suggestion of Virginia, failed to produce practical results, due in part to the irreconcilable Radicals of the North as well as South. While all these efforts to avert catastrophe were being made, the 4th of March was drawing near. When it came, the supreme responsibility rested upon Lincoln.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

President Lincoln urges the preservation of the Union. In his inaugural address the incoming President dwelt on the fact that there was no intention of interfering with slavery in the slave states. He asserted the validity and necessity of enforcing the Fugitive Slave law, and discussed calmly the nature of the federal Union. That Union, he believed, could not be broken without the consent of all the states. He declared that to the extent of his ability he would see that the federal laws were everywhere enforced, adding that in his opinion no state was outside of the Union.

Why, he continued, should that Union be destroyed? "One section of our country believes slavery is *right* and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is *wrong* and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. . . . Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build

an impassable wall between them." The country, he asserted, belonged to all the people who inhabited it.

Closing he spoke to both North and South. "In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without yourselves being the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend' it. I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

North and South look upon Lincoln's inaugural as weak address. There had been much prejudice against Lincoln, whose character was not yet understood, and whose appearance and constant habit of seeming careless when really most serious did him harm. The inaugural, now one of our most famous state papers, was regarded when it was delivered with almost universal disappointment. It was generally considered to be weak.

The Southerners failed to see the determination behind it. In the North, James Gordon Bennett, the influential owner of *The New York Herald*, wrote in an editorial that the address would have been as "instructive if President Lincoln had contented himself with telling his audience a funny story and let them go." With all the services which Greeley had rendered to the nation as editor, and they had been great, he was now to enter upon a stage of his career in which sound judgment seemed to have abandoned him. Throughout Lincoln's term the President was to be fiercely opposed by Greeley and his *New York Tribune*.

Lincoln selects an able Cabinet. Although only seven states had actually seceded when Lincoln took office, his choice for members of the Cabinet was largely limited to Northerners and it thus became preponderantly sectional. For Secretary of State the choice naturally fell upon Seward, Lincoln's chief opponent for the presidential nomination and one of the ablest men in the party. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio went to the Treasury, and Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania became Secretary of War. Gideon Welles of Connecticut was appointed to the Navy Department, and, from the border states, Montgomery Blair of Maryland

and Edward Bates of Missouri were made Postmaster-General and Attorney-General. It was a much abler group of men than Davis had been able to gather around him in the Confederate Cabinet, but was, nevertheless, to give the President ample trouble.

Seward proposes to take the President's power. Whatever irresponsible hot-heads among the people on either side might demand, both Davis and Lincoln, on whom supreme responsibility rested, wisely decided to move slowly. This was particularly necessary in Lincoln's case, as he was hoping to save as many states as possible, especially those on the border, from seceding. He therefore wished to refrain from any use of force until the secessionists had themselves started armed resistance by an overt act of war. Seward was chafing at what he considered the President's senseless and dangerous delay, which he misinterpreted as due to complete lack of policy. It must be remembered that at this time Lincoln was still regarded as a backwoods politician whom chance had put into the White House. The Secretary of State thought this inexperienced man would have to be guided and used by himself and other statesmen.

Mulling the situation over, Seward, who really did possess ability, had formulated a fantastic plan, which he presented to Lincoln on April 1. The two important points in it were: first, that Lincoln should leave the making of policies in the Secretary's hands, giving up all real power and retaining only the shadow; and, second, that in order to reunite the North and the South the best policy would be to force a foreign war, preferably with France and Spain, and perhaps also with Russia and England.

When confronted with this extraordinary paper by his chief officer of state, the President merely remarked that if this "must be done, I must do it." He mercifully kept the document concealed for the rest of his life. It was not until years later that the discovery was made of what an impossible plan Seward had proposed.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Adams, *The Constitutional Ethics of Secession*; Burgess, *The Civil War and the Constitution*; Carman and McKee, *A History of the United States*, I, 834-844; Channing, *History of the United States*, VI, chs. 4-9; Curtis, *The Republican Party*; Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, chs. 14-15; Drinkwater, *Abraham Lincoln*; Greeley, *American Conflict*, I; Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms*; Phillips, *Georgia and States' Rights*; Smith, *Parties and Slavery*; Stephens, *War Between the States*; White, *The Secession Movement in the United States*.

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2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *American History Leaflets*, no. 12; Harding, *Select Orations*, nos. 23-28; Johnston, *American Orations*, III, 235-274, 294-311; Lincoln, *Works*, II, 1-66; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 115-116; Nevins, *American Press Opinion*, 191-200; *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 82, 85.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Bancroft, *Life of W. H. Seward*; Barton, *The Great Good Man*; Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*; Eggleston, *Rebel's Recollections*; Hart, *Samuel Portland Chase*; Scollard, *Ballads of American Bravery*, 61-112; Wallington, *American History by American Poets*, II, 68-185; Woodburn, *Thaddeus Stevens*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How did slavery split the Democratic party? 2. Why was Lincoln and not Seward nominated by the Republicans for President in 1860? 3. What stand did the Republicans take on the slavery question in their platform of 1860? The Northern Democrats? The Southern Democrats? The Constitutional Union party? 4. How could Lincoln receive a majority of the electoral votes and a minority of the popular votes? 5. Why did the South fear Lincoln's election? 6. Show that the North and the South were really two different nations. 7. Why did the Southern states secede when Lincoln was elected? 8. Characterize Jefferson Davis. 9. What final steps were taken to try to save the Union by compromise? 10. What was the substance of President Lincoln's inaugural address? 11. What proposals did Seward make to reunite the North and the South?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The presidential platforms of 1860, the presidential election of 1860, secession of South Carolina, organization of the Southern Confederacy, attempts at compromise, Lincoln's inaugural address.

2. PROJECT: Show how the industrialists of the East and the farmers of the West were brought together in the organization of the Republican party and were held together until our own time.

3. PROBLEM: In what respects were the North and the South two different nations by 1860?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the South was justified in seceding from the Union.

5. ESSAY SUBJECT: Comparison of the Federal and the Confederate Constitutions.

6. IMAGINARY LETTER: You lived in Georgia in 1860. Write a letter to a friend of yours in Pennsylvania explaining why you were supporting Breckinridge for President.

7. DIARY: You lived in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1860. You were keenly interested in politics and attended the political meetings and gatherings. You kept a record of many of the speeches made in favor of secession. Read to the class some of the extracts of your diary.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: William H. Seward, Carl Schurz, Hannibal Hamlin, John C. Breckinridge, Alexander H. Stephens, W. L. Yancey, Judah P. Benjamin, Major Anderson, Horace Greeley, Salmon P. Chase.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: May 16, 1860; June 18, 1860; December 20, 1860.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: "Presidential electors," referendum, overt act of war, backwoods politician.
11. MAP WORK: *a.* In a map talk point out the following places and state the historical significance of each: Charleston, Chicago, Baltimore, Cuba, Fort Sumter. *b.* Draw a rough outline map and color in red the seven states that had seceded from the Union when Lincoln entered office.
12. GRAPH WORK: By means of circle graphs show the popular and electoral votes of Lincoln, Douglas, Breckinridge, and Bell in the presidential election of 1860.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. RISE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY: Greeley, *American Conflict*, I, chs. 17-21; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, no. 35; Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, I, chs. 18-21; Pollard, *Lost Cause*, ch. 4; Stanwood, *Presidency*, chs. 19-20.
2. THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860: Fite, *Presidential Election of 1860*; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, nos. 44-46; Stanwood, *Presidency*, ch. 21; Wilson, *American People*, IV, 174-189; Woodburn, *Political Parties*, ch. 7.
3. THE THEORY OF SECESSION: Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*, chs. 1, 3; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, ch. 9; Patterson, *United States and the States*, ch. 1; Pollard, *Lost Cause*, ch. 1; Reed, *Brothers' War*, ch. 5.
4. THE PROCESS OF SECESSION, 1860-1861: Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, ch. 10; Long, *Robert E. Lee*, ch. 5; Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, II, chs. 17-25; von Holst, *History*, VII, chs. 7-8; Wise, *Seven Decades*, ch. 14.
5. THE FAILURE OF COMPROMISE: Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*, chs. 11-16; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, nos. 93, 95-96; Macy, *Political Parties*, ch. 22; Morse, *Lincoln*, I, ch. 7; Rhodes, *History*, III, 125-192, 280-291.

TOPIC III

NORTH AND SOUTH ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

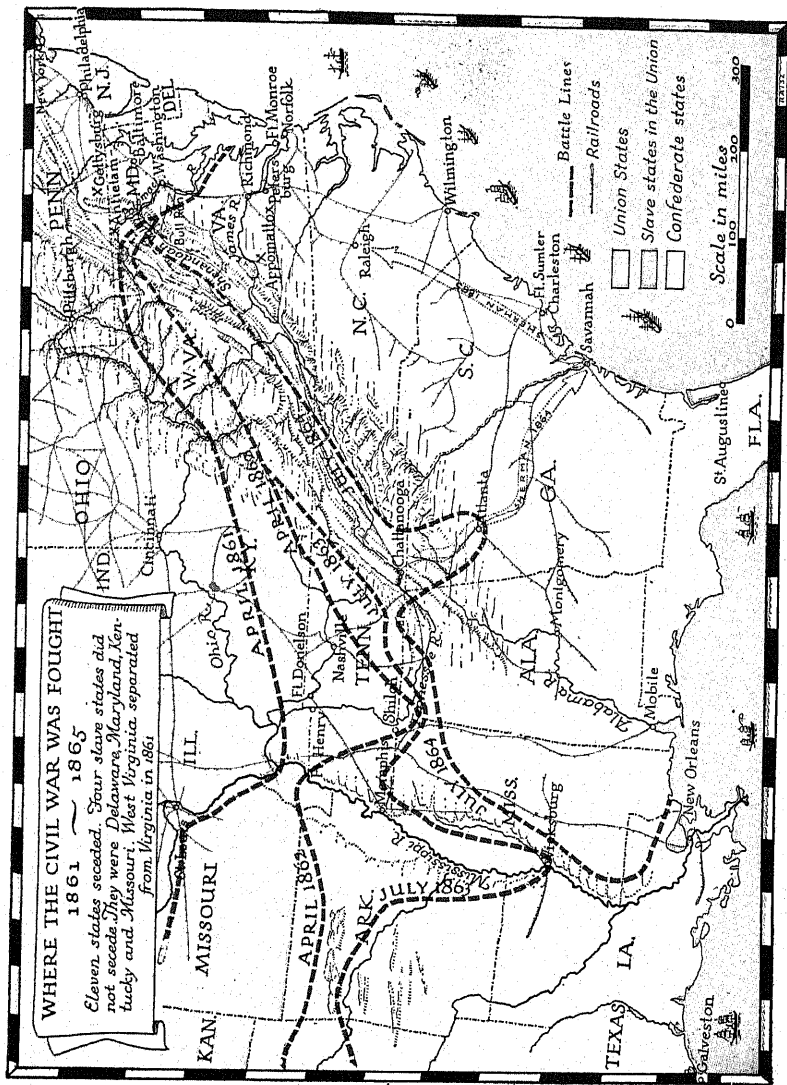
- 1 To make a comparison of the North and the South in 1861.
2. To follow the military operations of the War between the States.
3. To understand the foreign complications brought on by the war.

1. The North and the South Compared

The Confederates fire on Fort Sumter. Secretary Seward, apparently on his own responsibility, had also been negotiating with three agents of the Confederate Government. He promised them that no effort would be made to relieve Sumter when, in fact, Lincoln had already ordered the vessels from New York. This fact having been discovered by the Southern agents, the Confederate Cabinet decided, after much hesitation, to capture the position before relief arrived. On April 12 the bombardment from the shore batteries began against Fort Sumter.

Major Anderson and his force replied as well as they could. But after a continuous bombardment of nearly thirty-six hours, it seemed evident to Anderson that the situation was hopeless, and he surrendered. After marching out with the honors of war, the Federal troops from Fort Sumter were embarked on the ships and carried back to the North.

Lincoln calls for volunteers. The war so long dreaded had at last begun. The South had fired the first shot, had captured a Federal fort by force, and when the Stars and Stripes were hauled down there could no longer be any ignoring of the stark fact of war. A wave of patriotic emotion for the Union swept like a great tide over the hearts of men in the Northern states. Even among many in the South, who honestly felt that they must place loyalty to their state above loyalty to the Union, there was sorrow at the breaking of the old ties. Two days after Sumter surrendered, Lincoln issued a call for 75,000



volunteers, and immediately militia regiments were on their way to Washington from the North.

The upper Southern states leave the Union. The call to war on April 15 meant that those states which had been wavering must reach a final decision. They must either fight for the Union or join the Confederacy. So far it had been only South Carolina and the Gulf states which had acted. The upper South, in closer touch with Northern life and less tied to the belief in slavery as a necessity, had been willing to try for a while longer to work out some compromise within the Union.

North Carolina had actually voted against secession, but it reversed its decision when Virginia joined the Confederacy. Perhaps no state which seceded did so more reluctantly than the Old Dominion, oldest and in many respects greatest of the original thirteen. Opinion was bitterly divided but on April 17 the state convention, by a vote of 103 to 46 resolved to withdraw from the Union. Arkansas and North Carolina seceded from the Union in May and Tennessee in June, making in all eleven states in the Confederacy. Slavery, the natural influence of the other Southern states which were close to these border states in life and thought, and a political philosophy of extreme states rights determined the result in the upper South. But this was not done without far more division of opinion than in the cotton country.

Four slave states are saved to the Union. Partly on account of long hostility to its Eastern section, the Virginians in the far-Western part of that state refused to secede. These people of the mountains were mainly of Scotch-Irish and Pennsylvania German stock. From this refusal was born the state of West Virginia, admitted to the Union in 1863. The important border states of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri were still uncertain. In Lincoln's mind, slavery was a minor issue, and for months he insisted the war was solely to preserve the Union. The more northern of the seceded states left the Union chiefly because of the policy of coercion. Lincoln's expressed views, although they alienated to some extent the extreme anti-slavery opinion of the North, and public opinion in England, bore important fruit, for Kentucky voted against secession. Although Missouri was in constant internal turmoil throughout the war, it also remained in the Union. In Maryland the secessionist movement was strong, and Southern sympathizers had mobbed a regiment from the North as the troops moved through Baltimore toward Washington, and had destroyed bridges and railroads. Although this strategically important state was to remain

divided in sentiment throughout the war, it also was saved to the Union, and along with it the small slave state of Delaware.

The North is materially stronger than the South. Thus eleven seceded states faced the twenty-three, of which four were slave. Now that peaceful secession was proved a fallacy, it might seem at first glance that the South had staked her all on a desperate throw. The North had a white population of approximately 22,000,000 to the South's 5,500,000. If we divide the population of the border states of hesitating allegiance, the figures might have stood 21,000,000 to 6,500,000.

Moreover, the transportation system of the North was far superior to that of the South, as were its cash resources, banking facilities, ships of war and commerce, and factories for producing every sort of necessary article for war or trade. The South was destitute of the means of providing by large-scale production almost all the things it would need, except food. If the North blockaded her ports, she would be unable to import necessities or export her cotton.

The South has several marked advantages. On the other hand, she had advantages, some real and some fancied, which at first disguised the hopelessness of her struggle. If the disparity in the numbers of troops

was bound to be heavily in favor of the North, the South had her 3,500,000 slaves, not counting those in the uncertain border states. These could be kept at work back of the lines, releasing an unusually high percentage of her white population for actual fighting. In the opinion of many, the Southerners, used to an outdoor life, were considered to be better fighters than the Northerners, many of whom came from shop and office and factory.

At least in the beginning, the Southerners were better led. To a great extent they had been brought up in the old English tradition, and had never been attracted by a business career. Managing their plantations, or going into law, politics, and the army, it happened that a large num-

**TO THE
Citizens of the State,
AND THE
PEOPLE of RICHMOND**

**THE ENEMY UNDOUBTEDLY
ARE APPROACHING THE CITY!**

And may be expected at any hour, with a view to its capture, its pillage, and its destruction. The strongest considerations of self and of duty in the emergency,

CALL EVERY MAN TO ARMS!

A duty which none can refuse without dishonor. All persons, therefore, able to wield a musket, will immediately

Assemble upon the Public Square

Where a regiment will be found in arms, and around which all men rally, and where the requisite directions will be given for arming and equipping those who respond to this call.

For The Governor confidently relies that this appeal will not be made in vain.

WM. SMITH,
GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

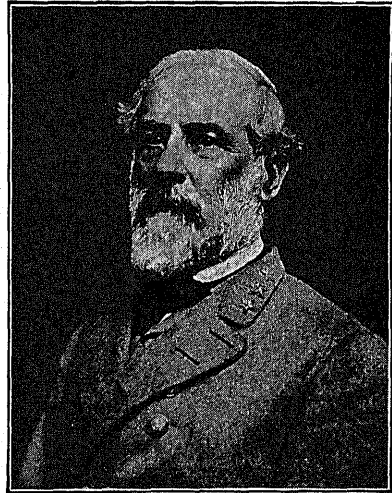
A PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY
GOVERNOR SMITH OF VIRGINIA,
PROBABLY IN 1861

From the broadside in the Confederate Museum, Richmond.

ber of our leading West Point graduates were from below Mason and Dixon's line. The decision that all had to make when war came, a decision which broke up families both North and South and arrayed parent against child and brother against brother, was peculiarly difficult for the officers in our army. Those officers from the South were among the finest men in that section, and it was only, for the most part, after a long agony of self-questioning as to their duty, that many felt compelled to resign their commissions and to fight against the Union for their homes, families, and states. Thus it happened that whatever other resources the North had, at the beginning it had no officers to compare with J. E. Johnston, Braxton Bragg, P. G. T. Beauregard, James Longstreet, A. S. Johnston, T. J. Jackson, and above all, Robert E. Lee.

The South also had the advantage of operating within its borders, whereas the North would have to attack from the outside, and completely overwhelm the South if it was to be conquered. This fact neutralized to a considerable extent the disparity in numbers. Moreover, the very lack of a highly organized industrial economy was an advantage. In an agricultural country there is no one vital point at which an army can strike, and a war of conquest must to some extent be a war of wearing it down.

The South thinks that "cotton is king." The factor, however, which the South firmly believed would win the war, was the need of the world for cotton. The South was certain, as one of her senators said, that if cotton was not raised and shipped, England "would topple headlong, and carry the whole civilized world with her . . . cotton is king." From a combination of circumstances this was to prove false prophecy, and Northern wheat in place of Southern cotton was to be crowned. However, this could not be foreseen when the South seceded with the belief that she held the key to the world's industry.



ROBERT E. LEE

The South believes that its cause is just. Lastly, we may note that apart from the fundamental economic cleavage between the sections, the South felt it had a better moral basis for the war than the North. Here there were about 5,500,000 of people with their 3,500,000 slaves, legally held, who asked only to be allowed to secede in peace from a Union they believed had become hostile to their welfare. The North, setting aside slavery as a cause for the war, could only advance the motive of its insistence upon maintaining the Union, even by the coercion of millions of unwilling citizens in a neighboring group of states.

Not only in Europe but even in the North, there were many who felt that this was both unjust and impossible. The Union might win a decision by arms, but what would become of it, if it must maintain itself permanently by force? Lee and many other Southerners who were devoted to the Union, as well as to their own states, felt that a Union based on bayonets instead of hearts would cease to have any value. It would bring about a demoralized private and public life.

English upper classes favor the South, English laborers favor the North. For a while, this view prevailed among many people in England. Slavery was the root cause of the war, but Lincoln asserted that he was simply defending the Constitution, and that the Constitution defended slavery. The most liberal opinion in England, which would have been whole-heartedly with us in a war for human freedom, could not be with us in a war simply to compel a union which was no longer desired. In general the so-called English upper classes were in favor of the South. That section had in the old days been in closer personal contact with England which preferred Southern ways of life to those of the mercantile North.

Besides, the waves of revolution which only a few years before had swept over Europe had alarmed the conservative elements. In Europe conservatism and monarchy were allied, so English conservatives were ready to look with unconcern on the break-up of the greatest example of successful democracy. On the other hand, the English working class, and particularly the cotton spinners of the north of England, were in favor of the North. Before the war was over, they courageously and gladly suffered hardship and unemployment for the cause of the Union.

English Government recognizes South as belligerent. Lincoln's assumption that there had been no legal secession implied that the men of the Southern navy, preying on our commerce, were legally mere pirates. This was a troublesome complication of the President's working theory. We in America might smooth such difficulties over by

occasionally not letting our right hand know what our left was doing, but such a situation was impossible for foreign nations. A great maritime power like England could not treat the naval officers and crews of a newly formed nation of 9,000,000, fighting for their independence, as mere pirates.

Consequently, although the British Government never recognized the Confederacy as an independent power, it did recognize its status as a belligerent. Many in our North construed this as a hasty and un-

*Richington, Washington City, P.O.
90 April 1861*

*Hon^{ble} Simon Cameron
Sec^y of War*

Sir
I have the honour to tender
the resignation of my Commission as Colonel
of the 1st Reg^t of Cavalry
Very res^t your Obedt^l

R. E. Lee
Col 1st Cav^y

LEE'S RESIGNATION OF HIS U. S. ARMY COMMISSION
From the original letter in the War Department, Washington.

friendly action, but England thought it was necessary. In general, Europe believed that the North could not conquer the South, and could not hold her permanently in subjection if it did conquer.

2. The Beginning of the War

The Union starts its thrust toward Richmond. The extra session of Congress which assembled on July 4, 1861, authorized Lincoln to borrow \$200,000,000, issue \$50,000,000 in notes, and raise the army

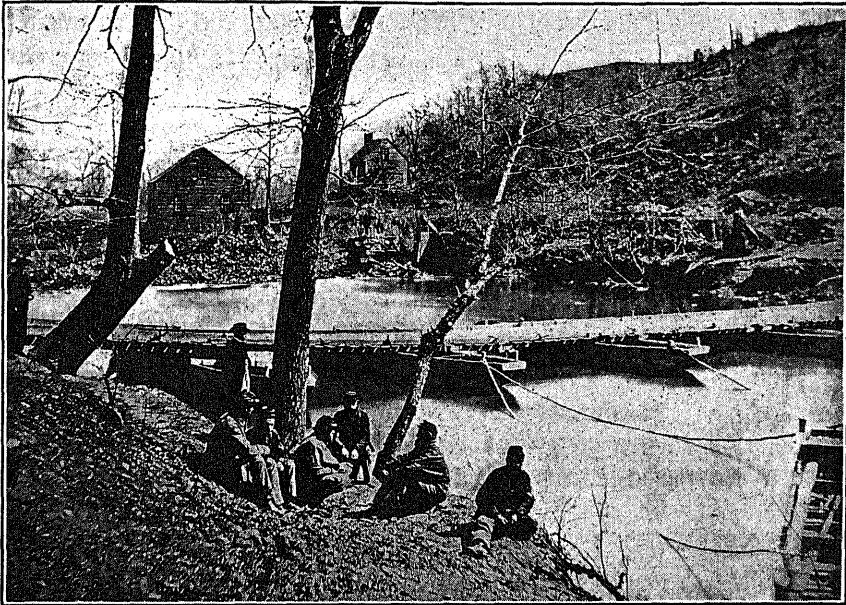
to 500,000 men. The North had two small armies, one under General Patterson facing a Confederate force under General Johnston at Winchester in the Shenandoah Valley, another under General McDowell opposing a Confederate force under Beauregard at Manassas. The Confederacy had made Richmond its capital. The people of the North insisted upon an instant capture of the Confederate center which it was hoped might end the struggle just begun. On both sides there was the belief to be found at the beginning of all great wars, that it would be "short."

Neither side had a trained or properly equipped army. For the most part the troops were raw civilians, without uniforms. The officers, even the few from the old regular army, had had no experience in the actual handling of large bodies of men in the field. To meet the popular demand, however, in spite of the protests of old General Winfield Scott, the head of the Union army, it was decided in Washington to bring on an engagement in a thrust toward Richmond.

The Confederates win the battle of Bull Run. Patterson of the Union army was ordered to keep Johnston's forces occupied while McDowell marched against Beauregard, who had taken a position behind the small stream called Bull Run near Manassas. McDowell's plan of attack, which he launched that morning, was not bad, and for the earlier part of the day the battle, although with increasing confusion, was on the whole favorable to the Federals. The Southerners stood their ground with granite firmness, General Jackson there gaining his nickname of "Stonewall." When another detachment of Southerners arrived, the Union army became demoralized. The retreat became a rout. Throwing away their muskets, the soldiers fled toward Washington in complete disorder. Although the battle was considered a disaster for the Union, the Northerners pulled themselves together with a grim determination which they had not felt before. The Southerners were misled into believing that they could relax their efforts and that the war was practically won.

Lincoln puts McClellan in command of the Eastern forces. Immediately after the disaster, Lincoln appointed General George B. McClellan, a business man who was also a West Point graduate, in command of the military forces of the eastern department. Later, though his long refusal to move against the enemy had aroused feeling against him, the President stood by him by raising him to the rank of general-in-chief of all the Union forces. This was in spite of the fact that Lincoln himself had also urged action and had become

impatient. Persistently, however, McClellan refused to budge, treating all critics, even the President, with scant courtesy or consideration, and creating a strong public prejudice against himself. Nevertheless, during the nine months of summer, autumn, and winter when McClellan was training his men and organizing his forces, he was becoming immensely popular among the troops. He was forging a magnificent



FORD WITH PONTOON BRIDGE, BULL RUN, VIRGINIA

weapon of offense out of the "Army of the Potomac." But until the spring of 1862 nothing further took place in that section, except occasional raids by the unopposed Confederates.

The Confederacy sends men to England to enlist that country's aid. The autumn of 1861 had brought about a serious complication in our relations with England. One of the first moves of the Confederate Government had been to despatch agents to England to seek recognition of the independence of the new Confederation. The commission, headed by the capable William L. Yancey, had been unable to induce the British Government to make any move in their favor.

The commission was still in England when two more agents, John Slidell of Louisiana and James M. Mason of Virginia, were also despatched by the government at Richmond, the former to negotiate in Paris and the latter in London. At Havana they boarded the British mail steamer *Trent*. Their plans were published in a newspaper which happened to come under the eye of Captain Wilkes of the U. S. S. *Jacinto*, stopping in the West Indies on the way home from Africa. That over-zealous naval officer determined to intercept the *Trent*, and capture the Confederate agents. This he promptly did. Unfortunately his knowledge of international law was not equal to his zeal. Instead of taking the *Trent* into a port where the matter could be handled by a court of admiralty, he transferred Slidell and Mason to his own vessel.

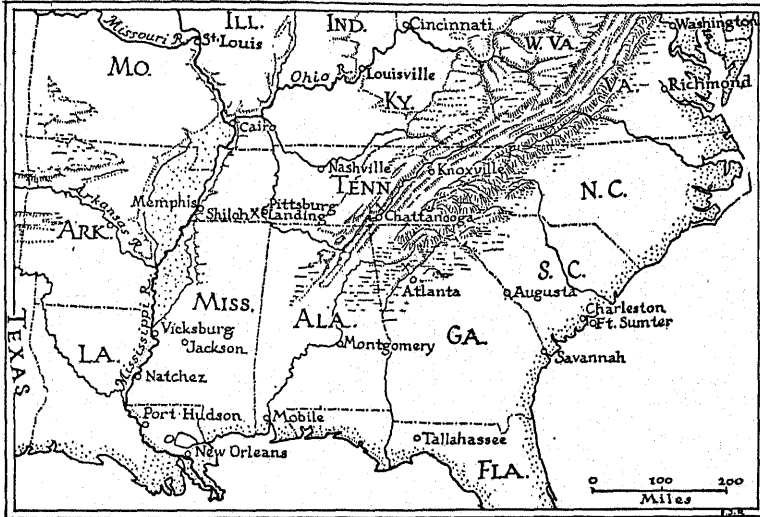
When news reached England that an American naval officer had illegally seized and carried off passengers from the deck of a British mail boat, the British public was in a rage. The American public, when it had received the same news, had screamed with delight. Congress publicly thanked Wilkes, who became a popular hero over-night. Although Lincoln realized that the action was illegal, the enthusiasm of the populace had to be reckoned with. The British Government despatched 8000 troops to Canada, and Lord Russell drew up a demand for apology. Eventually, the two Southerners were released and returned to a British vessel. So the affair was smoothed over, but not without leaving a good deal of bitter feeling.

3. *The War in the West*

The first year of the war ends with no great gains. In the West, General Frémont had cleared Missouri of Confederate forces, and Grant, under Frémont, had seized Paducah, Ky., and Cairo, Ill. Frémont had issued a proclamation freeing, on his own responsibility, the slaves of Missourians in arms against the Union. This greatly embarrassed the President, who was then trying to keep slaveholding Kentucky in the Union. Frémont was finally removed and Hunter was commissioned in his stead. The next year's campaign in the West, however, was to be largely the work of Grant. On the whole, the year 1861 ended with little to encourage either North or South. But Southern leaders believed they could hold out until the North became discouraged or foreign governments intervened.

The North pursues three major military objectives. From the beginning of 1862 to the end of the war, there were three major opera-

tions. One of these was the gaining of control by the North of the Mississippi River, thus cutting the Confederacy in two from east to west. The second was Sherman's march to the sea, more or less cutting it again from north to south, with enormous destruction of property and effect on morale. The third was the forcing of the largest Confederate army, under its ablest leader, to surrender before Richmond. In the course of the four years after 1861 there were to be



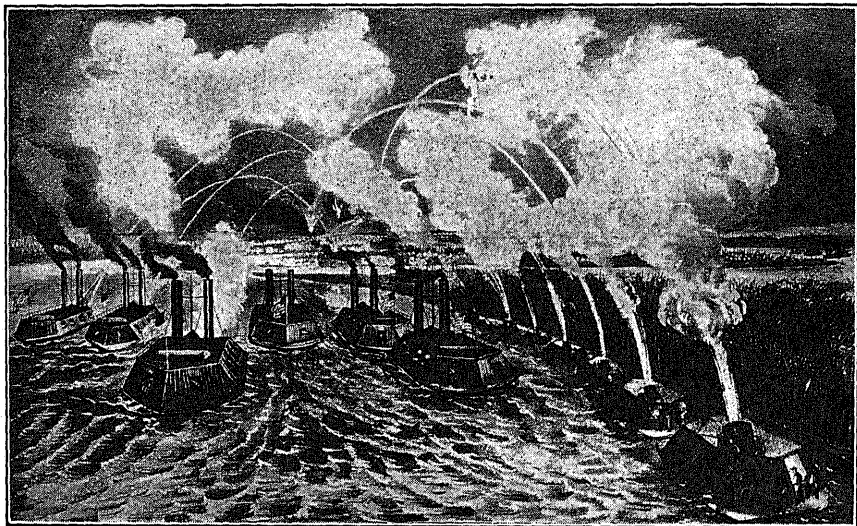
WESTERN BATTLEFIELDS OF THE CIVIL WAR

side issues, and many battles, but for a proper understanding of events we should keep these three main objectives in mind.

North and South center attention on Kentucky and Tennessee. At the beginning of 1862 plans had been made to open the Mississippi, hold Tennessee and Kentucky, and to press in on Richmond. The last operation was to be carried on not only from Washington as before, but also with troops moving northward by way of Albemarle Sound in North Carolina. In January a new Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, had been appointed to succeed Cameron. Stanton had little knowledge of military affairs, but he brought to his department great driving power.

In the West, Major-General Henry W. Halleck was in command

with headquarters at St. Louis. Grant, now a brigadier-general, with a force of about 15,000, was stationed at Cairo, some distance below Halleck on the Mississippi at the point where that river is joined by the Ohio. Although the major force of the Confederates in this district was gathered at Nashville under General Albert Johnston, smaller



THE BOMBARDMENT OF "ISLAND NUMBER 10" IN THE MISSISSIPPI

Commencing on March 15, 1862, and continuing until April 7, when the island fell to Commodore Foote in command of the Gunboat and Mortar Fleet.

A Currier and Ives lithograph in the Library of Congress.

bodies had built two forts, Henry and Donelson, on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers near the Tennessee-Kentucky line.

Grant captures Forts Henry and Donelson. In January, 1862, Grant urged Halleck to let him attack Forts Henry and Donelson. The permission finally given, Grant, supported by Commodore A. H. Foote with small gun-boats, proceeded up the Tennessee River. Fort Henry proved easy of capture, and Grant then moved his force overland to take the fort on the Cumberland River, while Foote was to go round by water and join him in the attack. The fire from the fort was so heavy, however, that Foote was forced to withdraw.

It was mid-February, and sleet and cold made that night a terrible

one for the Union soldiers, entirely without protection and partially without food. Inside the fort, however, its commander, General S. B. Buckner, realized the impossibility of holding it against assault the following day. On the morning of the 16th, he asked for terms, and Grant's reply, which was to make him famous, was immediately given: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." Without further argument, Fort Donelson fell. The North went wild with joy over the first victory of the year. Grant was named a major-general by the President, and "Unconditional Surrender Grant" by the public, a play on his initials of U. S.

Grant defeats the Confederates at Shiloh. Another Union force, operating under General D. C. Buell, had advanced as far south as Nashville. Grant was at Savannah, Tennessee, nine miles from Shiloh (Pittsburg Landing), where he was concentrating his whole body of about 38,000. Grant did not know that while he was making preparations for an advance on Corinth, where there was a large force of Confederates, General Johnston had decided to attack him at Shiloh. Early on the morning of April 6 the unexpected attack was launched. Hastening to the rescue of his forces, which had not yet been joined by Buell's, Grant sent entreaties for haste to that commander, and also to General Lew Wallace at Crump's Landing.

Early in the afternoon General Johnston was killed, and about three hours later, his second, General Beauregard, called off the attack for that day. By evening both Wallace's division and Buell's men had arrived. The following morning the battle was renewed with the weight of advantage now on the side of the Union. The Confederates fought desperately all day, but by night were forced to retreat to Corinth, after one of the bloodiest and most desperate encounters of the entire war.

Farragut captures New Orleans and opens the Mississippi. Meanwhile, events had been happening farther southward. It had been planned for some time to despatch a combined naval and military force to capture New Orleans, and then to proceed up the Mississippi to join the Union forces operating from the North. Early in the spring a Union fleet, under command of Captain David G. Farragut, and troop-ships carrying 25,000 men under General Benjamin F. Butler, reached the mouth of the river. The Confederates had a few ironclad ships on which they depended to prevent Farragut's passage. His vessels proved more than a match for both ironclads and forts,

and by the 1st of May New Orleans, the largest city of the South, was occupied by the combined Union forces.

The charming, leisurely old city, largely French in blood, was hotly Southern in sympathy, and the presence of an army of occupation was, as always everywhere, extremely irritating. General Butler was made military governor and ruled the people of New Orleans with an iron hand and much lack of tact, to say the least.

Farragut succeeded in pushing some of his vessels far enough up the river past the Confederate defenses to get in touch with Grant. Vicksburg could not yet be taken, and the complete severing of the Confederacy on the line of the Mississippi had to await the following year.

4. *The War in the East*

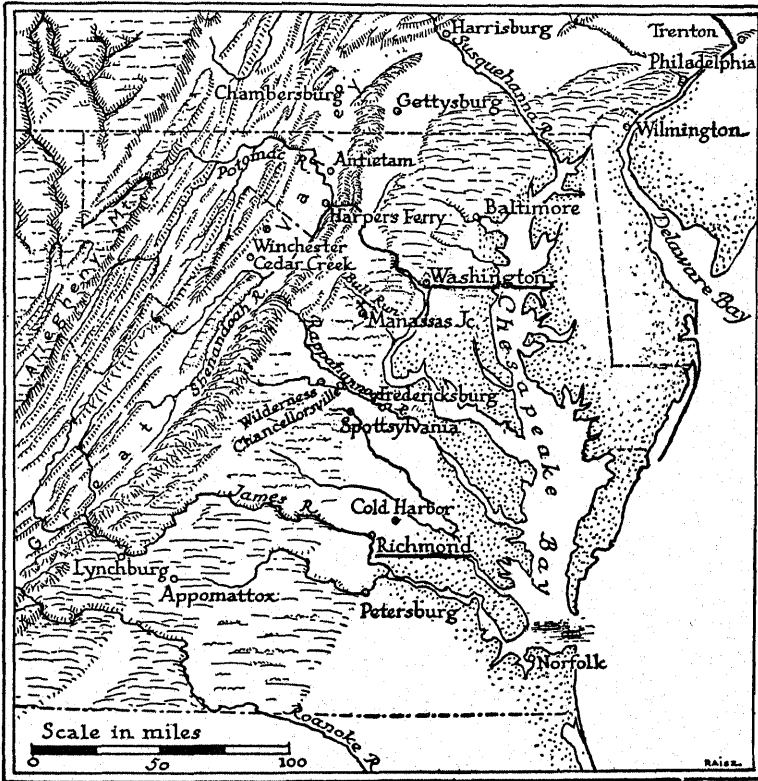
McClellan begins his peninsula campaign. We must now turn to the East, and see what progress was made in 1862 toward the capture of the main part of the Confederate forces before Richmond. We shall find it a disappointing year for the North although with plenty of action.

There were various routes which McClellan might have taken toward the Confederate capital and its defending forces. The Army of the Potomac numbered over 100,000 superbly drilled men, thanks almost wholly to the general himself. However, he seemed both uncertain and loath to use the weapon he had forged. Had he decided to proceed southward, keeping himself between Washington and the enemy, he could have counted upon using all the available Union forces in the Eastern theater.

He preferred to transport all his troops to the eastern end of the Yorktown peninsula, and work his way thence toward Richmond, marching with the York and James Rivers on his flanks. This also made it necessary for McClellan to march through a difficult and none too well-known country with the largest force which had yet been in operation in America. It resulted in a division of forces, as the administration at Washington insisted that McDowell remain with his army to protect the Capital against a possible sudden attack from Lee.

The "Merrimac" meets the "Monitor." It was essential for McClellan's plan that the James River be clear of vessels, as he counted on the navy to protect his flank. During the early part

of the winter, however, the Confederates, who were in possession of Norfolk and its navy yard, had built an ironclad of a new type, with a pointed ram on its bow. This had made itself master of Hampton Roads, after having destroyed two of the big wooden vessels of the Union navy, the *Congress* and the *Cumberland*.



EASTERN BATTLEFIELDS OF THE CIVIL WAR

The iron hull of this strange new warship made it practically impossible to pierce it with the shot of that day, while its ram enabled it to poke huge holes in the wooden hulls of its opponents and to sink them ingloriously. It was formerly the U.S. steam sloop *Merrimac*, re-named the *Virginia* by the Confederates.

She was to meet her match on March 9, in one of the historical naval

battles of the world. A Swede, John Ericsson, then resident in New York, had produced the *Monitor*, a hitherto unknown type of vessel. It was heavily ironclad, looking much like an oval raft with a revolving iron turret which enabled her to fire in any direction. She was unwieldy and unseaworthy, but when the *Virginia* started out on that day from Norfolk to sink another of the wooden ships of the Northerners, this weird-looking object opposed her. After an engagement in which neither vessel was destroyed, the *Virginia* was forced to retreat to Norfolk. Her power was over, and when, in May, the Confederates evacuated that city, on account of McClellan's operations, they destroyed their ram before leaving.

According to Henry Adams, who was then in London, acting as private secretary to his father, the American minister, a profound impression was created in English naval and military circles by the appearance of the ironclads in action. It has been said by leading American historians, indeed, that the *Monitor* and the *Virginia* caused the abandonment of the old wooden navies of the world and began a new era in naval history. This, however, is rather over-stating the case. Ironclads had been used in the Crimean War, a few years earlier. The French had launched a great ironclad in 1859. The European admiralities were already deeply concerned about the possible necessity of rebuilding their fleets before the *Virginia* had first slipped out from Norfolk. What the American ironclads in action probably did accomplish was to settle the disputed point and leave no further room for hesitation.

"Stonewall" Jackson disarranges McClellan's plans. The Confederates everywhere in the eastern theater of war were heavily outnumbered. The failure of the campaign of 1862 to show results for the Union was due to the superior skill of the Southern commanders. To oppose McClellan's advance up the peninsula toward Richmond, General J. E. Johnston had no more than 60,000 men to McClellan's 100,000.

"Stonewall" Jackson, certainly the ablest officer next to Lee, even if not as some military authorities think abler than Lee himself, was in the southern part of the great Shenandoah Valley. This valley at its northern end gave easy access to Harpers Ferry, from which an advance might be made on Washington, sixty miles to the southeastward. Jackson, however, was opposed by General N. P. Banks with a slightly stronger force than his own, while Frémont was ready to invade the valley from the west. There was another Union force stationed at

Harpers Ferry. Two smaller Confederate forces could be counted on in the valley, but here as elsewhere the disparity of numbers was greatly in favor of the North.

The Federals, however, both military and civil, threw away their chances. The Confederates had left only slender forces to impede McClellan's march up the peninsula, but that cautious commander took a whole month of siege work to clear them from his path. It was not until the middle of May, after the Confederates had withdrawn, that the Union troops when their delay had been accomplished were set in motion toward Richmond.

McClellan, who in his own opinion never had enough men for any task, had asked to have McDowell sent around by water to join his own force. But this would have left Washington defenseless before the swift-moving Lee. McClellan's plan of campaign was to advance slowly, taking no chances, and, counting on artillery and siege operations, to win through to the Confederate capital.

The first move was in the Shenandoah Valley. There Jackson outplayed his adversaries and so frightened Frémont that he left that general in a panic for days. Jackson then attacked Banks, whom he chased all the way to Winchester and from there down the valley and across the Potomac. At Harpers Ferry Jackson seemed to threaten Washington. Jackson, however, had no idea of descending on Washington, and still less of being captured. He had accomplished the most important object, which was so to disarrange the Union plans as to ruin McClellan's campaign against Richmond. Therefore, as quickly as he had advanced, he passed up the valley again, inflicting one or two more stinging defeats, and saved his force and his booty for use against McClellan.

McClellan fights the terrible "Seven Days' Battles." McClellan was not altogether happy. The peninsula was difficult marching country and in May the heavy rains had swollen the streams and rivers. On the 31st, two of his corps were separated from the main forces by the Chickahominy, ten miles from Richmond. The opportunity was instantly recognized by General Johnston. The attack, however, was not successful. The chief result of the battle of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks, as it is called, was the appointment of General Lee to succeed Johnston in chief command, the latter having been dangerously wounded.

The next movements were the result of the contrasting psychology of Lee and McClellan. McClellan continued his slow "digging-in-and-

siege" method, which Lee knew would be fatal to Richmond if allowed to continue. Lee ordered Jackson to join him and to attack McClellan's right flank while he himself attacked directly in front. Lee's plan succeeded in a considerable degree. The various engagements, known altogether as the "Seven Days' Battles," pushed McClellan back to Harrison's Landing on the James.

McClellan again asked for reinforcements and the chance to make another move against Richmond, this time by way of Petersburg. But in July he was recalled to Washington, and his army was withdrawn from the peninsula and moved to northern Virginia. The peninsula campaign was over, and Richmond had not been taken.



THE NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENT, RIDING TO
SEND OFF HIS DESPATCHES

From an etching by Edwin Forbes in the J. Pierpont
Morgan Collection of the Library of Congress.

Lee wins the second battle of Bull Run. General Halleck, who, in the West, had been fortunate in successes won for him by his subordinates, was brought east and made commander of all the Union

forces. General Pope was put in command of the combined forces of Frémont, Banks, and McDowell. The North was still experimenting with generals.

Lee knew that it would take a fortnight or more for the McClellan forces to be transported from the James to the neighborhood of Pope. Combining with Jackson, he completely baffled Pope and drove him back to Bull Run. There he won a second and more resounding Confederate victory, August 29-30.

Lee begins an invasion of the North. By September 4 the Confederates were crossing the Potomac, twenty-five miles from Washington. The following day Lincoln orally gave command of all the forces to McClellan, who still had the unbounded admiration of his soldiers. Lee had had no intention of attacking Washington but was advancing into Maryland. There he expected to find Southern sym-

pathy strong enough to win that state if supported by the presence of his army. A push up into Pennsylvania might divide the North even more dangerously than the South could be divided by Union control of the Mississippi. In the West the Confederates were pushing back Union forces across Kentucky.

So far, the Republican administration in Washington had little to show the people. The mid-term elections, always likely to be dangerous for the party in power unless all has been going well, were only a month away. The change from seeing a Union army within twenty miles of Richmond, expecting to capture it, to having Lee and 60,000 Confederates swinging northward through Maryland, was creating dismay and terror in the North. It was also having dangerous effects in Europe, as we shall note later.

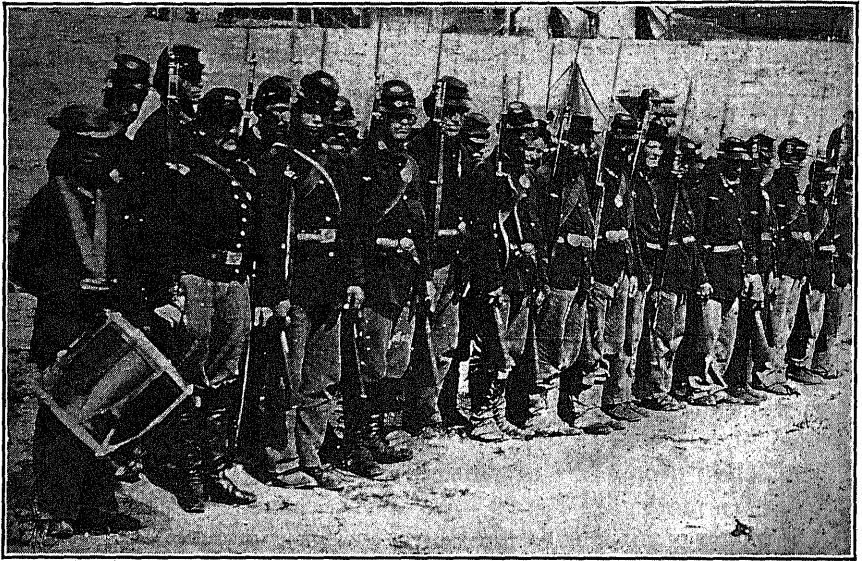
There was, as Lee had expected, strong Southern sympathy in Maryland, but this was mostly confined to the eastern portion of the state, and at Frederick he found it difficult to get sufficient supplies for his troops. As he could not live on the country, it was necessary to open a line of communication up the Shenandoah Valley. However, Harpers Ferry was in possession of a Union garrison. So when Lee pushed ahead he had to despatch Jackson to capture the ferry. This divided his army.

McClellan stops Lee at Antietam. McClellan had taken several days to reorganize Pope's forces. On September 12, a week after he had taken command, he reached Frederick in pursuit of Lee. His cautiousness made him hesitate. Lee took up an entrenched position on Antietam Creek and sent new orders to Jackson to join him. That general captured Harpers Ferry and hastened to join Lee.

Instead of throwing himself on Lee's army, then in a desperate plight, McClellan waited until he had to encounter the reunited Confederate forces. The battle that ensued, September 17, known from the creek as Antietam, was one of the bloodiest of the war. The conflict was a series of confused attacks, and it has been debated whether the sum of them was a Union or a Confederate victory. The following day, McClellan, although numerically far superior, declined to renew the struggle. On the 19th he allowed Lee to retreat unmolested across the Potomac into Virginia, but the Confederate advance had been checked.

Lee defeats Burnside at Fredericksburg. The danger to the North from the Army of Virginia was now over, and jubilation replaced the grim fear of recent weeks. However, McClellan did nothing

to follow up his success and permitted Lee to retreat southward along the Shenandoah Valley. Mistrust of him by both President and people increased again. Lincoln begged him to pursue Lee and to prevent the Confederates from getting once more between him and Richmond, but he begged in vain. On November 7, McClellan was again deposed from command and General A. E. Burnside was named in his place.



PART OF THE 6TH MAINE INFANTRY AFTER THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG
From a photograph in the collection of the War Department.

At Fredericksburg on December 13, the Union army faced Lee who was trying to force his way back to Richmond. The Confederates received the useless attack which Burnside launched against them. The Federals had to charge across a plain, completely covered by the Confederate artillery. It was not war but murder, yet six times Burnside ordered the charge across dead bodies through the sheets of flame. Nothing more magnificent or futile has ever been seen in the annals of war. It was clear to Lincoln that Burnside who had not wanted the command could not be retained, and the search for a general had to go on.

England permits the building of Confederate cruisers. The year 1862 had been marked by momentous events other than military.

In spite of England's proclamation of neutrality, the Confederacy had continued hopeful of recognition by both that country and France. Meanwhile, she was endeavoring to buy war vessels from English builders. The British Government had forbidden its subjects to build or equip any warships which might be used by either belligerent.

Parliament had passed an act to that effect, but the act had been carelessly drawn. It had provided for punishment of the offenders and confiscation of the vessel only after proof of the offense. This raised difficult legal questions in any case that might arise. In 1862, a small vessel, the *Florida*, was built and allowed to sail, and though seized at Nassau was released by the court. This case was merely the forerunner of a much more serious one a few months later.

The Confederates made a contract with a firm at Liverpool to build the *Alabama*. Our minister, Charles Francis Adams, procured evidence that the ship was being built for the Confederacy. As first submitted, the evidence was not considered sufficiently conclusive to warrant the British Government in preventing the sailing of the vessel, on which work was being rushed. Finally, however, all the documents in the case were sent to the government lawyers. A few days later, Lord John Russell was advised to have the ship seized without an instant's delay. Unfortunately it was too late, for the Confederates, being warned, had got her to sea before she was finished.

Lincoln announces intention to free slaves in seceded states. Meanwhile, Lincoln was to clear away one source of misunderstanding. As we have seen, he had not believed it to be either his duty or right as President to interfere with slavery within the states where it was legal. Also, looking to a successful end of the war and the need for receiving the seceded states back into the Union, he had framed for himself the theory that those states had never really been out of the Union, and that there should be as little interference with them legally as possible. After the war began, there was the additional problem of retaining the loyalty of such border states as were also slave states.

On July 22, 1862, Lincoln surprised his Cabinet by announcing that he intended to issue an emancipation proclamation freeing all slaves within the rebellious states on January 1, 1863, and suggesting some form of compensation to their owners. It was pointed out to him that, although most of the Cabinet agreed with the substance of his proposition, the time was especially inopportune on account of the unfavorable military situation of the North. Lincoln agreed and laid aside the idea of an immediate proclamation.

Lincoln announces the paramount object of the war. On August 20, Horace Greeley published in *The New York Tribune* an open letter to the President, complaining of his hesitating attitude toward slavery. To this Lincoln replied, that "my paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help save the Union."

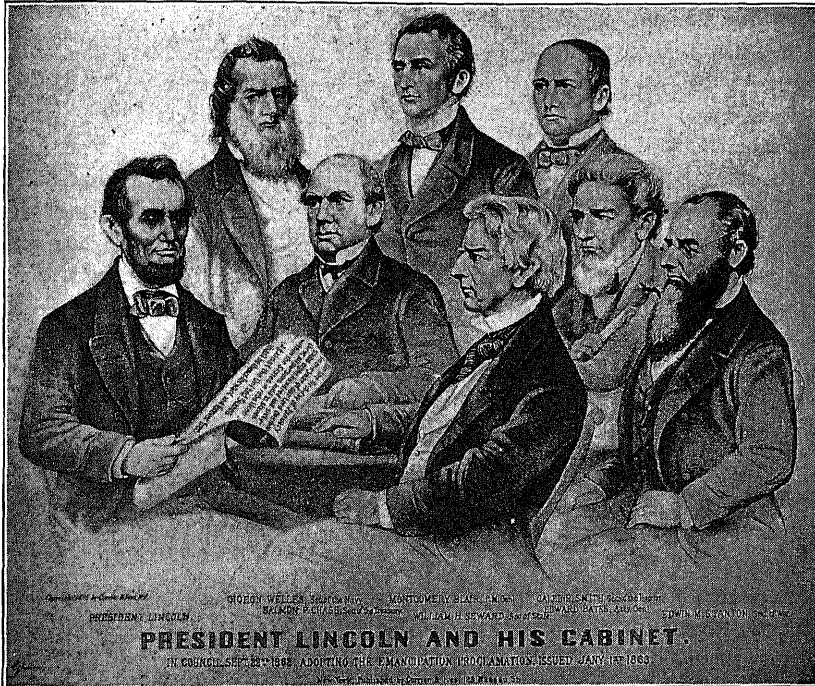
This was clear enough. Lincoln had long been urged by various groups to come out for abolition. This had had no effect upon his singularly independent mind, and we even to-day look in vain for any certain influence which made him decide the fateful question within a week or two after answering Greeley.

Lincoln issues the emancipation proclamation. At the Cabinet meeting of September 22, he read a few pages from Artemus Ward's "High-handed Outrage at Uticy," which had struck him as funny. Then, becoming serious, he informed his advisers that he had asked them to meet so that they might hear what he had decided to publish to the nation. It was merely for their information, he added, as he had already made the final decision.

He had, so he said, made a vow to God that he would issue an emancipation proclamation when the Confederates were driven out of Maryland. The battle of Antietam had been fought, and Lee was in retreat. Lincoln would fulfill his vow. Then he read the proclamation which on the following day, September 23, he published to the people, declaring that after January 1, 1863, all slaves held within the states then in rebellion would be "thenceforward and forever free."

He suggested colonization of the freed negroes, and eventual compensation to owners in both the loyal and Confederate states. Although with one or two exceptions the members of his Cabinet agreed, the effect of the proclamation on the public was disappointing. The South, naturally, regarded it as confiscation and as an attempt to rouse a slave revolt. The North seemed to be unimpressed. The elections in November went against the administration. In England, however, the response was immediate and favorable. Whatever the President's motives may have been, he had now without question linked the cause of the North with freedom.

When the first of January came, Lincoln issued the final proclamation. He declared all the slaves in the seceded states to be free, and warned them against indulging in any violence. Long opposed to slavery as an institution, Lincoln had not considered that it could be inter-



A CURRIER AND IVES CARTOON OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET
AT THE TIME THEY ADOPTED THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

In the Library of Congress.

ferred with under the existing Constitution. There was nothing in the Constitution that warranted the emancipation proclamation, but Lincoln accepted the theory that "the Constitution invests its commander-in-chief with the law of war in time of war," and that slaves being property could be seized for war purposes, whether in the hands of citizens or their foes.

Lincoln has trouble with his Cabinet. Whatever hopes the end of 1862 brought to the Southern slaves it brought little comfort to the harassed President. Although his party still had a slender

majority in Congress as a result of the elections, his own hold on it was threatened. The President no more than any general had won the confidence of the nation, and in mid-December had come Burnside's crushing defeat at Fredericksburg. A group of Republican senators, headed by Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, determined to force the President to change both his plans and his Cabinet.

Within the Cabinet, Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, shared the mistrust of Lincoln, and had been both indiscreet and disloyal in expressing criticism of him. Seward had long since recovered from his presidential aspirations, but was the main object of senatorial attack. To relieve Lincoln of embarrassment, he tendered his resignation.

The President then called a joint meeting of the other Cabinet members and of the senatorial committee. At that meeting Chase was put in the awkward situation of having either to reaffirm what he had told the senators as to the incapacity of the administration or else to retract it. He chose the latter course. The following morning he also resigned.

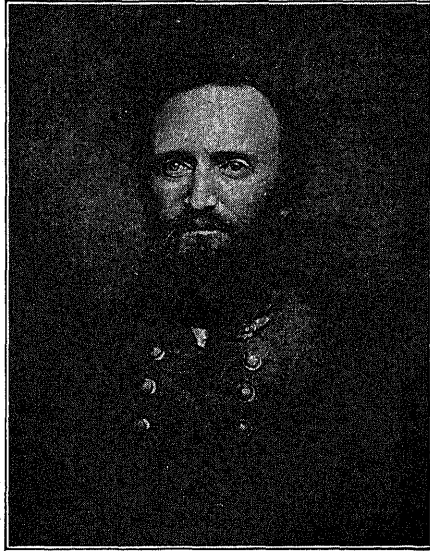
Both men, however, were essential to Lincoln. Seward had developed into a capable statesman, was loyal to the President, whom he had now come to trust, and was indispensable in the state department. Chase was a difficult man to get on with but was doing excellent work in the Treasury. With a country plunged into gloom and uncertainty, it was no time to confess further failure by dismissing the two leading members of the Cabinet.

Lincoln had handled the situation with extreme skill. He could afford neither to be dictated to by the Senate nor to alienate its support. The resignation of Chase, which followed the President's confronting him in the presence of the senators and his own colleagues, and his forced retraction of his accusations, enabled the President to decline to accept either resignation and to retain his Cabinet as before with both Chase and Seward. As Lincoln characteristically remarked when he got Chase's resignation: "Now I can ride; I have got a pumpkin in each end of my bag." The Cabinet crisis had passed.

The Confederates win battle, but lose "Stonewall" Jackson. If the President could retain his statesmen, he had yet to continue his experiments with generals. The frightful and unnecessary slaughter at Fredericksburg had impaired Burnside's usefulness as a commander. In January, 1863, the command of the Army of the Potomac was given to General Joseph Hooker, "Fighting Joe," as he was nicknamed. The general was full of life and energy and his popularity and dash did much to restore the morale of the troops at a critical moment of deep

depression. But he was much out-classed by his opponents, Lee and Jackson. Hooker conceived the plan of cutting off Lee's communication with Richmond with one force and turning his left flank with another. In the three days' battle of Chancellorsville, May 2-4, 1863, he was forced back across the Rappahannock with severe loss.

It might have been a complete rout had the Confederates not suffered one of the heaviest possible blows in the wounding of "Stonewall" Jackson on the first evening of the battle. There was more or less confusion and the general with a small reconnoitring party had got in front of his own lines. On galloping back in the dark, he and his escort were mistaken for Federals, and were fired on by their own men. Jackson, severely wounded, died eight days later from pneumonia. A deeply religious man and one of the finest characters which the Scotch-Irish strain in our nation has produced, he was also one of the ablest generals on either side in the war. His loss to Lee and the South was irreparable.



"STONEWALL" JACKSON

The so-called "Winchester" portrait.

Lee invades the North again. Replacing Jackson as well as he could with General R. S. Ewell, Lee set out on another advance into northern territory through the Shenandoah Valley. Lee's continued success against one Union general after another had made a Union soldier at Chancellorsville say: "It's no use. No matter who is given us, we can't whip Bobby Lee." Perhaps Lee had himself become too confident. For diplomatic purposes in Europe it was desirable that just at that moment the Confederacy must win a bold stroke. Lee counted on rallying disaffected elements to himself in Pennsylvania, but he failed to realize that his own presence on Union soil would rally men to the Northern cause rather than to himself.

Therefore, when Ewell's cavalry had got within three miles of the

Pennsylvania capital at Harrisburg, they were recalled. Lee decided to take his stand on South Mountain and await attack. Meade, who had replaced Hooker, had decided for his part also to await attack at Pipe Creek, just south of the Maryland line. A chance encounter, however, between very small forces of both armies at Gettysburg precipitated one of the decisive battles of the war on ground not selected by either commander.

Meade defeats Lee at Gettysburg in the East. As the troops from both armies rapidly arrived near the point where fighting had started, the Federals took up their position on Cemetery Ridge. The result of the encounter on the first day, July 1, was rather in favor of Lee. The next day the Confederates pushed back both wings of Meade's army, and the position was becoming dangerous. The decisive action was on July 3, when Lee ventured on a direct attack against Meade's center. After some fighting in the morning and heavy cannonading, the charge against the center as planned by Lee was launched.

Fifteen thousand men, with Pickett's division of about 5000 leading, started from the opposing height, approximately a mile away, toward the Union lines at Cemetery Ridge. The charge was magnificent but nothing could stand against the concentrated fire of artillery and rifle. A few Confederates actually reached the Union line and planted the Stars and Bars on top of the ridge, but it was all over. Of the 15,000 men who had charged across the little valley and up the slope, 4000 were captured. The rest were killed or escaped back to the Confederate lines. As a result of the three days' fight nearly 50,000 men were killed, wounded, or missing, 20 per cent of the Union forces and 30 per cent of the Confederates.

The next day Meade made no effort to follow up his success, and Lee withdrew to the Potomac, which was in flood and impassable. There he remained until the 13th, unmolested by Meade, who resolved against following Lincoln's suggestion to prevent Lee's escape. The President, grateful for Gettysburg, but deeply disturbed by the failure to snatch the fruit of victory and perhaps end the war, declined to accept the resignation which Meade proffered.

5. Grant in Command of the Union Forces

Grant captures Vicksburg in the West. The next day after Gettysburg another victory came to hearten Northern spirit. Grant captured Vicksburg. It had been essential that this city, commanding the

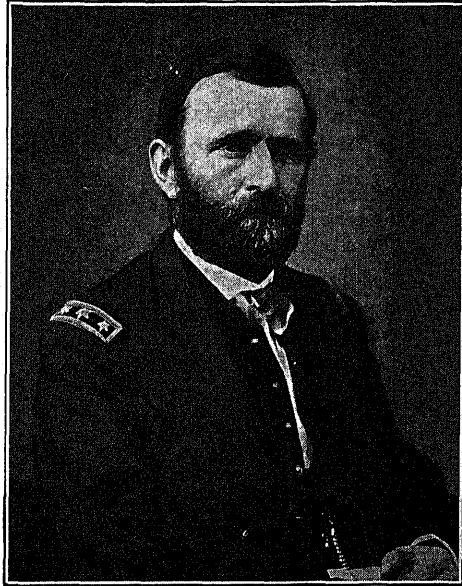
Mississippi from the high bluff on which it was located, should be taken if the river was to be opened and the Confederacy cut, but the task offered peculiar difficulties. Assault from the front was impossible, and the city was protected on the northern side by the streams and marshes of the Yazoo Valley.

Grant determined to move his troops down the west bank of the river to below Grand Gulf, cross the river there, and then march northward on firm ground against Vicksburg from the south. Porter was to slip downstream past the fortifications to meet him with gun-boats and transports. The latter, although discovered on the night of April 16 in making the attempt, got through with the loss of only one transport. The remarkably able campaign as planned by Grant then proceeded without check. Grant, having been joined by Sherman and other forces, settled down to the siege of the doomed town.

With many non-combatants inside the city which was bombarded from land and river, the situation held out no hope. By the beginning of July, there was sufficient food for only a few days for army and citizens. On the 4th Pemberton, the commander, surrendered the city, with his entire force, and large supplies of military stores. Grant allowed the prisoners to return to their homes on parole.

When the place was safely his, Grant returned to Sherman a letter which Sherman had written strongly advising him against the plan of his campaign. This is a typical example of Grant's considerate kindness.

Confederates defeat the Union forces at Chickamauga. The capture of Vicksburg had cleared the Mississippi, split the Confederacy, and cut off the supplies it had been receiving from Europe through



ULYSSES S. GRANT

Mexican ports. The Army of the Cumberland and other Western troops could now be used to capture Chattanooga.

Defended by the Confederate General Bragg, it was difficult to approach and attack owing to the nature of its bold mountain country. Rosecrans tried to repeat Grant's strategy at Vicksburg, and swung around so as to approach the city from the south. On September 20, Rosecrans was defeated, and forced into Chattanooga with a large part of the army. Fortunately, General George H. Thomas, a Virginian and one of the ablest generals on the Union side, held the Federal left-wing against every assault from the Confederates. He gained the nickname for himself of the "Rock of Chickamauga" and saved the day for the Union army. The following evening he was ordered into the city by Rosecrans, who now found himself besieged by Bragg in the place which he had captured.

Union forces are victorious. Grant was now put in command of all the forces in the West, and made Thomas commander of the Army of the Cumberland. Grant himself then went to the rescue. When Grant arrived, he found Bragg entrenched on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. He determined to take the offensive as soon as Sherman should arrive with his forces.

On November 24 Grant ordered the battle to begin, Sherman, Thomas, and Hooker in command of the forces attacking Bragg. The result was a victory for the Union, made notable by the brilliant dash up Missionary Ridge by Thomas's men. The two-day battle of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge was far more important in its results than the battle of Chickamauga.

There was now no longer a menace to the Federal control of Chattanooga, which was one of the three most important strategic points in the South, the others being Richmond and Vicksburg. Of these only Richmond remained in the hands of the Confederates. The way was now open to Atlanta and the sea for another year's campaigning. Could the South be bisected east and west, as it had been North and South, and could Lee be defeated, the end of the war would be in sight.

Emperor Napoleon befriends the Confederacy. The year 1863, though thus ending so favorably for the Union, had not been without its great anxieties in foreign affairs. One of the chief friends of the Confederacy in Europe was the French Emperor, Louis Napoleon. There were several European currents of opinion also which had to be taken into account. There had been, as we noted in the previous topic, the mistrust of democracy on the part of many in the rich and

conservative classes in England. There was the easily understandable failure to realize that the war was really a blow against slavery. There was also, among some French and Spanish plotters, the hope of realizing anew their dreams of American empire.

The last was most nearly attained by the French. In 1861, as they could properly do even in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine, England, France, and Spain had made a joint military demonstration against Mexico as a consequence of one of the constant disputes over financial affairs. But England and Spain withdrew their co-operation after satisfactory terms had been made with the Mexicans. France alone continued to exert the pressure of force in pursuance of a greater adventure.

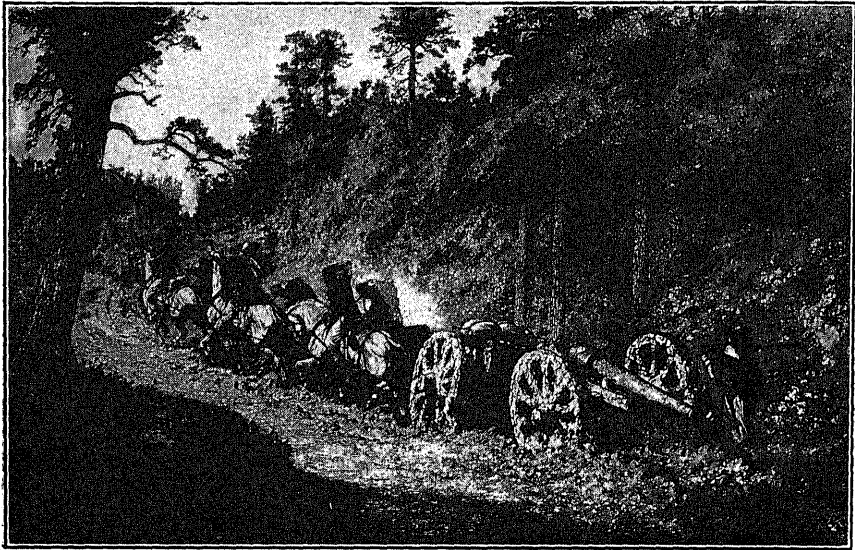
If the Union was to be broken, the Monroe Doctrine could be safely disregarded, whatever Napoleon might wish to do. If he could secure the independence of the Confederacy, he would have a power on his side friendly to French imperial schemes in America. In January, 1863, just after Lincoln had issued the emancipation proclamation, Napoleon proposed to Seward that the North recognize the South as successful. This suggestion was instantly declined. In June, a few days before Gettysburg was fought, a French army captured the City of Mexico. The following year, Napoleon set the archduke Maximilian up as Mexican emperor, backed by French bayonets.

The Confederacy secures loans from France and England. Throughout the war, the influence of the French Emperor was on the side of the Confederacy, and was exerted in all possible diplomatic ways. On the other hand, in both France and England, notably in the latter, the tide of democratic sentiment among the ordinary people set more and more strongly in favor of the North as the struggle continued. The emancipation proclamation had had an effect on the liberal-minded of all nations. Early in 1863 great meetings were held all over England demonstrating that the mass of the English people were solidly in favor of the Union.

There was yet, however, ample cause for anxiety in the North. The Confederate agents, Mason in England and the abler Slidell in France, had not only succeeded in placing a Confederate loan of approximately \$15,000,000 but were having vessels of war built in both countries. By carrying on their transactions in the name of foreign firms, they made it difficult to make a legal case against the ship-builders. If the ironclad rams being built at Liverpool got to sea, they might break up the blockade of Southern ports, which would be serious for the North. Through-

out the summer of 1863, Minister Adams worked steadily to prevent the sailing of the vessels on completion and Lord Russell finally ordered them seized. Those building at French ports were also detained. The bonds of the Confederacy dropped to 65 and danger to the North from Europe was over, except from the French empire in Mexico, which would have to wait for settlement at a later time.

Grant and Lee fight the battle of the Wilderness. During



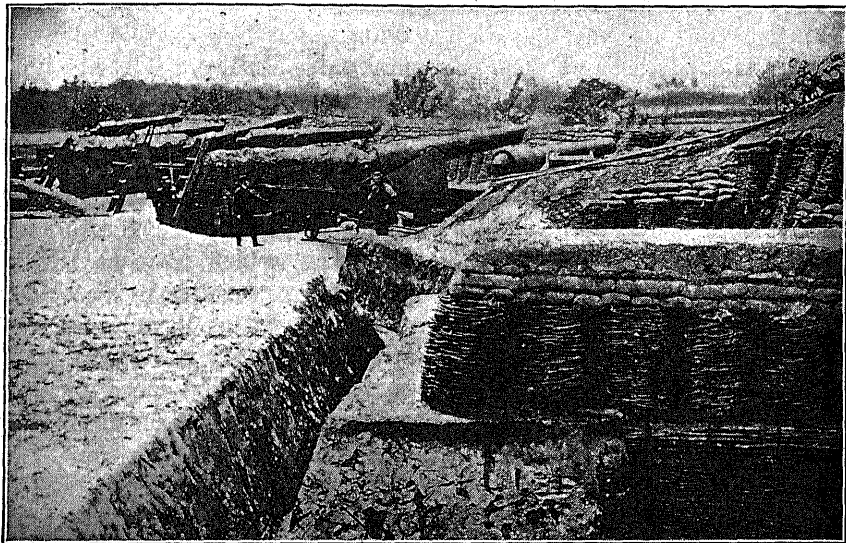
THROUGH THE WILDERNESS

A battery of artillery dragged through the mud during a spring rain storm. From the etching by Edwin Forbes in the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection, Library of Congress.

1864 the most important events of the war were Sherman's march to the sea through Georgia, Grant's long-drawn-out fight for Richmond against Lee, the election in November, and the minor operations of Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley and of Thomas at Nashville.

Lincoln had at last found his general. Early in March Grant had been made lieutenant-general, chief of all the Northern forces. Coming east, he pitted himself against Lee. He took charge of the Army of the Potomac, numbering slightly over 100,000, and crossed the Rapidan May 4. He penetrated the wooded country of tangled growth known as "the Wilderness" in a renewed attempt to approach Richmond from the north.

The Lee-Grant campaign which followed was one of the most desperate of the war. It was notable for marking the transition to the modern form of trench warfare. Grant had scarcely got across the Rapidan when he faced Lee, who disputed his advance in the two days' battle of the Wilderness. It proved only a draw in spite of heavy casualties. As Lee blocked the way, Grant tried to outflank him, only to find the Confederates entrenched again in his path.



A TRENCH AND BATTERY OF ONE-HUNDRED POUND AND TWO-HUNDRED POUND 8-INCH RIFLE GUNS—AT THAT TIME THE HEAVIEST BATTERY IN THE WORLD

Grant loses at Spottsylvania and Cold Harbor. The Union leader also entrenched. Then followed the five days' battle of Spottsylvania Court House. Grant had entrenched his will as well as his army, and simply announced that "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." It was to take more. On whichever side he tried to outflank Lee, the Southerner was there ahead of him, blocking the way. On June 3, Grant made an assault at Cold Harbor. It was over in less than half an hour, the Union loss being more than ten times that of Lee. Grant had not as yet got nearer to Richmond than had McClellan.

Grant changes his plan of attack. He now decided to follow McClellan's earlier plan, to transfer his army to the peninsula and work

up along the James toward Richmond from the southeast. He had, at the beginning of the campaign, sent General Butler to take Petersburg and cut off Lee's communication. But Butler had allowed himself to be "bottled up" by the forces under Beauregard. Grant himself ordered an assault at Petersburg, which failed. For more than a month he besieged the town, and late in July tried again to force an entry after having sprung a huge mine under a part of the Confederate defenses. Once more there was no gain. Until the following April, 1865, Grant was to remain without gaining.

Sheridan devastates the Shenandoah Valley. Grant had counted on two minor operations to assist him while he was facing Lee near the Rapidan. Both failed. Early was within four miles of Washington itself, which he might have captured had he been quick enough. However, having delayed, Early was forced to retire by reinforcements sent to the capital by Grant. Having burned Chambersburg, he retreated up the Shenandoah Valley, which now was to be cleared of all Confederate forces and completely devastated by Sheridan. On September 19, that general defeated the enemy at Winchester and three days later at Fisher's Hill, burning and destroying as he went until it was said that even "a crow flying over the country would need to carry his own rations." The object was to prevent any further threats to Washington and the North by that route.

Answering the cry of rage which went up from the South, Early again advanced, only to be defeated at Cedar Creek on October 19. Sheridan was at Winchester, twenty miles off, when he heard of the attack, but rode at top speed to rally his forces which had almost been routed by the Confederates. As a result of the turned tide, the Confederates finally retreated from the valley, which was the scene of no more military operations of importance for the rest of the war.

6. *The End of the War*

Sherman captures Atlanta. We now turn to Sherman and the West. That general's work was the capture of Atlanta and the cutting of the Confederacy. Opposed to him was one of the ablest Southern commanders, J. E. Johnston. Early in May, Sherman began his advance, Johnston steadily falling back before him. There was constant skirmishing, although no battle except a minor engagement at Kenesaw Mountain. Johnston continued to fall back, and by July 17 Sherman was across the Chattahoochee River and preparing to besiege Atlanta.

The same day, President Davis removed Johnston, with censure, from his command, replacing him by General J. B. Hood. Hood, being forced by the conditions of his appointment to substitute fighting for Johnston's tactics, fought without avail three battles in ten days. But on September 2, he had to evacuate Atlanta and leave it to Sherman.

Hood now decided to move westward and strike at Sherman's long line of communication. But the latter sent Thomas to oppose him. In a masterly little campaign, although marked by his usual caution, Thomas destroyed all hopes for the Confederacy in Tennessee when he finally inflicted a very heavy defeat on Hood, at Nashville, on December 15-16.

Sherman marches from Atlanta to the sea. Meanwhile, Sherman, who had occupied Atlanta, had determined to cut all communications, even telegraphic, and to march across the richest part of the Confederacy to the sea, supporting his army on the country. He proceeded to wage war in accordance with his belief that "war is hell." He thought that the quickest and therefore the most humane way in the long run to end it was to inflict the greatest possible damage on the enemy with the least delay. He left Atlanta on November 15. Lincoln and Grant were to know nothing of his whereabouts except from Southern newspapers until December 14. Then a despatch announced that he was within ten miles of Savannah.

On his march of 360 miles, he deliberately destroyed, in a belt 60 miles wide, all of the property possible which might in any way be used to the military advantage of the enemy. His own estimate was that he had ruined property to the amount of \$100,000,000, of which four-fifths was mere waste without immediate advantage. Savannah was evacuated without a fight, and on December 21 Sherman took possession of the city.

Union forces gain victories on the sea. On June 19, 1864, the U. S. S. *Kearsarge* had met the *Alabama* off Cherbourg on the coast of France, and had sunk it. That ship, with the smaller ones escaped from England, had done damage to United States commerce estimated in the later arbitration at \$15,500,000. On August 5, Farragut, with eighteen ships, had slipped past the forts guarding the entrance of Mobile Bay and had defeated the Confederate fleet gathered there, gaining possession of that valuable port, although the city itself was not captured until the following spring.

With Mobile Bay and New Orleans in Federal possession, the Mississippi in Federal control for its entire length, the Confederates west

of that river no longer strong enough to be any menace, with no fear of further thrusts up from Tennessee or through the Shenandoah Valley, with the railroads and military stores destroyed through the heart of the Confederacy, with Sherman ready to march northward from Savannah and Lee outnumbered by Grant, the end was in sight.

Lincoln is re-elected in the midst of the war. All of this, however, was far from being obvious in the spring and summer, when a war-weary North had to face a presidential election. On June 7, Lincoln had been unanimously nominated for a second term by a convention of Republicans and War Democrats, who named Andrew Johnson of Tennessee as Vice-President. The call for the convention had been worded to include all who stood for Union of whatever party. The first plank in the platform reiterated this in the statement that, "laying aside all differences of political opinion," it was the highest duty of every American citizen to "maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union." It approved the President's war policy and aims, and, among other things, denounced the French attempt to set up an empire in Mexico.

Prior to the Republican convention, a group of radicals of all sorts had held a convention which had nominated Frémont. There was no danger from them. The danger was from the Democrats and even more from those Republicans who were opposed to Lincoln. The Democratic convention met at Chicago in August, and adopted a completely defeatist platform. It demanded an immediate cessation of hostilities and loudly denounced the acts of Lincoln's administration. General McClellan was nominated on the first ballot. Although he repudiated the platform, his ambition prevented him from declining to run.

The campaign thus afforded the peculiar spectacle of a civilian President running on a no-compromise war platform and a general of the army running on a pacifist and defeatist one. At the end of August it seemed impossible that Lincoln could win. In July he had had to call for another half million volunteers. One of the hated drafts, which we shall discuss in the next topic, was scheduled for September. The people were weary of the endless war, and in *The Tribune* Horace Greeley was assailing the President with profound bitterness. Luckily it was during the week of the draft that Sherman took Atlanta and gave encouragement to the drooping Union spirits.

The result of the election proved an overwhelming victory for Lincoln whose popular vote was 2,200,000 to McClellan's 1,800,000. The

electoral vote stood for Lincoln at 212 and 21 for McClellan. Lincoln had won a popular majority of about a half million, and in spite of all the discouragements of a prolonged war, the democracy of the North had shown itself capable of making the wise decision at the polls.

Efforts to end the war by compromise fail. The doom of the Confederacy could not now be long postponed. There had already been abortive efforts to compromise.

On February 3, 1865, there was a meeting of official delegates at Hampton Roads, Lincoln attending in person. There was, however, no real chance of a negotiated peace. Lincoln was willing to end hostilities if the Confederacy would submit to the Union and accept emancipation as an accomplished fact, with the promise to try to have Congress pass some sort of compensation measure. But Jefferson Davis could not agree to anything except on the primary basis of recognition of Southern independence. The conference having failed, there was nothing to do but let arms decide.

Sherman moves northward to join Grant. On February 1, Sherman left Savannah and began his march northward. There was much plundering on the way.

Columbia was occupied, and for two days there was a reign of terror in that city. Sherman's orders had specifically stated that the public buildings, railway property, factories, and machine shops were to be destroyed, but that libraries, asylums, and all private dwellings were to be immune. The capital of South Carolina was left a mass of smoking ruins when Sherman marched out of it. Two days before, the Confederates had been forced to abandon Charleston.

Lee surrenders to Grant. Grant, however, was not to need Sherman. On April 2 Grant had forced Lee to evacuate Petersburg, and in consequence of threatening his railway communications had



THE SURRENDER OF GENERAL LEE AT
APPOMATTOX

caused him to abandon further attempt to defend Richmond, which was now open to the Federals. Davis and the Confederate government fled, and Grant took possession of the capital. Lee was now in retreat, and had to turn toward Lynchburg when Sheridan captured the railway at Danville. The Southern army was melting rapidly by desertions, and on April 9, Lee asked for a meeting with Grant at Appomattox Court House.

The terms of surrender of the 26,000 men, all that were left of Lee's former magnificent army, were quickly arranged. Grant displayed again, and at their finest, his instincts of considerate thoughtfulness which made him, in spite of all his shortcomings, one of the great gentlemen in our history, while Lee displayed the characteristics of gentleman and soldier which had made him the idol of the South.

The brothers' war comes to an end. According to the terms agreed, the Confederate troops were to be released on parole. Officers were to retain their side arms, which saved the gallant Lee and others the humiliation of surrendering their swords, and were also to keep their horses and personal baggage. To the suggestion of Lee that many of the privates owned their own horses also, Grant immediately responded by adding that they might be kept, as they might be useful "for the spring plowing." Lee said the action "will do much toward conciliating our people," and the terms were accepted. As the Confederates were badly in need of food, Grant ordered that rations be supplied to them.

When word of the surrender spread through the Union lines, shots were fired in rejoicing. At once Grant ordered them to cease. "The war is over," he said, "the rebels are our countrymen again; and the best sign of rejoicing after the victory will be to abstain from all demonstrations in the field." Lee rode back to his own lines. Scarcely able to speak for feeling, he could only say to his veterans, "We have fought through the war together. I have done the best I could for you. My heart is too full to say more." In the course of a few weeks, the other armies had also surrendered and the trial by combat had ended.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*; Channing, *History of the United States*, VI; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*; Dodge, *Bird's-eye View of our Civil War*; Draper, *History of the Civil War*; Eggleston, *History of the Confederate War*; Fish, *American Diplomacy*; Herndon, *Abraham Lincoln*; Livermore,

The Story of the Civil War; Paxson, *The Civil War*; Pollard, *The Lost Cause*; Rhodes, *History of the Civil War*, Schwab, *The Confederate States of America*; Stephenson, *The Day of the Confederacy*; Underwood, *The Women of the Confederacy*; White, *Robert E. Lee and the Southern Confederacy*; Wood, *Captains of the Civil War*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Appleton, *Annual Cyclopaedia*; Harding, *Select Oration*s, no. 26; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, 35-73, 151-228; Hill, *Liberty Documents*, ch. 23; Moore, *Rebellion Records*; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*; Welles, *Diary*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Alcott, *Hospital Sketches*; Andrews, *Perfect Tribute*; Boyd, *Marching On*; Churchill, *The Crisis*; Dixon, *The Man in Gray*; Eggleston, *American War Ballads*, I; Gay, *Life in Dixie during the War*; Henty, *With Lee in Virginia*; Johnston, *The Long Roll*; Lowell, *Biglow Papers*; Mahan, *Admiral Farragut*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 400, 411, 413, 415-416, 440, 500, 513-514; Tate, *Stonewall Jackson*; Wallington, *American History by American Poets*, II, 186-274; Whitman, *My Captain*; Whitier, *Barbara Frielchie*, Williams, *Great Oaks*; Woodward, *Meet General Grant*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What was the effect on the North of the firing on Fort Sumter? 2. Why did Lincoln's call for volunteers force the upper tier of the Southern states to leave the Union? 3. What four slave states did not secede? Why? 4. Compare the North and the South in 1861 in as many ways as you can. 5. Why did the South say that "cotton is king"? 6. Why did the South believe that her moral cause for war was better than that of the North? 7. What was the attitude of the English Government toward the North? The aristocratic classes of England? The workmen of England? 8. Describe the battle of Bull Run. 9. What point of international law was brought up when Captain Wilkes stopped the English boat *Trent* and took from her the two Confederates, Mason and Slidell? 10. Had England ever violated that principle of international law? 11. What three major military operations were carried on by the North, 1862-65? 12. Describe Grant's victories in the West. 13. Tell how Farragut opened up the Mississippi River from the South. 14. What was the significance of the battle of the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*? 15. Show how Jackson disarranged McClellan's plans. 16. Describe the "Seven Days" battle. 17. Describe Lee's invasion of the North. 18. What controversy was there with England over the building of Confederate cruisers in her shipyards? 19. What right did Lincoln have to issue the emancipation proclamation? 20. Why was the battle of Gettysburg so important? 21. What was the significance of the capture of Vicksburg? 22. Describe the military operations in eastern Tennessee. 23. How did

Emperor Napoleon violate our Monroe Doctrine? 24. Describe the Lee-Grant campaign around Richmond. 25. Describe Sherman's march to the sea. 26. Describe Lincoln's re-election. 27. Tell of Lee's surrender and the end of the war.

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Firing on Fort Sumter, battle of Bull Run, the *Trent* affair, McClellan's peninsula campaign, the battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, activities of "Stonewall" Jackson, the emancipation proclamation, battle of Gettysburg, Napoleon's violation of our Monroe Doctrine, Grant's campaign around Richmond, Sherman's activities in the West, the presidential election of 1864, Lee's surrender.
2. PROJECT: Gather all the evidence you can to show the attitude of the different European nations and peoples toward the North and the South during the Civil War.
3. PROBLEM: Compare the advantages and disadvantages of North and South.
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the Civil War could have been avoided.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The effects of transportation on the military operations of the Civil War.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: You were a passenger on board the U.S.S. *Jacinto* and witnessed the arrest of Slidell and Mason. Write a letter to a friend describing the scene.
7. DIARY: You were a member of the crew of the *Merrimac* and witnessed your ship's destruction of Union ships and also her famous fight with the *Monitor*. You wrote down an account of many of the stirring incidents. Read them to the class.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Major Anderson, "Stonewall" Jackson, George B. McClellan, Horace Greeley, Albert Johnston, P. G. T. Beauregard, David G. Farragut, John Ericsson, J. E. Johnston, Joseph Hooker, Philip Sheridan, G. G. Meade, George H. Thomas, J. B. Hood, William T. Sherman.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: April 12, 1861; January 1, 1863; July 1-3, 1863; April 9, 1865.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Old Dominion, operating on interior lines, "cotton is king," belligerent, "digging-in-and-siege" method, emancipation proclamation, "Rock of Chickamauga," negotiated peace.
11. MAP WORK: a. In a map talk point out the following places and state the historical significance of each: Fort Sumter, Shenandoah Valley, Richmond, Washington, Bull Run, Forts Henry and Donelson,

New Orleans, Yorktown peninsula, Norfolk, Harpers Ferry, Seven Pines, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Chickamauga, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, Atlanta, Nashville, Savannah, Mobile, Appomattox. *b.* On an outline map of the United States color red the states of the Southern Confederacy and blue those of the Union. Show on the map what the opening of the Mississippi River and Sherman's march to the sea did to the Confederacy. *c.* Draw a rough sketch map and trace on it the campaigns of the following generals: Grant, Sherman, Lee.

12. GRAPH WORK: *a.* Draw two parallel lines each six inches long about two inches apart. Let one represent the Union and the other the Confederacy. Along your lines write in the names of the battles won by the North and the South. Put in the date of each battle. *b.* By means of a circular graph show the population of the North and the South in 1861. *c.* By means of bar graphs show both the popular and the electoral votes of Lincoln and McClellan in the presidential election of 1864.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE SECTIONS COMPARED, 1861: Davis, *Confederate Government*, I, 301-311, 471-483; Helper, *Impending Crisis*; Hosmer, *Appeal to Arms*, ch. 1; Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, III, chs. 1-2; Williams, *South Vindicated*.

2. LINCOLN AND THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR: Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, nos. 66, 70-74, 101; Hosmer, *Appeal to Arms*, chs. 2-3; Pollard, *Lost Cause*, chs. 5-6, Rhodes, *History*, III, 300-415; Schouler, *History*, V, 497-511; VI, 1-50.

3. THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY, 1861-1865: Hosmer, *Outcome of the Civil War*, ch. 16; Jones, *R. E. Lee*, chs. 5-8; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, no. 97; Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, III, chs. 12-13; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, §§ 117-123.

4. MILITARY EVENTS OF THE CIVIL WAR: Channing, *United States, 1765-1865*, 258-300; Davis, *Confederate Government*, I, 352-483; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, chs. 18-20; Hosmer, *Outcome of the Civil War*, chs. 5-7, 10-12; Wilson, *American People*, IV, 210-268.

5. INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR. Callahan, *Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*; Davis, *Confederate Government*, II, 245-284; Foster, *Century of American Diplomacy*, ch. 10; MacDonald, *Select Statutes*, no. 34; Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, IV, ch. 15.

TOPIC IV

WHAT RECONSTRUCTION MEANT TO THE SOUTH

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To set forth the political and financial reorganization of our country after the Civil War.
2. To understand the true meaning of reconstruction to the South.
3. To show that the Civil War, like all great wars, brought forth corruption in national life.
4. To show how Grant's administration marked the close of an era.

1. *The Lincoln-Johnson Plan of Reconstruction*

The freed negro becomes a serious problem for the South. Throughout the war, the problems of reconstruction of the Union had been occupying the mind of Lincoln. Those problems were of great complexity and were both economic and political. Of the first magnitude was the problem of the negro. In the seceded states there were at least 3,500,000 former slaves to less than 5,500,000 whites. In some of those states the negroes were as numerous as the whites or even more so. For example, in 1860, in South Carolina there were 412,000 negroes and 291,000 whites.

In many cases free American negroes had done well, and a few had done exceptionally well, such as Frederick Douglass, the abolition orator, Ira Aldridge, the tragedian, and Elizabeth Greenfield, the singer.

Nevertheless, whatever capacities the negro might show for development, the fact remained that most of the suddenly freed slaves were illiterate. They were unused to thinking for themselves, and ignorant of the world outside the plantations on which they worked, except in so far as they might have been sold from one locality to another. Thrown unexpectedly on their own resources, how would they take their freedom, and how quickly would they adjust themselves to the responsibilities of free life and of the modern wage system?

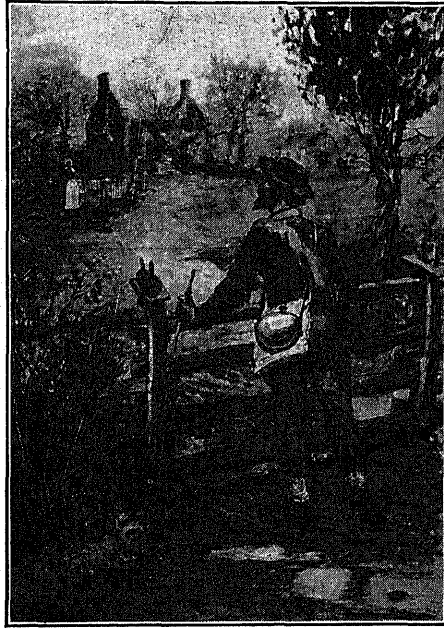
Political questions interfere with economic adjustment. In innumerable cases the ex-slaves simply remained working for their former masters on a sort of wage basis. But in many others they had strange dreams of what freedom meant, and toward the end of 1865 the idea

was spread that every negro was to receive "forty acres and a mule" on New Year's Day. The Freedmen's Bureau, created by Congress in that year to aid the negroes, did good work with Major General O. O. Howard at its head, in spite of incompetent agents. The shift from the economic system of slavery to that of wages might have been made with less friction and difficulty than had been expected by the South had it not been for political questions.

Lincoln proposes a simple plan of reconstruction. As we have seen, Lincoln's theory had been always that the seceded states had never been out of the Union. He hoped to effect reconstruction with a minimum of restrictions upon the Southerners who had returned to their allegiance. By 1863 three of the Confederate states had come under Federal control again—Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas—and the problem of administration had then arisen.

Although on the first of January, 1863, Lincoln had issued his emancipation proclamation, he was not personally in favor of granting the freed slaves the suffrage, except in certain cases. Any such sudden change in status would have been wholly contrary to his cautious approach to all problems of such magnitude. Having appointed military governors for the three states, he offered in the Proclamation of Amnesty pardon to all their citizens, with broad exceptions, who would take the oath of loyalty to the United States.

He also offered them the opportunity of re-establishing their state governments and of re-admission to the Union as soon as one-tenth of the voters had taken the prescribed oath. Congress would have to decide upon the question of seating such senators and representatives as might



THE HOME-COMING, 1865

From the painting by a Confederate soldier, William L. Shepherd. In the Confederate Museum, Richmond.

be sent from the newly established states. But Lincoln himself wished to have the transition from secession to re-establishment made as simple as he had suggested in the proclamation.

The states named, or the ten per cent loyal electorate in them, accepted the offer, and in 1864 organized new governments. Congress, however, hostile to the South, declined to seat members from the reorganized states.

Congress proposes a plan of reconstruction. In the so-called Wade-Davis Bill, Congress insisted that it and not the President, had the responsibility for reconstruction. It then outlined another plan, including, among other changes, an increase to 50 per cent of those who must take the oath of allegiance. This bill Lincoln killed by the method of not signing it within ten days, whereupon its chief sponsors, Senator Benjamin Wade and Representative Henry Winter Davis, issued a public manifesto, accusing the President of base motives in not having approved it. Forces, of which we shall presently take note, were aligning themselves in the North against any conciliatory attitude toward the beaten South. Whether even Lincoln could have made headway against them is at least open to question. Lincoln was, however, to have no opportunity.

Lincoln is assassinated. In March, 1865, in his second inaugural, he had urged his countrymen not only to continue the struggle to the end but to think also of the future reunion. "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations."

In conversation he had answered the suggestion that President Davis of the Confederacy should be hanged, with the quotation, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." At a Cabinet meeting he warned that there was too much desire in the North for "bloody work." Lee had surrendered to Grant at Appomattox on April 9, and the war was known to be over. Lincoln had gone to confer with Grant and had remained with him until the day before the surrender, then returning to Washington. The long vigil was over. He had lived to see the Union restored.

On the evening of April 14, he was seated, with his wife and some friends, in a box at Ford's theatre, and all eyes were on the stage when suddenly a shot rang out. One of a small group of conspirators, John

The assassination of the President was the murder of the moral

leader of the nation. His death was the removal of the one individual who might, perhaps, have been able to overcome the forces of greed and revenge which were gathering from all quarters to wreak their lusts on the prostrate South and the entire country.

Andrew Johnson succeeds Lincoln as President. Vice-President Johnson, who by Booth's insane act now became President, was in many respects a strong and able man. But some of his qualities and his lack of others made him futile as the interpreter to the nation of its own best self. Instead of ruling the whirlwind he became its victim, both in his own day and for long after.

Born one of the Southern "poor whites" in a log hut in Raleigh, North Carolina, he inherited with his extreme poverty a deep resentment against the rich and patrician classes of his section. Left fatherless at three years of age, apprenticed to a tailor, he learned without schooling to read but could not write until later taught by his young wife. Having moved to Tennessee, he rose from one political position to another until, when the war came, he had become not only United States senator, but the only member of the Senate from a seceded state who remained loyal to the Union.

Lincoln made him military governor, as he had already been twice civil governor, of his state. In 1864, by Lincoln's own wish, Johnson had been put on the ticket as Vice-President. Although he had been a Democrat, he had become a Republican from desire to save the Union. It was thought his presence on the ticket would emphasize the Republican claim to be the party of Union men of all political faiths; would reward Johnson for his loyalty; and perhaps would do something for Union sentiment throughout the nation by giving high office to a loyal Southerner.

Johnson and the radical Republicans quarrel. Johnson's nomination had been resented by the radical Republicans, largely because he had been a Southern Democrat. When he was suddenly raised to the presidency, it was certain that he would be bitterly attacked. Although honest, courageous, and intellectually capable, Johnson could not manage men or guide and create public opinion. His lack of tact and his proneness to descend to the level of stump speeches in his political utterances gave his opponents weapons which they were not slow to wield against him. Probably no other President has ever been so persistently and unfairly attacked by the press and his own party as was Johnson, who was not himself altogether blameless.

For a very brief time it appeared as though the new President might.

as a result of his long dislike of the Southern aristocratic class, be precisely the man whom the radicals wanted for their attack on the South. But, whether sobered by responsibility of office or for other reasons, Johnson quickly made up his mind to fight the radicals and to attempt to carry out Lincoln's wise plan for reconstruction. Retaining all the members of his predecessor's Cabinet, he was unanimously supported by them in his belief that there was no need for a special session of Congress—and that he should begin the work of reconstruction by executive action alone.

Johnson begins to carry out Lincoln's plan of reconstruction. This he did on May 29 by issuing a proclamation granting amnesty to all ex-Confederates on condition of their taking an oath of fealty to the United States. Certain classes were not included, notably ex-officers of the Confederate army and navy and all having taxable property in excess of \$20,000. But even these were assured of liberal treatment if they would petition for pardon. By midsummer, Johnson had also appointed provisional governors for seven of the Confederate states. In practically all of these, in accordance with his suggestion, conventions had been held which had repealed the secession ordinances, adopted new constitutions, and elected members of Congress for the coming session.

As was to be expected after four years of war and the overturn of the social and economic system, there were unrest and disturbance in the South. These conditions were much exaggerated by the hostile Northern press and politicians. In the autumn, Johnson sent Carl Schurz on a tour through the section to investigate conditions. He made a report which suggested that the South was not loyal and that it intended to keep the negroes in some sort of serfdom. This report provided the radicals with precisely the sort of ammunition they wished for their campaign. General Grant, however, making a similar report at the same time, took exactly the opposite view on these points.

2. The Quarrel between Johnson and Congress

Congress fears the executive is usurping its powers. During the summer of 1865, public opinion was not unfavorable to Johnson's policy of reconstruction and conciliation, but we must examine some of the forces and causes that were to wreck both the President and his policy. One section of Northern opinion had been outraged during the war by what it considered the usurpation of legislative power by the executive. Such men had genuine fears for constitutional liberty, aroused by Lincoln's suppression of freedom of speech and of the

press, as well as the suspension of *habeas corpus*. Naturally Congress was particularly jealous of its own rights. Now that the war was over, and a Johnson instead of a Lincoln was in the White House, the members of this group would strive strenuously to regain control of policies and action.

Northern leaders seek revenge upon the South. There were also the extremists who had preached hatred of the South and who exalted the welfare of the negro above that of his former master. The leaders of this group were Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Stevens, at seventy-three, had become almost the dictator of the House of Representatives. He was an able, intense, harsh, and vindictive old man. The North, he claimed, had the right to take "the lives, liberty, and property" of all Southerners, whose states should be considered as conquered provinces, from which their inhabitants should be driven out to be replaced by Northerners.

Sumner was of different type, but nothing would satisfy him except immediate and complete equality of the former slaves with the whites. He had come to hate the Southern white as much as he claimed to love the Southern black.

Political considerations enter into reconstruction. There were also other considerations, though less openly discussed. If the Southern states were allowed to send members to Congress, there was the question of the ascendancy of the Republican party. The old compromise had provided that representation in the House should be based on the number of whites plus three-fifths of the slaves. But slavery having been abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted in 1865, the entire black population of the Southern states would have to be included in the basis for representation. This would largely increase the number of Southern members in the lower House. As the Southern whites were almost unanimous against the Republican party, this new situation evidently called for shrewd political manipulation and consideration.

One constituent wrote to Sumner that the Southern whites would certainly unite with the Northern Democrats, but if the negroes were given the vote, they might be used to offset the whites, maintain Republican supremacy, and thus insure a continuance of the tariff. If Johnson had his way in reconstructing the South on Lincoln's plan, what might not become of the Republican party, of Republican congressmen, of the Republican tariff, and of Northern Republican manufacturers?

Many Northern people fear Southern control of the government. Unfortunately, Johnson was not fitted to guide the public opinion of the North on questions of economic and constitutional policy, while the Southerners played into the hands of the radical groups of the North who knew how to inflame popular prejudices. The North felt that after all the passion of civil war, it was unquestionably a delicate matter to seat "rebels" and "traitors" in Congress again to help govern the country just as though nothing had happened. Had the war been merely a putting down of insurrection in one or two states, the problem would not have been serious. But, as it was, a good many people in the North were genuinely uneasy when they considered the danger of a large bloc of Southern congressmen once more in power.

In a situation calling for great self-control and magnanimity on the part of the North, and of tactfulness on that of the South, both sides acted with little of these qualities. Naturally, the ablest men in the South had occupied high military or civil positions during the war, and so had been prominent actors in the drama of secession. The few who, like General Thomas, had taken the Union side, could hardly be expected to command the immediate suffrages of their Southern fellow-citizens. So it came about that the South, to a great extent, elected to Congress the very men whom the North regarded as the leaders in the fomenting of secession. The feeling of fear and resentment reached a high pitch when Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederacy, was chosen by the Georgia legislature to represent that state in the United States Senate.

The North claims the South is trying to set aside emancipation. Moreover, the laws passed by Southern legislatures with regard to the emancipated slaves, which were known in the North as the "black codes," aroused a strong feeling against the South. Owing to the overwhelming proportion of whites to negroes in the North there was no Northern negro problem. Even so, in only six Northern states was a negro permitted to vote.

After peace came, there was economic chaos for a while in the South. The negro, with false ideas of what freedom meant, was not inclined to work but much inclined to wander. For his own good, until he had learned to adjust himself to the new condition of being his own master, with the responsibility of looking after himself and his family, he had to be controlled to some extent.

The codes recognized his freedom, and gave him almost all the rights of any ordinary citizen, although he was not allowed to vote or sit on

juries. He was required to have some means of support and was subjected to penalties for breaking labor contracts. In a few states, the codes went too far with respect to labor clauses, but on the whole they were framed in accord with the real conditions which confronted the Southerners. But the North, shutting its eyes to the dangers in the South, raised a hue and cry about the oppression of the negro by the Southern whites, who, it was claimed, were trying to nullify emancipation.

Johnson and Congress break out in open warfare. Such was the situation when Congress met in December, 1865. There were some fair-minded conservatives, but the leaders of the two houses, Representative Stevens and Senator Sumner, were bitterly opposed to Johnson's plans. Nor were the President's foes all in the Capitol. Like John Adams, he had retained the whole of his predecessor's Cabinet, Stanton, the War Secretary, remaining with him as adviser only to reveal the Cabinet secrets to the President's foes.

In February, 1866, Congress passed a bill prolonging the life of the Freedmen's Bureau which had been created with broad powers for relief and supervision of the freed slaves. The powers now conferred were much wider, and the Bureau was given the right to invoke military authority when civil rights were denied to the negro. This bill Johnson vetoed as unwise and unconstitutional. Unfortunately, he made some speeches in which he bitterly attacked Stevens and Sumner in particular and Congress in general. It was now open war between the executive and the legislature. This war could not have been averted but might not have been so disastrous for Johnson and the nation, had the President shown himself more adroit in the management of men.

Southern states refuse to accept Congressional plan. Congress soon passed a Civil Rights Bill over the President's veto, and also, with a more than two-thirds vote, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution to be presented to the states for ratification. This amendment provided that no state could pass any laws depriving the negro of any of his rights as a citizen; that if he was not given the suffrage in any state its population basis for representation in Congress would be proportionally reduced; that all the Confederate and state debts in the South incurred for the war were void; that no claim could ever be made for compensation for the emancipation of the slaves; and that no person could hold federal office who had ever held such office and then engaged in rebellion.

The amendment, which it was understood would have to be adopted

by any state in the South before it could be fully reinstated in the Union, was approved by Tennessee in the summer, and its senators and representatives were seated in Congress. The other Southern states all refused to accept it, although it was ratified by a sufficient number of the total in the Union to become part of the Constitution in 1868.

Johnson and Congress carry on a hot campaign. In the autumn of 1866 came the mid-term elections. There was a good deal of conservative sentiment in the North, and in the West there was little enthusiasm for Sumner's plan of giving the former slaves the vote. Johnson, who had tried to save the Homestead Act from the hands of large speculative interests, and who had the democrat's dislike of banks and the machinery of "big business," could have developed a considerable following had he brought into prominence a number of economic questions, such as high taxation, which were troubling the people.

The campaign was one of the most indecent in our annals. The President himself took the stump, and touring the West talked in the wrong way about the wrong things, while vilification and misrepresentation against him by the leaders of his own party were almost without parallel.

The President was denounced as a "traitor," who had been in the conspiracy to assassinate Lincoln, and who was now planning to use the army against Congress. During the summer, there had been riots in Memphis and New Orleans, natural enough under the disturbed conditions, but radical orators magnified these into dangerous plots. Sumner charged the President with being the instigator of the mobs. Carl Schurz pronounced that Johnson ought to be hanged, and that he was "worse than Judas Iscariot or Benedict Arnold." Stevens had had inserted in *The Congressional Record* a statement from *The World* that the President was an "insolent clownish drunkard." If this was the sort of talk in which the leaders allowed themselves to indulge, when criticising the President, it is easy to imagine the sort of thing that was hurled at him by stump speakers.

All emotions were played upon. Southerners were called "rebel devils" and "redhanded traitors." On the field of Gettysburg, immortalized by the dead of both sides in the war and by Lincoln's address, Edward Everett of Massachusetts now proclaimed that the North would never admit again to a share in the government "the hard-hearted men whose cruel lust of power has brought this desolating war upon the land." What came to be known as the "bloody shirt" began to be waved with frantic frenzy.

Johnson defies Congress. The radical Republicans secured in the election more than two-thirds of both houses of Congress, and the doom of the South was sealed. In spite of the vicious slanders which the party leaders had spread about him, the President acted with dignity after the election. He prepared a markedly conciliatory message for the opening of Congress in December. Unhappily, the leaders made

it clear a week before Congress was to meet that they would consent to no truce. The President then put aside his conciliatory message, and sent another, breathing defiance of Congress. The last phase of the fight between the White House and the Capitol had now begun.



A CARTOON ON JOHNSON'S VETO OF THE GREAT RECONSTRUCTION ACT

"Mrs. Columbia" and "Doctor Congress" are urging the South to swallow "the reconstruction dose," while "Naughty Andy" Johnson advises her not to. From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 13, 1867.

Congress passes the Reconstruction Act. Congress at once took in hand the reconstruction of the South, ignoring completely the plans of Lincoln and Johnson. In March, 1867, it passed, over Johnson's veto, the Reconstruction Act. By this and several other acts, the South was divided into five military districts. Each district was placed under the

command of a general who was made subordinate to Grant and not to Johnson, in spite of the fact that under the Constitution the President is commander-in-chief.

Although the Fourteenth Amendment had left the question of negro suffrage to the states of the Union, and not a single state allowed it south or west of New York, the act forced it on the ten Southern states. Under the military governments, conventions were to be called in the ten states. These conventions then were to frame new constitutions in which negro suffrage must be provided for. After this had been done, the new constitutions approved, and the Fourteenth Amendment ratified by only three-fourths of *all* the states, but by *every south-*

ern state, then and then only could a seceded state be reinstated by representation in Congress.

Congress curbs Johnson of much of his power. On the same day on which Congress passed the first Reconstruction Act it passed another, also over the veto of the President, which was aimed directly at him. From the days of Washington down, the executive had held the power of dismissal of a federal employee from office without consulting the legislature. On March 2, 1867, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act. It took away from the President all power of removal, even of the members of his own Cabinet, without the consent of the Senate. It also made any infraction of the new act a "high misdemeanor."

A broad and important power was thus taken from the executive by the Senate. In making infringements of it "high misdemeanors," Congress made the act a weapon with which it might impeach the President and remove him from office. The Cabinet was included in the act partly to prevent Johnson from getting rid of Stanton, who was working with the radicals and whose information was of importance to them.

Congress impeaches Johnson, but he is found not guilty. Although Johnson put the Reconstruction Acts into force, he defied Congress on the Tenure of Office Act, for the purpose of bringing it before the courts for judicial review. As early as January, 1867, Representatives Ashley of Ohio and Butler of Massachusetts were already trying to force a bill through for the President's impeachment. It was clear what would happen if he demanded the resignation of Stanton. In August, nevertheless, Johnson asked him to resign, but Stanton refused.

Johnson then suspended him temporarily and appointed General Grant in his place. Grant, however, as soon as Congress reassembled in December, at once resigned when the Senate refused to accept Stanton's removal. Johnson then dismissed Stanton and appointed General Lorenzo Thomas. Stanton declined to get out, however, and held his office by force.

Congress then proceeded to the impeachment of the President. The trial before the Senate began on March 4, 1868. Of the eleven charges made by the House, there was not one which could stand. The President was defended by five counsel including ex-Justice B. R. Curtis of the Supreme Court and William M. Evarts. There was no legal basis for impeachment. Fortunately the Senate, acting as jury, was presided over for the proceedings by Chief Justice Chase, who kept them strictly

within legal bounds. Even so, the President escaped by only a single vote. Seven Republicans ruined their futures with the party by voting in his favor.

Seven reconstructed states are readmitted to the Union. Johnson's term, however, was within a few months of its end when the final vote acquitted him on May 26, 1868, and the Republicans were looking forward to the fall election. New constitutions embodying negro suffrage had been adopted in all the Southern states except Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. Minnesota, Ohio, Kansas, and Michigan in the North had rejected it. The South had submitted again and under conditions which we shall note later. In order to gain the benefit of the new negro vote, Congress quickly readmitted the seven reconstructed states into the Union during the summer in time for the election.

Our government purchases Alaska from Russia. The President had left foreign affairs largely in the hands of Seward, as Secretary of State. Seward, who was an expansionist, tried in 1865 to buy the island of St. Thomas from Denmark but failed. In 1867, however, he was more successful in another direction. Russia suddenly offered to sell us all her possessions in North America for \$10,000,000. Seward bargained shrewdly, and finally a treaty was drawn up by which we were to receive Alaska for \$7,200,000. The Senate was favorably inclined, although the real value of the acquisition was then almost unknown.

What chiefly determined the Alaska purchase was the belief that we were under some obligation to Russia for having offered us her fleet during the Civil War should England or France intervene. When the Senate ratified the treaty, it was more with the thought that it was paying an obligation toward Russia than because we were getting an amazing bargain.

Johnson forces the French out of Mexico. The same year saw the clearing up of the French situation in Mexico. As we have seen, Louis Napoleon had taken advantage of our being occupied with war to seize that country, in spite of our protests. When the war was over, Johnson had sent General Sheridan with an army to the border, and renewed our protests to France.

The French people had not been in favor of the adventure. Napoleon had wrongly counted on the success of the Confederacy. Without any qualms of conscience, he broke faith completely with Maximilian, whom he had set up as emperor at Mexico City, withdrew the French troops, and coldly left Maximilian to his fate. Maximilian was executed by

the Mexicans, the empress went insane, and an inglorious chapter in Napoleonic imperial policy was closed.

Were it not that his fight with Congress over reconstruction overshadowed all else in Johnson's unhappy term, his success in clearing the New World in one year from all claims of the two great Old World empires of Russia and France would have received more attention. He secured peaceably the withdrawal of the menace on our south. He added to the national domain nearly 600,000 square miles in the north, a country nearly three times as large as France, whose rich possibilities even to-day are not sufficiently realized.

3. Grant and Reconstruction

General Grant is elected President. The Republicans nominated General Grant for President and Schuyler Colfax, the Speaker of the House, for Vice-President, while the Democrats put up a ticket of Governor Horatio Seymour of New York and General Francis P. Blair, Jr. of Missouri. On account of the great popularity of Grant, there was considered to be no doubt of the result of the campaign, which, however, had several points of interest.

Grant had voted only once in his life, and that time for a Democrat. The two party platforms were peculiar in that the Republican bitterly condemned the Republican President, Johnson, whereas the Democratic applauded him. Both held forth pensions to the soldier vote, and both twisted the tail of the British lion. The Republicans claimed that suffrage in the South must be a matter for congressional legislation, whereas the Democrats insisted that the suffrage question always had been and should be for the individual states everywhere in the Union to determine for themselves. They also insisted upon the unconstitutionality of most of the acts of the Republican Congress.

Economic questions had also come to the front. The Democrats wished to tax the tax-free government bonds. The party also favored paying the bondholders in greenbacks. The Republican party favored paying the government bonds in gold and stood for a protective tariff. It naturally attracted the conservative business interests. It tried to keep its hold on the negroes by claiming to be their protector. It roused the feelings of Union supporters by waving the "bloody shirt" and denouncing the loyalty of Southern whites.

Grant makes some poor appointments. For Grant himself, the victory was in reality a profound tragedy. Rarely is the great soldier combined in one person with the great statesman. They were assuredly

not in Grant, and the reputation which was so high at Appomattox was to become smirched in eight years of the White House. In the scandals which occurred in his administration, he himself profited nothing and was personally honest. But he had a singular capacity for choosing the wrong men for office.

The first blow to confidence in the new President came with the announcement of his Cabinet appointments. They were most of them, except Judge E. R. Hoar of Massachusetts and ex-Governor Cox of Ohio, practically unknown men, three of whom immediately resigned. The appointment of Hamilton Fish as Secretary of State, in place of one of the three, was good, and the one satisfactory portion of Grant's administration was to be in the field of foreign policy.

The Fifteenth Amendment is adopted. Less than a week before Grant took the oath of office in March, 1869, Congress put the finish on its Acts for Reconstruction by the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which was adopted in the following year. It declared that the right of citizens to vote should not be denied by the United States or any state "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It thus gave the negroes the franchise throughout the Union.

The amendment pleased those who demanded immediate equality in all respects between the two races; those who hated the Southern whites and wished to crush them as much as possible; and those who wished to control the Southern vote in the interests of the Republican party by manipulation of the negro voters.

"Carpet-bag," "scalawag," and negro rule ruin the South. Conditions in the South were intolerably bad. Not only in many of the states, as we have pointed out, did the negro population approximate or even exceed the white, but for various reasons large numbers of the latter, including many prominent men, were still disfranchised. The native white voters were largely Democratic. The negro vote, mostly illiterate, was the determining political factor. Although the white Democrats tried to win it, the Republicans had little difficulty in controlling it. They could properly claim that it had been the Republican party which had given the former slaves their freedom, and all over the South, through agents of the Freedmen's Bureau and the newly formed "Union Leagues," they swept the negroes into the party.

The Republican party in the South was thus made up, besides the illiterate ex-slaves, mainly of politicians from the North and of a certain class of local white leaders. The politicians had swarmed down from

the North with their carpet-bags, to get what pickings they could and were known as "carpet-baggers." The local white leaders, known as "scalawags," were low-grade Southern whites, who helped to organize their negro machines locally for the same reason.

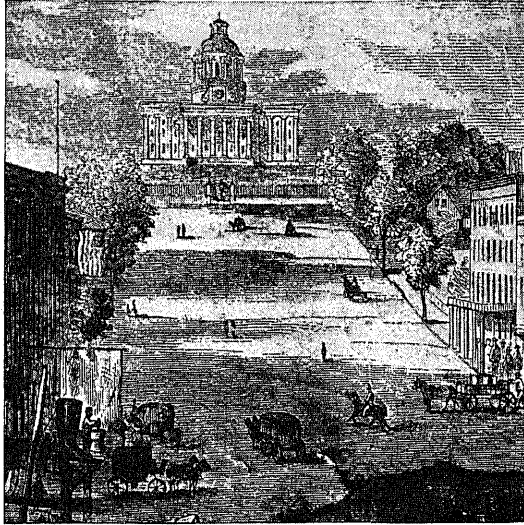
The pickings were, indeed, on a colossal scale. There has been nothing in our history to compare with the vast plunder secured under the "carpet-bag régime" in the South of reconstruction days. In South

Carolina, there were in the legislature 144 radical Republican members out of a total of 155 legislative members, and 98 were negroes, of whom only 22 could read and write. The members of this legislature, with a Northern carpet-bag governor at the head, voted themselves champagne, gold watches, horses and carriages, and other incredible things out of the public money. They raised the state debt in a brief time from \$7,000,000 to \$29,000,000. In New Orleans, \$17,000,000 of city bonds

were issued at thirty-five cents on the dollar. The state debt was increased so recklessly that it has been estimated all the way from \$24,000,000 to \$50,000,000 and the tax rate rose 400 per cent in four years.

The politicians, white and black, grew rich selling franchises, public property, and political favors for any price they could, to get money quickly for themselves. One carpet-bag governor got a half million dollars in his term. Such régimes could only result in many cases in later repudiation of debts so corruptly incurred.

The Southern whites struggle to regain control. It was natural that the Southern whites, to prevent their complete ruin, should wish to regain control of their own states. This was impossible if "carpet-baggers" and "scalawags" could marshal the blacks to the polls. Or-



DEXTER AVENUE, MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA,
IN THE 1850's

The old Capitol shows in the background.

ganizations, therefore, were formed to intimidate the negroes. Among these "White Leagues," "Knights of the White Camelia," and other secret societies, the most noted and effective was the "Ku-Klux Klan." It was started in Tennessee in 1866, and later became an important weapon throughout the whole South. Riders, robed in white, would appear suddenly in the night and frighten negroes in one way and another.

At first little violence was used, but, when Congress passed the Enforcement Act, 1870, imposing severe penalties for infractions of the new constitutional amendments, the South met force with force. The only way to combat congressional legislation was with violence when other methods failed. There is no doubt violence was used, and racial bitterness was much increased.

The South becomes Democratic. In 1871 Congress passed an even more rigid Enforcement Act. It gave the President power to suspend *habeas corpus* and to use the army to suppress the activities of the members of the Klan. No matter what its political faith, the white South could not be expected to submit tamely to be ruled by its former slaves. Gradually the whites regained control, and by 1877 throughout most of the South the carpet-bag-negro régimes had ended and the section had become solidly Democratic.

The blacks were frankly intimidated, and negro suffrage was nullified. Federal troops were withdrawn and the South was left to manage its own affairs by its own civil governments. Gradually a new order was evolved, though economic recovery was necessarily slow. The former slave learned to work for wages, and there occurred a revolution in the agricultural conditions of the section and to the reduction by almost a half of the average size of Southern farms. The Old South of the "plantation" days with its romantic dreams had passed into history.

4. *England Pays for the Destruction of Our Commerce*

President Grant turns imperialist. Meanwhile, affairs were going far from well in Washington. For some reason Grant had become determined to annex Santo Domingo in the West Indies, and had sent his secretary, O. E. Babcock, there in 1869. Babcock came back with a treaty of annexation in his pocket. The President unexpectedly presented this to his Cabinet, who were utterly opposed to the project. A second treaty, secured rather more according to diplomatic usage, the following year, failed of ratification in the Senate by a

tie vote. Grant had already asked his Attorney-General Hoar to resign so that he might appoint a Southerner in his place to secure votes for the treaty.

The Liberal Republicans oppose Grant. So wide-spread was becoming the discontent with certain aspects of the administration by 1870, that there developed an ominous break in the party ranks. Starting first in Missouri, under the leadership of Schurz and of B. Gratz Brown, a former Democrat, a new party, known as the Liberal Republican, was launched with success in the state elections.

Among the demands of the leaders of the new organization was a more enlightened policy towards the South. As a consequence, in May, 1872, Congress at last passed a general Amnesty Act by which all but 500 Southerners were restored to full rights of citizenship, thus taking a long step toward giving back home rule to the South. It has been estimated that the act enfranchised over 150,000 ex-Confederate soldiers.

Senator Sumner demands heavy damages from England. In view of the coming presidential campaign in 1872, and the growing dissatisfaction throughout the country with the inefficiency and scandals of the Grant régime, soon to be increased by the investigation into the *Crédit Mobilier*, it was fortunate that the election year witnessed a signal success for the administration in foreign affairs.

Negotiations had been begun by Seward under President Johnson to reach a settlement with the British Government for the damage done to our commerce by the *Alabama* and other vessels which had been built in England for the Confederates during the war and allowed to escape. Lord John Russell, however, had denied that any just or legal claim existed on our part.

American public opinion was being goaded by Senator Sumner, who insisted that England owed us not only for the damage done directly to our shipping by the English-built Confederate cruisers, which was estimated at \$15,000,000, but also for the indirect damages, amounting to \$110,000,000, where damages were caused by loss of shipping profits due to the fear of the cruisers. He also wanted a further \$2,000,000,000 payment, or half the cost of the war, because the cruisers had prolonged it.

England pays for the damage to our commerce. Hamilton Fish, the Secretary of State, quietly carried on negotiations with England, and found the British officials in a more receptive mood in 1870, the year the Franco-Prussian War broke out. In 1871, the Treaty of

Washington was signed, becoming a milestone in Anglo-American relations, and indeed, in the history of diplomacy and the settlement of international disputes.

By this treaty both England and the United States agreed to abide by the decision of an impartial board of arbitration, the five members of which were to be appointed by President Grant, Queen Victoria, the King of Italy, the President of Switzerland, and the Emperor of Brazil. The following summer, the five arbitrators met at Geneva, and the whole matter was amicably settled.

Charles Francis Adams, our minister to England throughout the war, who had continually warned Russell of the building of the vessels, was our perfect and natural choice as American arbitrator. England was less happy in her selection of Chief Justice Alexander Cockburn, a somewhat narrow-minded Britisher of the insular type. The other three were fair and impartial.

The "*Alabama* claims," as the damages to our shipping by the several British-built vessels were called, were not the only subject in dispute. The final verdicts were unanimous with the exception of Cockburn. The United States was awarded \$15,500,000 damages, in gold, for the "*Alabama* claims." England, in turn, was given approximately \$7,430,000, of which \$5,500,000 arose from fisheries disputes and the remainder for damages sustained by her during the war. The air once cleared, relations greatly improved, though it was to take several decades before the two English-speaking nations could be said to be really friendly, and war between them to become almost unthinkable.

5. *Corruption in Our National Life*

The Republicans renominate Grant for the presidency. The Geneva award and the settlement of all our disputes with the most powerful nation in the world were claims to distinction for Grant's administration. They were, however, about the only ones except the passage of the Amnesty Act, whereas the scandals were becoming more odious as the election approached. Nevertheless, it was clear that Grant would be the leader of the party again. He was nominated unanimously by the convention held in Philadelphia on June 5, although Henry Wilson of Massachusetts was substituted for Schuyler Colfax as Vice-President.

Not only was Grant renominated, but the platform praised the President's "earnest purpose," "sound judgment," and "incorruptible integrity." It also claimed for the Republican policies the full credit

for winning the war, the establishment of universal suffrage, the avoidance of financial crises, and the maintenance of prosperity. A protective tariff and a large increase in war pensions were also recommended.

Opposition forces unite against Grant. The opposition was confused. A new party, the Labor Reformers, made its appearance.



A CARTOON SHOWING HORACE GREELEY, THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE, OFFERING THE NOMINATION TO HIMSELF IN A FATUOUS IMITATION OF CINCINNATUS, THE ROMAN PATRIOT

From the cartoon by Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly*, February 10, 1872, copyright by Harper and Brothers.

It adopted a platform, which seemed wildly radical in that period, on which Charles O'Connor, an able New York lawyer and reformer, agreed to stand for the presidency. It was also in this campaign that the Prohibition party made its first appearance.

More important, however, was the question of what the Liberal Republicans would do. That new party had gathered into its ranks many liberal and reform Republicans of the sort which had been prominent in the original founding of the Republican party. The President had antagonized important party men who had little in

common with the original liberals, such as Horace Greeley and Charles Sumner. It was also generally understood that the Democrats would probably endorse the candidates named by the bolting Republicans. In view of the weakness and scandal of Grant's administration such a combination might have a good chance to win.

Greeley is nominated by the Liberal Republicans. If it ever did have such a chance, it threw it away by nominating Horace Greeley for the presidency. As editor of *The New York Tribune* he had wielded possibly the widest influence of any editor America has seen. He possessed marked ability and had rendered great service. However, he had taken up so many "crank" movements, and was himself so erratic, that the thought of him in the White House could only be looked upon by many of the people generally as a joke. At a convention in Baltimore in July the Democrats accepted Greeley with wry faces and deep dissatisfaction, and adopted both the candidate and platform of the Liberal Republicans.

This nomination, however, seemed impossible of acceptance to a considerable section of the Democrats. These refused to follow their party, and at a convention held at Louisville, Kentucky, in September, nominated O'Connor for President and John Quincy Adams, a brother of Charles Francis Adams, for Vice-President.

Grant is overwhelmingly re-elected. The result of the election was never in doubt. Grant was re-elected by a larger popular majority than he had received the first time, and the Republicans controlled both houses of Congress by large majorities. Greeley, who had spent years venomously denouncing the party whose nomination he accepted, and who as a protectionist was nominated by free-traders and low-tariff men, was badly beaten and died a few days after the election.

Scandals appear in western railroad building. Grant was to be inaugurated for his second term on March 4, 1873. Toward the end of February, the Congressional committee which had been appointed to investigate charges made by *The New York Sun* in regard to scandals in connection with the building of the Union Pacific Railway, made its report. It appeared from this that the promoters of the great engineering feat in which we had taken so much just pride had formed a construction company, called the *Crédit Mobilier*. Through it they had secured great and corrupt profits for themselves. Fearing adverse legislation in Congress, these men, through Oakes Ames, a congressman from Massachusetts, had distributed blocks of stock among other congressmen where they would "do the most good."

In other words, they had bribed members of Congress to share in corruption. Ames was found guilty and censured by Congress. The Vice-President of the United States, Colfax, was also clearly involved. He retired from office a ruined man.

Our officials try to raise their salaries. On the last day of Congress, March 3, 1873, the day before Grant was to be inaugurated for his second term, Congress passed an act raising the salaries of many government officials, from the President down. Congressmen not only raised their own remuneration fifty per cent, from \$5000 to \$7500 a year, but as respected themselves made the act retroactive so that each member of Congress drew \$5000 of back pay. This brought forth an unexpected outburst of public resentment, and the "salary grab," as it was called, had to be repealed in the next session.

Other scandals occur in Grant's administration. In 1875 the frauds perpetrated by the Whiskey Ring were uncovered. This scandal involved Grant's private secretary, General Babcock, whom Grant shielded, as he did also his Secretary of War, W. W. Belknap, whom he allowed to resign "with great regret." Frauds in other departments were also uncovered, and the total unearthed in the President's second term amounted to about \$75,000,000. The charge against Grant is that he allowed his mistaken sense of loyalty in private friendship to overshadow completely his sense of what he owed to the public.

Grant's administration is a period of wild speculation. Grant had been elected in part on a platform of prosperity, but he had been in office only a few weeks in his second term when the storm broke. It was to prove one of the most disastrous and prolonged economic catastrophes in our history. Economic laws continue to operate, and in surprisingly regular cycles, regardless of the political questions of any campaign. It would be unjust to blame Grant and the Republicans for the panic of 1873.

There had been enormous expansion of business and credit after the war, and, as in 1929, men became drunk with the seeming prosperity and the limitless possibilities for the future. Money borrowed from banks in America and from foreign lenders had been poured into new enterprises with utter recklessness. In the four years, 1869-72, for example, the railway mileage of the nation was increased by 25,000 miles, or fifty per cent of the previously existing total. Everybody was gambling on the future. When such conditions exist, it is certain that a crash will come, though it is never possible to forecast its date or the precise happening which will topple over the house of cards.

The panic of 1873 sweeps over the country. There were many warnings in 1872, such as the failure of four large savings banks in New York, but such warnings are seldom noted. Business leaders, like Jay Cooke, the great financier of the Civil War, Thomas A. Scott, the vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and Cornelius Vanderbilt of the New York Central, sailed gaily into the hurricane with all sails spread. In the spring of 1873 there was a disastrous panic on the stock exchange in Vienna. Europe suddenly became cautious. Credit from that source was stopped for us.

Our bankers, manufacturers, and other leading business men unexpectedly faced realities instead of dreams. The summer was ominous. Then on September 18, the banking house of Jay Cooke & Co., the greatest then in America, which was too heavily involved in the building of the uncompleted Northern Pacific Railway, closed its doors. The next day nineteen stock exchange firms failed. The Union Trust Company of New York followed, and other great firms crashed. The stock exchange closed for eight days, but the panic was on, and many banks continued to break.

By November, pig iron could scarcely be sold at any price, and half of the furnaces and mills in the country closed down. Building stopped on every railroad and all hands were discharged from car shops. In many lines it was impossible to sell goods for the cost of manufacture. As the depression continued, there were strikes and violence everywhere, culminating in the first nation-wide railroad strike in 1877. Between 1873 and 1878, over 50,000 commercial houses failed, and the maximum annual figure was not reached until the latter year, after which recovery set in fairly rapidly.

6. *Financial Reorganization*

Should our government pay its debt in gold or paper? One of the chief questions working to the front in the early 70's was that of finance and currency. There was little objection made to the measures by which the Secretaries of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch and his successors, had consolidated the various forms of the national debt and completed the reorganization of the war-time financing by 1878. There was objection, however, to the payment of the debt in gold instead of paper. In 1868 the Democrats had advocated payment in greenbacks when not otherwise specified. The Republicans had insisted upon gold, though both parties were split on the question.

The problem of the currency, however, was then, and for a long

time a more serious one. In 1871 the Supreme Court had decided that the greenbacks could lawfully be used to fulfill contracts made before the act making them legal tender had been passed.

The borrower favors, the lender opposes inflated currency. When greenbacks had been issued as a war measure, there had been no intention of keeping them in circulation as a permanent part of our currency system. By 1868 Congress had reduced the amount outstanding, but at that time we were emerging from the first post-war depression, and the natural demand for currency was rapidly increasing instead of diminishing.

Moreover, as gold was at a premium, the deflation of the currency and the bringing back of our paper money to a parity with gold lowered the prices of commodities. It was harder for the farmer, for example, to pay his debts, most of which he had incurred in paper money. He could not **discover advantages of a high national credit** and a sound currency when all he could see was that if he had borrowed \$2000 in paper when wheat was a dollar and a half a bushel he was being asked to pay the debt in gold or paper redeemable in gold with wheat at seventy-five cents. The dollar he borrowed meant two-thirds of a bushel of wheat, while the dollar he had to repay meant much more than that amount.

Periods of inflation and deflation affect classes differently. When inflation is in progress, creditors suffer by being repaid in money of less value than that which they lent. When there is deflation, the debtors suffer by being forced to repay in currency of a higher purchasing power than that which they borrowed. In both movements, much hardship is bound to come.

Our country resumes specie payment, January 1, 1879. In 1868 the Republican Congress had heeded the discontent of this class, and stopped reducing the amount of greenbacks. Six years later, in April, 1874, they were so influenced by the demand for more currency as to pass a bill increasing the amount of paper money again. In vetoing this bill Grant showed his courage, for the party leaders claimed that if he did not consent to inflation the party would be ruined in the South and West.

In the mid-term election of 1874, the Republicans lost control of Congress, largely on account of the panic and the scandals of the administration, but, having lost, their backbones were stiffened on the subject of money. In January, 1875, they passed a bill, which Grant signed, providing for full resumption of gold payments on January 1,

1879, including redemption of the greenbacks. These were meanwhile to be gradually reduced to the amount of \$300,000,000. Although, as we shall see, specie payment was resumed on the date named, the greenbacks were not retired. These are to-day outstanding to the amount of over \$346,000,000.

There was more or less confusion on the money question. Prominent Republicans, like Thaddeus Stevens, had been for cheap money, and

prominent Democrats, like their nominee for the presidency in 1868, Horatio Seymour, had been for sound money.

The Republican party becomes the party of protection. The Tariff Act of 1864, with its high rates, had been considered a war measure to raise revenue. But, as always happens, industries which had made large profits under its protection were loath to give them up when the need for revenue or temporary measures ceased.

There were other



BROTHER JONATHAN GREETING WITH JOY THE RETURN OF SPECIE

From Harper's Weekly, 1870.

taxes which were more unpopular with the public at large because more directly felt. These were done away with first, leaving the revenue to be raised largely from the tariff duties.

As on the money question, there was confusion on the tariff. While there was a fairly strong high-tariff group among the Democrats, a section of the Republicans was for tariff reform. The chief stronghold of the Republicans had come to be the Eastern states, which were industrial. The cotton growers of the South and many of the Western wheat farmers came to believe that the high prices which tariffs made for domestic manufactured goods more than offset the market at

home for their produce which protection was supposed to create. The states which were Republican came to demand protection. Besides, the Republican party had been the one which had passed tariff measures. It was in this way that the Republicans became the party of protection and the Democrats the party of tariffs for revenue only.

7. The Presidential Election of 1876

The Prohibitionists demand many things. It was in a time of confused issues and of extreme economic distress that the democracy of the nation was to be put to a unique and severe test in the election of 1876. There were four parties in the field. The first to hold their convention were the Prohibitionists. Their platform is not without interest as showing the habit of reform or third parties to sweep into their fold every possible sort of reformer. In this case, the Prohibitionist platform demanded the total prohibition of the manufacture, selling or transportation of all "alcoholic beverages" in all parts of the United States under the control of Congress; woman suffrage; the reduction by law of postal, telegraph, and railroad rates; the suppression of speculation in stocks and in "every form of property"; the abolition of polygamy; an enforcement of the strict observance of Sunday; the use of the Bible in public schools; and the abolition of "executive and legislative patronage."

The Greenback party advocates paper money. On May 18, the day after the Prohibitionists met, a new party, the Independent Nationals, or Greenbackers, met in Indianapolis. They adopted a brief platform demanding paper money and protesting against any further issue by the government of bonds payable in gold, "by which we would be made, for a long period, hewers of wood and drawers of water for foreigners."

The Republicans nominate Hayes and the Democrats, Tilden. The real contest was between the Republicans and Democrats, and the prospect was extremely dark for the former. The administration scandals and the depth of the economic depression were an almost impossible load for any party.

When the Republican convention met in Cincinnati on June 14, there was no serious question of renominating Grant for a third term. The Republicans had become split into two factions, the "stalwarts," who had stood by Grant, and the "half-breeds" who had been opposed to him. Among the latter the most eminent was James G. Blaine of Maine, who regarded himself as one of the saviors of the party.

He had made a bitter enemy of Senator Roscoe Conkling, the boss of New York by describing his "turkey-cock strut." Conkling was personally honest but was a machine politician.

When on the sixth ballot it became evident that none of the leading candidates could secure the requisite vote, the convention suddenly swung around and nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, governor of Ohio. Hayes was a colorless candidate, who had a fortune acquired with entire honesty, whose personal integrity was above question, and who had a good record as an officer in the Union army and as governor of Ohio.

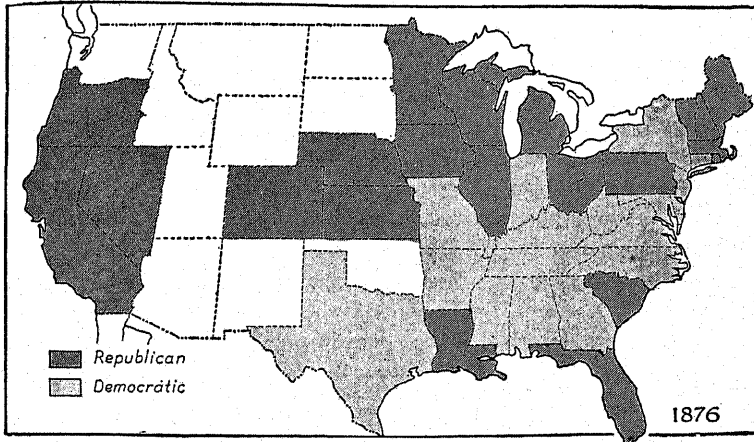
Two weeks later, the Democrats nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden of New York, a lawyer and reformer who had been one of those chiefly responsible for the overthrow of Boss Tweed and of the "Canal Ring" at Albany.

The platform of neither party was notable. The Democrats denounced the high tariff, and the Republicans endorsed the doctrine of protection; both stood for sound money and the resumption of specie payment. The Democrats demanded reform in every department of government. The Republicans called attention to their saving the Union and their freeing of the slaves. With two perfectly honest men as candidates, both without magnetism or sharp flavor, with no very clear-cut issues, the campaign was dull and uninteresting until the close. Then the nation suddenly awoke, in fear and anger, to find itself facing one of the most serious crises of its history.

The Republicans and Democrats both claim the election. When the election returns were in on the evening of November 7, it seemed that Tilden had been elected, as he had carried all the doubtful Northern states. Hayes considered himself defeated. There were three Southern states—South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana—which had had disputed elections and had sent in two sets of returns. The popular majority of Tilden over Hayes was 250,000. However, the chairman of the Republican national committee, Zachary Chandler, claimed the southern votes and insisted that Hayes had won.

An electoral commission decides. There was no provision in our Constitution covering such a situation, and no legislation provided for settlement of such a dispute. The Senate at the moment was Republican, and the House Democratic. There was much public excitement, but the people behaved with remarkable moderation and waited quietly. As the weeks went by, however, and the methods of our election were laid bare and the danger of reaching March 4 with no President became clear, anxiety increased in all parts of the country.

Finally, in January, Congress passed an act providing for a commission of fifteen members, including five Democratic and five Republican members of the two Houses, two Democratic and two Republican judges of the Supreme Court, and a fifteenth to be chosen by these fourteen. The commission when organized had eight Republicans and seven Democrats. It was not until March 2, almost on the eve of the



ELECTION MAP OF 1876

inauguration, that the commission, having decided every disputed point on strictly party lines, and having given every questionable vote to Hayes, declared him elected President.

Throughout the trying months both candidates had behaved in the most exemplary way, each placing the good of the nation in its crisis above his personal ambition. There was no appeal to public or partisan passion, and the people were asked to await the outcome with calmness and to accept the result of the verdict. The investigations of the commission revealed so much fraud by both parties (in which the candidates had had no part) that it was a rather chastened America which received the verdict. Many historians believe that Tilden was defrauded of his election. In any case, not from personal ambition but the good of the country, there was nothing for Hayes to do but to accept at once the findings of the commission.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Avary, *Dixie after the War*; Beard and Beard, *Rise of American Civilization*, ch. 19; Bowers, *The Tragic Era*; Brown, *The Lower South in American History*; Bruce, *The Rise of the New South*; Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox*; Grady, *The New South*; Hamilton, *The Reconstruction Period*; Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*; Lingley, *Since the Civil War*, 48-52; Lippincott, *Economic Development of the United States*, chs. 12-14; Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States since the Civil War*; Page, *The Negro, the Southerner's Problem*; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V-VII.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Curtis, *Orations and Addresses*, I, 1-36; Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*; Harding, *Select Orations*, nos. 29-31; Hill, *Liberty Documents*, ch. 23; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, nos. 44-95; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*; Tilden, *Writings and Speeches*, I, 515-606.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Bancroft, *Seward*; Dixon, *The Leopard's Spots*; Garland, *Ulysses S. Grant*; Harris, *Free Joe*; Haynes, *Life of Charles Sumner*; Page, *Red Rock*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 537, 549; Winston, *Andrew Johnson*; Woodburn, *Thaddeus Stevens*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How did the freed negro become a problem for the South? 2. How did political questions interfere with economic adjustments? 3. What was Lincoln's plan of reconstruction? 4. What was the congressional plan of reconstruction? 5. Tell of Lincoln's assassination. 6. Why did Johnson and the radical Republicans quarrel? 7. Describe the quarrel between Johnson and Congress. 8. Describe the political campaign of 1866. 9. What were the provisions of the Reconstruction Act? 10. Why did Congress impeach Johnson? 11. What success in foreign affairs did Johnson achieve? 12. Characterize President Grant. 13. Describe the "carpet bag," "scalawag," and negro rule in the South. 14. How did the Southern whites secure control of their state governments? 15. What were the "Alabama claims"? 16. How do you explain so much corruption in public life during Grant's administration? 17. What political forces opposed Grant's reelection? 18. What did the Liberal Republicans advocate? 19. What was the cause of the panic of 1873? 20. What financial reorganization was necessary at the close of the Civil War? 21. What is meant by inflation and deflation of the currency? 22. Describe the Hayes-Tilden election.

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

I. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Lincoln's plan of reconstruction, the congressional plan of reconstruction, impeachment of Johnson, the Reconstruc-

tion Act, the Fifteenth Amendment, negro rule in the South, the *Alabama* claims, the panic of 1873, financial reorganization at the close of the Civil War, the Hayes-Tilden controversy.

2. PROJECT: "All great wars cause corruption in national life." Gather all the facts that you can to prove or disprove this statement for the wars we have fought, especially the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, and the World War.

3. PROBLEM: In what respects might reconstruction have been different had Lincoln lived?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That Lincoln's plan of reconstruction would have brought as much good to the South as the Congressional plan.

5. ESSAY SUBJECT: Abraham Lincoln or Robert E. Lee.

6. IMAGINARY LETTER: You lived in South Carolina during reconstruction days. Write a letter to a friend of yours in the North showing how the "carpet-bag" and negro rule was ruining your state.

7. DIARY: You were a member of the Mississippi state legislature from 1861 to 1865. You made notes of the happenings there. Read to your class some of the things you wrote down.

8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Carl Schurz, Edwin M. Stanton, Horatio Seymour, Hamilton Fish, Roscoe Conkling, Samuel J. Tilden.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: April 14, 1865; May 26, 1868, 1873.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: "Sic semper tyrannis," tide-water magnate, *habeas corpus*, "black codes," "bloody shirt," "carpet-bag" rule, "scalawags," "Ku-Klux Klan," *Crédit Mobilier*, "*Alabama* claims," periods of inflation and deflation, "cheap money," resumption of specie payments, tariff for revenue only, "stalwarts," "half-breeds."

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. PRESIDENTIAL AND CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION: Burgess, *Reconstruction*, chs. 1-9; Dunning, *Reconstruction*, chs. 1-7; Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, nos. 141-154; McCarthy, *Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction*.

2. CARPET-BAG AND NEGRO RULE: Burgess, *Reconstruction*, chs. 10-13; Dunning, *Reconstruction*, chs. 11, 13, 15-17; Herbert, *Why the Solid South?* chs. 2-6, 12-14; MacDonald, *Select Statutes*, nos. 79-85; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, ch. 12.

3. THE CLOSING OF RECONSTRUCTION: Dunning, *Reconstruction*, chs. 19-21; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*; Sparks, *National Development*, chs. 1, 6-8; Stanwood, *Presidency*, ch. 25; Wilson, *American People*, V, 104-113.

UNIT IV

HOW AMERICA CHANGED INTO AN INDUSTRIAL NATION AND BECAME A WORLD POWER

TOPIC I

OUR NATION AT DEAD CENTER

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand how Hayes's administration ushered in a new era.
2. To set forth the efforts made toward financial reorganization.
3. To see how by the time of Cleveland we had passed the dead center and had entered the new age.

1. *Hayes and the New Era*

Hayes's administration ushers in a new era. The new President and Mrs. Hayes were what are called "folks." They were to win the esteem and respect of the people by the perfect honesty and courage of the President and the simplicity and modesty of his wife. They won the hearts of the ordinary people, who were interested in the doings of the Hayes children and the unaffected hospitality to old friends with whom the White House was often overflowing, but the President's personality was soon overshadowed by party strife.

The nation had reached a "dead center." It had, for the most part, pulled out of the issues and passions of the Civil War period, and had not yet fully sensed those that were approaching in the new economic period. Neither of the major political parties had yet taken definite stands on issues which were still rather ill-defined and the popularity of which was uncertain. Hayes had not been a popular choice among the politicians of his own party. His way was not to be made easier because two of the most powerful of these, Blaine and Conkling, had each wished the high post for himself. And the Democrats had a majority in the House of Representatives.

Hayes is confronted with serious problems. The problems which confronted the new President were all, as we say, "full of dynamite" for the practical politician. These were, in the main, the final reinstatement in the national life of the now reconstructed Southern states, the reform of the civil service, the resumption of specie payment, the whole problem of the disastrous business depression, and the threatened overturn of the balance of powers through the efforts of Congress to build up the power of the legislature at the expense of the executive.

The political danger in trying to carry out a program of reform and rehabilitation might well have daunted a President who was sure of his overwhelming popularity with the people at large. But Hayes was an obscure man. He had no public following to give him confidence. The unflinching courage with which he persisted in what he believed to be the right course throughout his term is the more notable on that account.

Hayes has trouble over Cabinet appointments. Trouble started at once with the announcement of his appointments to the Cabinet. Although he had to yield to the demand of Oliver P. Morton of Indiana in the appointment of Richard W. Thompson as Secretary of the Navy, the rest of the Cabinet officials made a strong group. Among the notable members were John Sherman in the Treasury, William M. Evarts in the Department of State, and Carl Schurz in the Department of the Interior.

As part of his plan to give back to the South its proper place in the government, Hayes wished to place a Southerner in the Cabinet. He even considered the ex-Confederate general, Joseph E. Johnston. As it became clear that this would be going too fast for public opinion, the President compromised, and gave the Postmaster-Generalship to David M. Key of Tennessee. Although less prominent than Johnston, Key had fought on the Confederate side and, what was even worse in the eyes of the politicians, he was a Democrat. Blaine, who had gone to the Senate, violently denounced the man whom his party had just elected. Conkling of New York considered he had a right to dictate New York appointments. So he, like Blaine, was also at once in opposition. So, likewise, was the powerful Cameron of Pennsylvania. Most of the practical politicians were bitterly opposed to Schurz as a civil-service reformer and to Key as a Southerner and a Democrat. For some days the Senate withheld confirmation of Hayes's appointments of his advisers. But as it was evident that this senatorial obstruction was not popular in the country, they at last grudgingly confirmed all the nominees.

Two rival governments are set up in two Southern states. By the time Hayes reached the White House, all the Southern states but South Carolina and Louisiana had got rid of carpet-bag governments, and had been restored to white, which now meant Democratic, rule. But Republican governments were still upheld by the army in the two states named. In each it was impossible to know which party had won the local election. Those who had been elected to local office by each party

proceeded to organize state governments, and for a while there was complete confusion.

It was perfectly obvious that if the troops under control of Congress had not been there, the people would have set up Democratic administrations. In South Carolina the Republican governor was an honest and able Massachusetts carpet-bagger, Daniel H. Chamberlain, and the Democratic was the distinguished South Carolinian, Wade Hampton. The state, like Louisiana, had been counted Republican by the commission which declared Hayes elected President. When Hampton's title to office was taken into court, a negro Republican judge decided adversely to him. In Congress, men like Blaine demanded that the Republican governments must be considered legal and maintained by force or Hayes's own title to the Presidency would be put in question again.

Hayes withdraws the troops from the South. Hayes, however, realized that the time had passed for continuing to govern any part of the South by troops in the interest of a party. Indeed the Democrats had been promised, when they accepted the partisan decision of the electoral commission on the recent presidential election, that the troops would be withdrawn from the South. The Democratic House of Representatives did not allow the President to forget this promise.

He hoped that with freedom from restraint a two-party system might be restored in that section, and that many whites as well as almost all blacks might join the Republican ranks. That could not be. Bitterness against the Republicans, racial feeling which their course had increased, and the fact that their party in the South was almost wholly the party of the negroes, had created the solid South of the Democratic whites.

Nevertheless, Hayes's policy was the right and wise one. He was not playing politics. He did have to find berths for a large number of local politicians, black and white. But when that was done, the South was cleared of federal troops and could organize itself in its own way. That way would clearly be to rid itself of the dominance of the negro vote.

Hayes's actions seem to please no one. Had Lincoln's plans for a sympathetic reinstatement of the South in our national life not been thwarted in Johnson's term, the way might have been opened for the Southern whites to adopt the two-party system. Had they also been allowed to work out the negro problem by themselves, they might in the course of time have included the negro in such a system.

Hayes not only withdrew the troops from the South but made sev-

eral trips to that section, the first President since the war to do so. Unfortunately, he did not reap any benefit from his policy of reconciliation. The dislike and mistrust of him by Northern Republican politicians was understandable, and in the Democratic South he was looked upon as having been unjustly seated in place of Tilden. In addition, although he had withdrawn the troops, he opposed the repeal of the law which empowered the President to use troops in election contests. He seems to have wished to conciliate the South but to do nothing which might appear officially to withdraw protection from the free vote of the negro. The consequence was that he pleased no one. In less than two months he had lost the support of the leaders of his own party, and independent Democrats could not forget the election.

Hayes is confronted by the spoils system. His next move after settling the Southern question alienated him yet further from his own party. From the day of Andrew Jackson the spoils system had become more and more strongly entrenched. The whole political machinery of both parties had come to rest upon using federal as well as state offices to secure votes. The practical politician not only accepted the system but did not see how his own power or that of his party could be maintained otherwise. As the system developed, it had two results. One was greatly to strengthen the power of the Senate and the party managers at the cost of that of the President, who had been given by the Constitution the right of making appointments. Gradually, it became customary to consider the federal appointments in any state as belonging to the senator from that state. The President was expected to choose his nominees from among the list of names agreed upon by the senator and the state boss, and often these were the same person. Under this system, the names offered were likely to be men locally useful to the party machine rather than chosen solely for their fitness for the office. The other result of the system was the wastefulness and inefficiency of the federal service.

Hayes takes up the question of civil-service reform. The condition of that service had become appalling in the eyes of the honest citizens who wanted decent government. Men of very different types, such as Charles Sumner, Carl Schurz, and George William Curtis, who had been working for improvement, secured the passage by Congress in 1871 of an act providing for the setting up of a civil-service commission to study the question. Grant, however, who was reported to have claimed that our civil service was then the "best in the world," gave no aid. Hayes was the first President to grapple seriously with

the evil, and he did so courageously, understanding fully the forces which he was bound to antagonize. Unfortunately, the time was not yet ripe and public opinion not yet sufficiently stirred to allow the President to make any permanent change in the system, but as a result of his fight, the question could not thereafter be allowed merely to slumber in paragraphs of party platforms.

The civil service problem is difficult. The problem was not easy to solve. In a democracy there is no way known to us of carrying on government other than by means of parties. A party to be effective must be organized and lasting. That means that it must have a hierarchy of organizers of all grades from the national leaders down to the smallest of ward bosses. If the general mass, both politicians and voters, are moved by desire of personal profit, the spoils of office are bound to be highly important in holding the organization together. If reform is carried out so rapidly as to destroy the strength of the organization, we merely substitute for the evil of patronage the evil of a breakdown in party organization, with ensuing political chaos.

Such problems may be approached from three standpoints, that of the practical politician of the ordinary moral level, that of the impractical reformer, and that of the statesman. The politician wishes no reform whatever in a system which he understands how to use and believes to be essential. The reformer wishes to change everything rapidly. The statesman wishes to make progress, and as rapidly as possible, but realizes that he cannot go faster than he can induce public opinion to support him. In any case he is likely to be damned by both the other types, by the reformer because of his alleged inconsistency and because he does not do enough, and by the politician because of his alleged lack of loyalty and because he does too much.

Schurz removes corrupt officials. In the Department of Interior, where the start was made, Hayes gave Schurz a free hand. He supported him in his sweeping removals when it was established beyond a doubt by investigation that the Indian Bureau was a mass of corruption. Screened by the spoils system of office, the Indian Bureau and agents waxed fat on the graft at the expense of the Indian. Forced to depend upon the agents, he was given miserable blankets and poor food, bought by the government at high prices, officials making huge profits on the transactions. His lands were trespassed upon, and he could get no remedy. The consequence was constant unrest and a succession of minor wars. Indian troubles were less frequent after Schurz had made a clean sweep of the incompetent and corrupt politi-

cal appointees whom he found in office, but the politicians never forgave him for his efforts and eventually drove him from politics.

Hayes makes a determined fight. Hayes himself led the attack on one of the most notorious strongholds of the spoils system—the New York custom-house. Although this service was under the Treasury Department in Washington, the New York boss, Senator Conkling, had come to look upon it as his personal property. When in May, 1877, Hayes told the Secretary of the Treasury that “party leaders should have no more influence in appointments than other equally respectable citizens,” the gage of battle was thrown down.

The President went even further and declared that no federal officeholder should be subjected to assessments on his salary for political purposes, nor be permitted to take part in political organizations or campaigns. To men like Conkling it seemed that the President was not only threatening their personal power but bringing to ruin the whole Republican organization.

When an investigating commission reported on conditions in the custom-house, it was found that 200 of Senator Conkling’s local henchmen were on the pay roll without doing any work whatever for the government; that all salaries were levied upon in campaigns; that technical positions were held by ignorant politicians; that imports were undervalued; and that there was in general gross fraud and inefficiency. At the head of the organization, as collector of the port, was Chester A. Arthur, a friend of Conkling. The naval officer of the port was A. B. Cornell, who was also chairman of the state and national Republican committees. Similar conditions were found to exist in custom-houses elsewhere, but the President at once declared war on Conkling and his crowd as representing the worst center of infection.

Arthur, Cornell, Conkling, and Platt were the four who controlled New York politics. When the first two were asked by the President to resign they declined. Conkling, Republican boss though he was, did not hesitate to say that Hayes had never been elected and that Tilden should have been put in the White House. In September, at the state convention, he prevented the passage of a resolution upholding the “lawful title” of Hayes to the office. The Republicans of the greatest state in formal convention declined to recognize the legality of their own President.

It is not necessary to recite in detail the long struggle of Hayes to have Arthur and Cornell removed. Although the Senate blocked every effort he made, the President would not admit defeat. When Conkling

won one of the strategical moves, Hayes wrote in his diary, "The end is not yet. I am right and shall not give up the contest." In July, 1878, when Congress was not in session, he removed Arthur and Cornell, but it was not until early in February, 1879, that the President won and the Senate at last confirmed his new appointees. Conkling was defeated, but neither the party nor the people supported Hayes.

Reform had to wait, but the New York Civil Service Reform League was founded in 1877, to be followed by a national league four years later. Hayes undoubtedly deserves the credit for being the first President to fight to cleanse our politics of the gigantic evils of the spoils system. In this, as in his effort to reinstate the South, he belonged to the coming era rather than to the one which was passing.

Hayes's administration is disturbed by strikes and riots. Throughout almost his entire term the country was deeply concerned with the business depression and with the more technical problem of the currency. Though the most spectacular financial episodes of the panic had occurred in Grant's régime, it was the duty of Hayes to suppress the violence which alarmed the nation in 1877.

There had been local trouble in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania from 1862 onward. It was due to the activities of the "Molly Maguires," members of an Irish secret society. In the fight with the operators for better conditions, extreme violence was used, even murder. The reign of terror was at last broken in 1876, but in 1877 a far more serious situation arose.

Railroad earnings had dropped fifty per cent since the beginning of the panic, partly from diminished business and partly by cut-throat competition for such business as remained. In the first six months of 1877 it was said that not a single road made a cent of profit on through freight. Wages had already been cut more than once since 1873 when in July, 1877, the leading companies announced another ten per cent reduction. As a result, serious strikes, starting on the Baltimore & Ohio, ensued. Since militia proved insufficient to cope with the rioters, federal aid was invoked, and Hayes despatched regular troops to a number of points. Serious as the rioting was at Baltimore, the worst situation was at Pittsburgh. There many lives were lost in pitched battle and the property damage was not less than \$5,000,000. This amount was doubled by the rioters in other places.

The great strikes of 1877 resulted in the employment for the first time of federal troops to settle a labor dispute. The President had maintained order, but no effort was made to work out the respective

rights of employer and employed in the new economic order of great corporations. *Laissez-faire* and force were as yet the only doctrines with which the government could meet the new situation emerging.

The demand for more money brings forth the silver issue. The extremely hard times through which the country was passing made the payment of debts peculiarly difficult and unpleasant. Such periods always arouse deep resentment on the part of the debtor class. As the business depression widened and deepened, the cry became louder for cheap money on the part of the debtor class. Our currency system was peculiarly rigid and incapable of expanding and contracting with the need of business. Speaking generally, the currency consisted of gold, greenbacks, and bank notes. The years from 1870 to 1891 were years of stationary or declining production of gold in the entire world, just as the years following 1891 were to be years of increasing production and those after 1896 of vast added supplies. Practically no increase in our currency could therefore be looked for in gold coinage or gold certificates backed by deposit of gold.

The administrations of Grant had seen the rise of the greenback movement, demanding that expansion should be achieved by the issue of mere fiat paper money. But that had been blocked by the action of the expiring Republican Congress in January, 1875. It had passed the act providing for the gradual reduction in the number of greenbacks and their final redemption in gold to be effected January, 1879.

The third form of currency, bank notes, was also comparatively inelastic, as the notes had to be based on the deposit of government bonds, which were limited in amount and which were being retired rather rapidly. Thus those who demanded cheap money had to find some other form. So a combination of circumstances, including those just mentioned and others to be noted, raised the silver issue.

Bi-metallism is difficult to attain. The policy of bi-metallism, that is of trying to keep both gold and silver in circulation and interchangeable, had been attempted by the United States for seventy years. It was started by Alexander Hamilton in 1792. Adopting the comparative commercial value of the two metals in his own day, Hamilton had thought that if a gold dollar and a silver dollar each contained the amount of gold and silver respectively that had the same commercial value at any moment, their parity could be maintained. They would then be interchangeable as coins, both remaining in circulation. As a grain of gold was worth in the market fifteen times a grain of silver

when he started, he fixed the ratio at fifteen to one. The silver dollar had in it $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver and the gold dollar $24\frac{3}{4}$ grains of gold.

As long experience has proved, however, the two metals cannot possibly be kept at any fixed ratio commercially. Not only the amounts of each produced annually from the mines, but the demands for each all over the world for purposes other than coinage, vary so constantly and so greatly as to make their values also vary widely in terms of each other. Moreover, according to a well-established economic law, if there are two kinds of metal currency side by side and the commercial value of the metal in one is more than that in the other, the one which is worth more will be hoarded by the public and the one of lesser value will circulate as money.

This is precisely what happened to the gold and silver dollars of Hamilton. Even before they had got into circulation from the mint, the delicate ratio had been destroyed by commercial prices. And as the gold in a gold dollar was worth commercially a little more than the silver in a silver dollar, gold dollars disappeared from circulation. In 1834, an effort was made to readjust the balance and the coinage ratio was changed to sixteen to one. As this, however, threw the balance out again slightly in the opposite direction, the gold dollars quickly came back into circulation and it was the commercially more valuable silver ones which in turn disappeared.

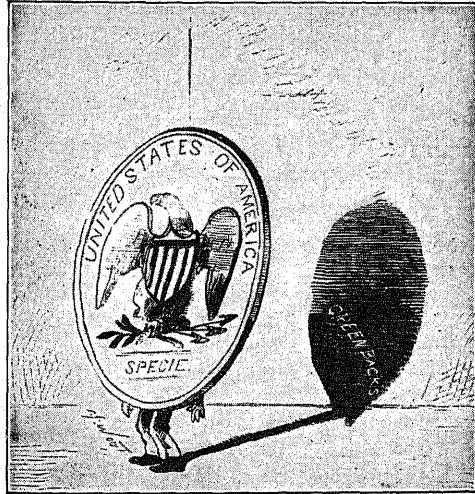
The huge output of silver decreases its value. By 1873 the silver dollar had been out of circulation for so many years that, when Congress was revising the coinage laws, the silver dollar was dropped from the list of coins which were to be minted. There was no objection to this at the time, though the subject was thoroughly threshed out in debate. The coinage of silver was of interest to almost no one at the moment, and the currency would not have been increased, for it would have cost the government more to turn out silver dollars than gold ones. So those who demanded cheap money had nothing to gain and the silver-mine owners could get more for their silver by selling it in the open market than by having it coined into dollars.

The production of silver from the mines, however, unlike gold, was increasing with enormous rapidity. At the same time there was a much lowered demand. India, which had been almost a bottomless sink for the hoarding of the metal, ceased to absorb it. Some nations, notably Germany, not only stopped coining silver but dumped large quantities on the market. The price of silver fell.

The American mines were producing huge quantities of silver. If the mine owners could induce Congress to begin coining silver dollars again at the ratio of sixteen to one, they could make a large profit by taking their depreciated silver to the mint and receiving back dollars at that ratio when the commercial ratio was 15 per cent lower. Some of them at least were honestly convinced that such a process, even if it was to continue indefinitely, would not affect the gold currency. But in this they were in error. The gold dollars, as had been shown before, would disappear from circulation and be hoarded, being worth more than the silver ones.

Congress passes the Bland-Allison Bill. The mine owners began to talk about the failure to include silver in the currency revision bill as "the crime of '73." In November, 1877, the House of Representatives passed an act introduced by a Democratic member from Missouri, Richard P. Bland, providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. It passed the House but the Senate was more cautious. The Republican Blaine, like his fellow Republican Senator Allison, also came out for free silver. On the other hand, the Democratic Senators Lamar and Bayard spoke strongly in favor of gold. The question was not yet a party one.

In 1878, the Senate passed the Bland-Allison Bill, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to buy not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 of silver each and every month, and to have the amount bought coined into dollars. The pressure brought on Hayes to sign the bill, which had passed both Houses, was extraordinarily great. Most of the people saw in the bill a panacea for the extreme financial distress under which they were suffering. In spite of the opinion of even three members of the Cabinet, including the Secretary of the



SUBSTANCE (SPECIE) AND ITS SHADOW
(GREENBACK)

A cartoon in *Harper's Weekly* of 1875.

Treasury, John Sherman, that the President ought not to veto the bill, Hayes had the courage to do so and to return it to Congress.

With it he sent a message pointing out that to make a dollar which was worth only ninety cents in gold legal tender for the payment of all debts, including the interest on the government bonds, was dishonest repudiation, and that in the last analysis a nation's credit depended on its honor. His action was of no avail, and on February 28, 1878, Congress in a burst of passion passed the bill over the presidential veto.

Our government is prepared to exchange gold for greenbacks. Meanwhile, Sherman, who was not a free-silverite and whose opposition to the veto had been based on political considerations only, was carefully preparing for the resumption of specie payment which had been set for January, 1879. He had accumulated a stock of about \$140,000,000 in gold in the Treasury, and as January approached the greenbacks slowly rose to their full value.

The day, however, was awaited by both the government and business men with deep anxiety. Would there be a run for gold on the Treasury and the banks in larger quantities than could be paid out even with all the preparations made? After five years of panic and economic ruin, the nation was beginning to glimpse better times ahead. Would the catastrophe of a failure to make redemption a success plunge it again into the misery from which it was just emerging?

The day came and passed with a calm that was almost humorous in view of the natural and intense anxiety with which it had been awaited. At the Treasury only \$135,000 of greenbacks were presented for payment in gold, whereas \$400,000 in gold were presented for exchange into greenbacks! The credit of the government was evidently considered unassailable, and the country heaved a sigh of relief. Throughout it, however, there rolled the ground-swell of discontent on the part of those who having borrowed money when paper was at a heavy discount were now called upon to repay their debts in a currency at par with gold.

Hayes's record entitles him to high rank. On the whole, few Presidents have left a better record. Hayes's efforts to heal the wounds of the South, to bring about the reform of the civil service, and his resistance to the unconstitutional usurpation of power by Congress entitle him to a high place as an able, honest, and courageous chief executive. The very struggles, however, which have won him the respect of posterity made him disliked by the politicians of his own day and party. Nor did he possess those qualities which might have

given him popular support against the politicians. He was not the military hero which Jackson and Grant had been; he had no personal magnetism, not even the odd quaintness of a Coolidge, to intrigue the public; nor had he that gift of dramatizing a situation which Theodore Roosevelt could employ so well.

2. *Garfield and Arthur*

Garfield succeeds Hayes. There was not the faintest chance for Hayes of a renomination in 1880. In the Republican convention which assembled at Chicago the leading candidates at first were Grant and Blaine, who were not on speaking terms with each other. When it was clear after thirty-five ballots, that neither could be nominated, there was a sudden shift to General James A. Garfield of Ohio, and the Republican ticket became Garfield and Arthur. After the Greenback party had nominated General James B. Weaver, the Democrats met at Cincinnati and nominated General Winfield S. Hancock.

The platforms of the two leading parties both hedged on the issues, although the Democrats flatly advocated free and unlimited coinage of silver, while the Republicans omitted any reference to that question. In the Republican convention a resolution endorsing civil-service reform was passed only with difficulty.

The campaign was uninteresting, and there was no difference in the methods of the two parties, which were those of the time—as also of ours. Scandals, or what could be made to appear as such, were raked up against each candidate. Garfield was elected by an electoral vote of 214 to 155 but by a majority of less than 10,000 of popular votes.

Garfield defeats the New York bosses. Garfield, who had started life as a canal-boy, and was the last American President born in a log-cabin, had made a successful and characteristically American career for himself. He had worked his way through Williams College, been a teacher, then won a major-generalship by good work in the war, and from 1863 had been a member of Congress.

The new President did not announce his Cabinet appointments until after his inauguration on March 4, 1881. It became evident then that he had tried to reconcile the two groups in his party as well as the several sections of the country. Blaine of Maine was named Secretary of State; Senator William Windom of Minnesota, a sound-money Westerner, Secretary of the Treasury; Robert T. Lincoln, son of the war President, was put in the War Department; William T. Hunt, a

Louisiana lawyer who had been loyal in the war, was given the Navy; Wayne McVeagh of Pennsylvania became Attorney-General; while Thomas L. James, postmaster of New York, became Postmaster-General. It was the last appointment which was to prove the most important for the moment.

The "stalwarts" of the party, notably Conkling, had been opposed to the nomination of Garfield and had only reluctantly supported him in the campaign. When, on March 23, the President sent in a list of nominations to the Senate, including appointments in New York upon which he had not consulted Conkling, the latter declared war. Unable to secure the rejection of the nomination of a man whom Conkling especially disliked politically, the irate senator resigned his seat. His follower, Platt, simultaneously took the same step, thus winning the nickname of "Me Too." They asked for vindication against the President's interference with local patronage by a re-election by the New York legislature. To their surprise, the legislature declined to re-elect either of them, and the President won his first round.

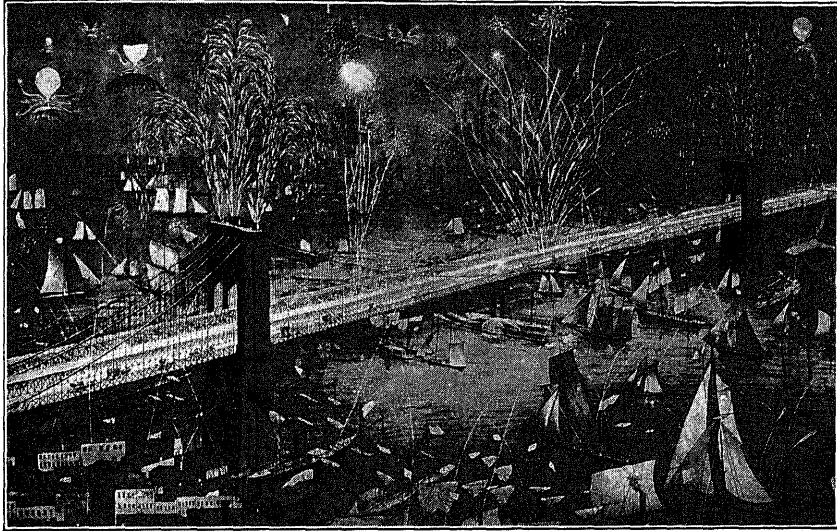
Garfield is assassinated. Meanwhile, the Postmaster-General had been unearthing scandals of the most unpleasant sort in the letting of contracts on what were called "star routes," that is, routes on which the mails were carried by rider or stage. Garfield was pressing the investigation when, while waiting for a train in the Washington station, he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker, Charles J. Guiteau, on July 2. Although the wounded President lingered on for two-and-a-half months, the shot proved fatal in the end, and he died at his summer home at Elberon, New Jersey, on September 19.

President Arthur takes a stand for civil service. The sobering effect of responsibility and high office has often been noted in public life, but seldom have they had such unexpected influence as upon the new President. From the moment that Arthur became President, there was an extraordinary change, a change that first amazed and then angered his old political friends. In his first message to Congress he came out squarely for civil-service reform, as he did also for a repeal of the Bland-Allison Act, better treatment of the Indians, and a downward revision of the tariff.

During his administration the Pendleton Act, creating the Civil Service Commission, was passed, in 1883, which placed about 14,000 federal offices in the civil service open to competitive examination, and empowered the executive to extend the list. Arthur, who promptly signed the bill, worked loyally with the commission which it created,

and when he left the White House about 16,000 offices had been rescued from the spoilsmen.

Arthur vetoes the "pork barrel" bill. His political courage was also shown in his veto of a Chinese exclusion bill, because it was contrary to a treaty with China, an action which seriously damaged his popularity in California. The river and harbor bills, passed regularly by Congresses, presumably for the improvement of such bodies of



THE OPENING OF BROOKLYN BRIDGE, MAY 24, 1883

The celebration of the completion of the work begun in 1870 was attended by President Arthur and many distinguished visitors. Fireworks followed the speeches and parade. From a colored lithograph in the J. Clarence Davies Collection, Museum of the City of New York.

water as might have real commercial importance, had become a national scandal. This "pork barrel," as it was called, had developed into a huge source of legalized graft for the strengthening of the popularity of congressmen in their home districts. By 1882 it amounted to nearly \$19,000,000. In that year Arthur vetoed it on the ground of its "demoralizing effect," but Congress at once repassed it over the veto.

Congress refuses to lower the tariff. Although Congress had passed what it called the President's "snivel Service Reform" measure, it treated his demand for tariff revision much as it had his

effort to cleanse the "pork barrel." Duties had remained at practically the highest level attained as emergency war measures. But the return of prosperity, after the long depression, had resulted in such an increase of imports that the annual surplus accumulating in the Treasury was large. For the year 1881-82, it was approximately \$100,000,000.

Such recurring surpluses called for a reduction in taxation and revenue. In May, 1882, Congress authorized the appointment of a tariff commission to study the question without prejudice. The report of this commission recommended numerous changes which would have resulted in a total lowering of duties by about 25 per cent. When Congress at last passed the Tariff Act of 1883 the report had been torn to shreds. There were no marked changes, as a whole, from the high war tariff. The reduction in government income was secured by reductions in internal taxes.

Republicans nominate Blaine, Democrats Cleveland. Although Arthur had made a good President, he had alienated the old "stalwart" group of Republican leaders. His earlier record had made him somewhat suspect to the reform element in spite of their approval of what he had done while in office. Dignified in person, he had given the nation a dignified administration, but he had not caught the imagination of the people, and unfortunately reform is never popular. There was no demand from any important quarter for his renomination, and Platt announced, "Blaine's turn has come."

When the Republican convention met at Chicago, the result was almost a foregone conclusion. Arthur received a large complimentary vote, but the heavy political guns were on the side of Blaine. He was nominated for the presidency on the fourth ballot, and John A. Logan of Illinois was added for the second office. Both nominations were disliked by certain elements in the party. An unexpectedly large bolt from party regularity occurred, and independent Republicans advised the Democrats that they would vote for their candidate if he were such as they could accept.

That party, in its convention at Chicago, in spite of Tammany opposition took only two ballots to nominate Grover Cleveland, reform governor of New York. Cleveland, who was a self-made Buffalo lawyer, had risen with clean hands through the political offices of sheriff of the county and mayor of Buffalo to the governorship of the state. The nomination was acceptable to the reform Republicans, and the fight for election promised to be the most hotly contested in many campaigns.

3. *The Democrats Returned to Power*

An ill-advised remark is said to have cost Blaine the election. The campaign proved to be one of the most disgraceful in our annals. The charges brought against both candidates were "worthy," as *The Nation* said, "of the stairways of a tenement-house." Both parties were trying to gain the Irish Catholic vote, which was important, especially in the pivotal state of New York. As *The Irish World* was supporting Blaine it looked as though he might get the suffrage of this group, until the very last week of the campaign. He had just reached New York after a speaking tour in the West, and a dinner was tendered him at which a clergyman, named Burchard, was to speak. Blaine was tired and was paying little or no attention to what the speaker was saying. He thus did not notice when the reverend gentleman declared that "we are Republicans, and don't propose to leave our party and identify ourselves with the party whose antecedents have been Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion."

The remark ran over the nation like fire. The election was so close that for several days the result was in doubt, and depended on the electoral vote of New York, where it was finally conceded that Cleveland had won by the narrow margin of 1000 votes in a total of almost 1,200,000. The minister's speech may have turned enough votes from Blaine to dash the last hope of that candidate for the highest office in the land.

Cleveland satisfies neither politicians nor reformers. The Democrats had been out of office for twenty-four years. Practically all public offices were held by Republicans, and only twelve per cent were protected by the civil service. The resultant pressure on the President was colossal. For months the killing business of filling minor positions

TWO INSULTS.
[World, Oct. 31.]

WILL LOSE BLAINE THOUSANDS OF VOTES.
[Star, Oct. 31.]

CLERGYMEN IN POLITICS.
[Graphic, Oct. 31.]

MIGHT HAVE SPARED THE CHURCH.
[Truth, Oct. 31.]

BLAINE KNOW NOTHINGISM REVIVED.
[Albany Argus, Oct. 31.]

THE BLAINE BANQUET LYING SLOGAN.
[Newburg Register, Oct. 30.]

DRAWING RELIGION INTO POLITICS.
PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Oct. 30, 1884.

HE WAS REPORTED CORRECTLY.
PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Oct. 30, 1884.

"THE NEW YORK HERALD" OF NOVEMBER 1, 1884, REPRINTED FROM OTHER PAPERS SOME OF THE PROTESTS AROUSED BY BURCHARD'S SPEECH

kept up. Cleveland did his best, but satisfied few. When, after the most careful examination, and in the face of the threat that it would lose him 10,000 votes, he reappointed the Republican postmaster in New York City, a howl went up from the politicians and political workers. On the other hand, the reformers, men like Carl Schurz and Elliot F. Shepherd, were disgruntled at political appointments.

For his Cabinet, which included Thomas F. Bayard as Secretary of State, William C. Whitney in the Navy, and Daniel Manning in the Treasury, the President decided to name two Southerners, L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi as Secretary of the Interior and Augustus H. Garland of Arkansas as Attorney-General. The Southern appointments aroused much resentment among the Republicans, both in the press and in the Senate, but were confirmed.

Cleveland angers the Civil War veterans. Since the Civil War both political parties had bid for "the soldier vote" by favoring pensions in their platforms. In the first two years of Cleveland's administration some 56,000 names had been added to the pension roll as against some 41,000 in the last two years of Arthur's term, bringing the total by the end of 1887 to over 406,000. This included 33,000 Mexican War survivors or their widows whom Cleveland had added.

The President had no wish to deprive any ex-soldier or his dependents of a pension if his case merited one, but the amount of fraud which had grown up about the system had already become staggering. In 1879 the Arrears-of-Pension Act had been passed by Congress. Under this act, a pensioner could claim not only his pension for disability but also back pay from the time to which the disability could be traced. The number of claims presented monthly rose sixfold immediately after the passage of the act. A class of pension lawyers grew up who made their living by seeking out persons with claims, and getting the pensions awarded for a share in the back pensions. In many cases Congress took the matter out of the hands of the pension bureau by passing special bills awarding the pensions to individuals. More than 2000 such bills were sent to Cleveland for his signature. On investigation a great proportion of the claims were shown to be wholly fraudulent, and the President vetoed as many of these as he had time to examine.

In 1887, Congress passed the Dependent Pension Bill. Under it, any one who had served three months in the war could demand twelve dollars a month if he was disabled and dependent on himself for

support, even though he had never received injury from his brief war service. This bill Cleveland vetoed.

The feeling of the veterans had been further stirred by a gracious act which the President had endeavored to perform toward the South. The war had been over for nearly a generation. The South was reinstated, and Cleveland thought it time that old resentments should be buried. In the attic of the War Department were some Confederate regimental flags, and the President made the suggestion that these be restored to the states of the South. Cleveland was so bitterly assailed on all sides that he had to withdraw the order.

Cleveland takes an active stand for conservation. Another act won him enemies in other quarters. The seizure of our public lands had become a serious question and Cleveland was the first President to be greatly interested in conservation. During his term he rescued 80,000,000 acres which had been occupied illegally. But this gained him the hostility of the railroads and cattle kings who had been profiting at the expense of the nation.

The Interstate Commerce Act curbs power of railroads. Powerful men had for some time built up their own larger enterprises at the expense of the small and weak, by agreements with the railroads by which they got rebates, lower rates, and other favors. Many of the state laws which were aimed at curbing the abuses had been fought by the railroads through the courts. But in 1876 one of the cases, which had been appealed to the Supreme Court, that of *Munn vs. Illinois*, had brought an epoch-making decision from that tribunal.

This decision affirmed that "property does become clothed with a public interest when used in a manner to make it of public consequence, and affect the community at large. When, therefore, one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he, in effect, grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good."

Other decisions had followed, and finally, under Cleveland in 1887, the Interstate Commerce Act was passed. Special rates, rebates, and other unfair practices, such as discrimination between persons or places, were prohibited. The act also made pooling illegal, required that schedules of rates must be made public, and instituted a commission to hear complaints, supervise the interstate roads, and assist in bringing suits against offending companies.

Cleveland urges repeal of the Bland-Allison Act. Although the Democratic party was for free silver, the President continued

throughout his term to urge upon Congress the repeal of the Bland-Allison Act which had forced the government to buy, before Cleveland was to leave office, a total of about \$311,000,000 of silver, and to coin this huge sum into steadily depreciating silver dollars. These were worth only about seventy-five cents in 1888 and were useless in foreign exchange. Cleveland said that it would be only a question of time when this would seriously damage the national credit, cause the disappearance of hoarded gold, and threaten the very solvency of the government. But he could secure no action by Congress. Both parties were really divided on the silver question.

Cleveland wishes to reduce the tariff. Nor was he any more successful with the tariff. Like his recent predecessors, he was faced with an annually mounting surplus of revenue over expenses. This was due to the prosperity of the country and the excessive duties collected under the war tariff. Such surpluses as \$103,000,000 in 1887 and \$119,000,000 in 1888 could not be retained in the Treasury without curtailing seriously the amount of money in circulation. Nor could they be used to purchase the moderate amount of government bonds outstanding. As such bonds formed the basis of the national-bank currency, the debt could not be retired without heavily curtailing the circulating medium. On the other hand, if the surpluses could neither be retained nor used to pay off our debt, they were a constant temptation to Congress to resort to all sorts of extravagant measures of expenditure.

Cleveland studied the problem from the standpoint of reducing the revenue and lightening the burden of taxation. The more he did so, the more he disapproved of the policy, from the point of view of the welfare of all citizens, of continuing to raise prices by protecting certain manufacturers, who employed only about fifteen per cent of the total number of persons engaged in industry. In December, 1887, he devoted, for the first time in history, the whole of the annual message to one problem, the tariff. In his last message, 1888, he returned to it again, and complained of "the many millions more to be added to the cost of living of our people" under the tariff.

Though a tariff-revision bill was passed by the House at the very end of Cleveland's term, it was blocked by the Republican Senate. The President was able to accomplish nothing more than centering public attention upon the question. From then on, it was to become one of the leading political issues.

Our nation passes the dead center. In some of the phrases of Cleveland's last message, we begin to feel that we are entering upon

the arena of the political struggles of the new age. The Civil War had cut a wide swath between the before-the-war and after-the-war America, and now that struggle was fast fading into history. We glimpse the new period ahead when the President declared to Congress: "Communism is a hateful thing and a menace to peace and organized government; but the communism of combined wealth and capital, the outgrowth of overweening cupidity and selfishness, which insidiously undermines the justice and integrity of free institutions, is not less dangerous than the communism of oppressed poverty and toil, which, exasperated by injustice and discontent, attacks with wild disorder the citadel of rule. He mocks the people who propose that the government shall protect the rich and that they in turn will care for the laboring poor. Any intermediary between the people and their government or the least delegation of the care and protection the government owes to the humblest citizen in the land makes the boast of free institutions a glittering delusion and the pretended boon of American citizenship a shameless imposition."

The nation had passed across the dead center and was beginning to gain momentum in the direction of new and vital issues.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Burgess, *The Administration of R. B. Hayes*; Dewey, *National Problems*, chs. 1-15; Fish, *The Civil Service and the Patronage*, ch. 10; Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox*; Ford, *The Cleveland Era*; Foulke, *Fighting the Spoilsman*; Rhodes, *History of the United States from Hayes to McKinley*, chs. 1-17; Wells, *Recent Economic Changes*, ch. 2.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Curtis, *Orations and Addresses*, I, 1-36; II, 1-86; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, 164-166, 168-170; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 178-182; McPherson, *Hand-Book of Politics*; Muzzey, *Readings*, 494-526.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Clemens and Warner, *The Gilded Age*; Conkling, *Life and Letters of Roscoe Conkling*; Howe, *The Story of A Country Town*; Howells, *The Rise of Silas Lapham*; Stanwood, *James G. Blaine*; Stevenson, *Great Americans as Seen by the Poets*, 318-349; Stoddard, *Life of James A. Garfield*; Wharton, *The Age of Innocence*; Williams, *Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How did Hayes's administration usher in a new era? 2. What political and economic problems did Hayes face? 3. What attitude did Hayes

take toward the South? 4. Why did Hayes seem to please no one? 5. What did Hayes do about civil service reform? 6. How did the demand for more money bring up the silver issue? 7. How is bi-metallism difficult to attain? 8. What was the Bland-Allison Bill? 9. Describe Garfield's fight with the New York political bosses. 10. Explain how Arthur turned from a politician to a statesman. 11. Characterize President Cleveland. 12. Why did Cleveland satisfy neither the politicians nor the reformers? 13. How did Cleveland anger the Civil War veterans? 14. What was Cleveland's attitude on conservation? 15. Why did Cleveland urge the repeal of the Bland-Allison Bill? 16. What were Cleveland's views on the tariff?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Withdrawal of Federal troops from the South, Hayes's fight for civil service reform, the strikes of 1877, the money issue, the Bland-Allison Bill, assassination of Garfield, election of Cleveland, the pension acts, the Pendleton Act, the Interstate Commerce Act, Cleveland and the tariff.
2. PROJECT: How does the administration of Hayes compare in its ability, honesty, and courage with the administration of all the other presidents from Lincoln through Cleveland?
3. PROBLEM: How did Cleveland prove himself to be a fearless and courageous President?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That Cleveland's position on the Bland-Allison Bill was wise and correct.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: Civil service reform under Hayes.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you lived during the Hayes administration and that you were interested in the silver question. Write a letter to a friend urging him to come out for silver.
7. DIARY: You were much interested in the presidential election of 1884. You attended many of the campaign rallies and heard many of the political speeches. You wrote down a description of many of the scenes and incidents of the campaign that returned the Democrats to power. Read to the class some of the extracts from your diary.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: John Sherman, James G. Blaine, Carl Schurz, George William Curtis, Wade Hampton, Chester A. Arthur, Roscoe Conkling.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1877, 1879, 1882, 1887.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Civil service reform, spoils of office, "Mollie Maguires," *laissez-faire*, fiat paper money, bi-metallism, ratio of sixteen to one, "the crime of '73," free and unlimited coinage of silver, "Me Too," "star routes," "pork barrel."

11. MAP WORK: Give a map talk locating the following places and stating the historical significance of each: Baltimore, Pittsburgh, India, Chicago, Cincinnati.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. FINANCIAL QUESTIONS: Bogart, *Economic History*, 343-349; Burton, *Financial Crises*, 287-289; Dewey, *Financial History*, nos. 158-161; MacDonald, *Select Statutes*, nos. 96-98; Sparks, *National Development*, ch. 9.

2. GOVERNMENTAL PROBLEMS IN 1880: Andrews, *Our Own Time*, 307-356; Haworth, *Reconstruction and Union*, 103-114; Lambert, *Progress of Civil Service Reform*, 10-24; Sparks, *National Development*, chs. 11-12; Wilson, *American People*, V, 151-169.

3. COMMERCIAL REORGANIZATION: Andrews, *Our Own Time*, 16-18; Bogart, *Economic History*, chs. 22-23; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions*, chs. 1-6; Sparks, *National Development*, 53-67; Webster, *General History of Commerce*, ch. 29.

4. CLEVELAND'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION: Dewey, *National Problems*, chs. 2, 4-6, 8; MacDonald, *Select Statutes*, nos. 111-113; Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic*, chs. 1-2, 4; Stanwood, *Presidency*, chs. 27-29; Wilson, *American People*, V, 169-196.

5. CAPITAL AND LABOR: Bogart, *Economic History*, chs. 26-29, Dewey, *National Problems*, chs. 1, 3, 6, 12; Hillquit, *Socialism*, pt. II, chs. 2-3; Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor*; Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*.

TOPIC II

WE ENTER THE NEW ERA

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the new political questions that came to the fore in the new era.
2. To set forth the controversies over the tariff and the money question during the new era.
3. To understand the significance of the presidential election of 1896.

1. *The Tariff and the Money Question*

Democrats nominate Cleveland, Republicans nominate Harrison. The mounting surplus, the temptation to legislative extravagance, the excess taxation, the need for reform, had all properly weighed heavily on Cleveland's mind. Whatever else he may not have accomplished, he had created at last a clear-cut issue for the two parties in the campaign of 1888—the first real issue since slavery in 1860.

Had not Blaine, who was spending the year in Europe, absolutely declined to have himself nominated by the Republicans, he would unquestionably have again been their candidate. At St. Louis, where the Democratic convention met, Cleveland had been unanimously renominated with Senator A. G. Thurman of Ohio as his running-mate, Vice-President Hendricks having died in office. When the Republicans met at Chicago, nineteen candidates were balloted for. It was only after three days that the choice fell on General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, a grandson of old "Tippecanoe," with Levi P. Morton of New York for Vice-President.

The tariff is the dominant issue. The issue of the tariff was squarely met by both parties in their platforms. Cleveland believed that "unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation," and that the surplus obviously called for the reduction of taxes. He said that for the benefit of the farmers and other consumers who suffered from the high costs of manufactured goods, there should be downward revision of the worst schedules in the old war-time tariff. Cleveland made it clear that he in no wise advocated free trade. But the Republicans raised the cry

that he would ruin the country. They declared in their platform that "we are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection," and protested against its destruction. The confusion of opinion between the two parties on the currency question is interestingly indicated by the Republicans in that they demanded the use of silver and denounced Cleveland for his stand in favor of the gold basis!

Harrison is elected. Cleveland lost some votes by an incident which cost the far from astute British minister at Washington his post. A Republican in California, who pretended to be an Englishman naturalized as an American, wrote to the minister, Sackville-West, asking which presidential candidate would probably be the more friendly to England if elected. The minister, forgetting that a diplomat has no right to meddle in the domestic affairs of a country to which he is sent, advocated Cleveland. The Republicans published the letter widely, and tried to prove that Cleveland truckled to England and was attempting to commit us to free trade for the benefit of that country and not ourselves. The minister was at once handed his passports, but it was too late to undo the damage.

The result of the election was a victory for Harrison who received 233 electoral votes to Cleveland's 168. It was the tariff question and the large electoral votes of the manufacturing states which had defeated Cleveland. His friends had warned him not to send in his tariff message but to wait for re-election and then act. He felt, he said, that this would not be fair to the country, and that the people should know before they elected him just where he stood.

The people had voted for him, but in the wrong states, and, as has several times happened, in our peculiar system, we were again to have a President elected by a minority of the voters. As a Republican House

Copy.

25, Oct. / 88

Dear Mr Bayard

After leaving you this morning I saw in the "Herald" the letter I showed you. It is clear to me now that the whole affair was a trick to make use of me. I repeat again my disclaimer of any thought or intention of meddling in domestic politics when I wrote the private letter which has been published.

*Yrs sincerely
Sackville.*

A LETTER FROM SACKVILLE-WEST, ADMITTING HE HAD BEEN DUPED, TO SECRETARY OF STATE BAYARD

From the original in the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

was returned to Congress, the popular vote for Cleveland may be considered as a personal triumph.

Harrison selects a colorless Cabinet. Harrison had had a creditable career in the Civil War, one term in the Senate, an unblemished personal record as an able lawyer, and an ability to charm audiences by his oratory, but he had an unfortunate coldness of manner in personal intercourse. For the first time in more than a dozen years the new President and both Houses of Congress were of the same political party, and the way seemed open for the enactment of important legislation.

Harrison chose an undistinguished Cabinet, with the exception of his Secretary of State, Blaine, whom he did not desire but who could not be ignored. Blaine had made Harrison President by refusing to run himself, and the next highest post in the administration obviously belonged to him. John Wanamaker was made Postmaster-General, and a leading business lawyer of New York, Benjamin F. Tracy, went to the Navy Department.

The party had been elected on the tariff issue, but the situation was not simple. The tariff bill to be passed had to depend on other elements—in the South and the West—as well as on the Eastern manufacturers. Although Harrison was inaugurated in March, 1889, it was not until the next year that important measures began to be put through with the help of the new Republican House. In that body there were two outstanding men, Thomas B. Reed of Maine and William McKinley of Ohio.

Speaker Reed is given the title of "czar." Reed was elected Speaker of the House which assembled in December, 1889. He made up his mind to introduce some new rules. One of the most important innovations made by him early in 1890 was the counting of the members actually in the room, instead of merely those responding to the roll-call, to determine whether a quorum were present. Another was that the chair might decline to entertain motions which it considered offered solely for the purpose of delaying business. These and other new rules, which gave him his title of "czar," were really called for in the interest of the public business. When the Democrats later secured a majority in the House, they continued to enforce the "Reed Rules." At the time of their introduction, however, the rules met a storm of opposition. Although they greatly assisted the Republicans to pass their legislation, they also were a factor in the defeat of the party in the mid-term elections.

The Republicans wish to protect the negro vote in the South. For some years the situation in the South had been considered a sore grievance by the Republicans. Legally the negro had the vote, but the Southern white, determined at all costs to keep a white government in power, had, in one way and another, practically nullified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The problem was racial, but the negro vote was Republican.

The population figures according to the latest available statistics at that time were those of the census of 1880 which showed the comparisons noted below for some of the Southern states:

	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>
South Carolina.....	391,000	604,332
Georgia.....	198,328	243,266
Alabama	662,185	600,103
Mississippi	479,398	650,291
Louisiana	454,954	483,665

If the Republican party could force the South to count negro votes the advantage of the party was clear as noonday.

Under the new "Reed Rules," a bill passed the House by a narrow partisan vote designed to prevent interference with the right of the negro to vote. This would have had the result of returning many more Republican members to Congress. There were no "Reed Rules" in the Senate, and senators could talk and obstruct in relays as long as lungs and the dictionary held out. A minority in the Senate refused to look kindly on a Republican tariff bill as long as the Republicans threatened to set up again a carpet-bag régime in the South with the aid of Federal supervisors. This was the first obstacle that the Republicans met in the effort to redeem the party's campaign pledges.

Congress passes the Sherman Silver Act. While the Eastern Republicans were demanding a tariff, the Western Republicans were demanding the coinage of silver. The ranks of the latter had gained much in Congressional influence because six new states—Montana, Washington, and the two Dakotas, Idaho, and Wyoming—had just been admitted to the Union. The Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom of Minnesota, was a silverite; President Harrison was favorable to bi-metallism; and the Westerners thought the time had come to insist on the free and unlimited coinage of that metal. The Republicans had come out for silver, and Congress passed the bill known as the Sherman Act, as it was fathered by the former Treasury head, John Sherman.

The act provided for the purchase by the government of 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month. It was to be deposited against treasury notes which were to be legal tender for all payments, including those of duties at the custom-houses. The act also committed the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with one another.

Congress passes the McKinley Tariff Bill. As early as May, 1890, the McKinley Tariff Bill, which embodied the widest extension of the protective system yet offered, was passed by the House on a strictly party vote. In the Senate, however, it encountered opposition. Two bargains had to be made to get it through. The tariff senators agreed to please the Southern senators by abandoning any effort to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and the Western senators by passing the silver purchase act. The question of the rights of the negro, of which so much had been heard, dropped out of sight.

Blaine makes treaties with our Southern neighbors. Outside of Congress, the leading figure of the administration was Blaine. In the Department of State he was intensely interested in fostering relations with the countries of South America too often neglected by us. When the tariff bill was being considered, he urged with all his strength that provision be made for a system of reciprocity. Against much opposition he won his point in an amendment to the bill. As a result, he negotiated treaties with a dozen West India and South American countries, which he hoped would win us a far larger part of the trade to the south which we then shared only to a nominal amount.

Blaine takes active interest in foreign affairs. Blaine's conduct of his office was spirited. He was perhaps more genuinely interested in foreign policy than any other Secretary of State between Seward and John Hay. A settlement with Germany of a dispute over Samoa was interesting chiefly as indicating a willingness on our part to consider it our right to intervene in the affairs of a far distant land which we had previously considered as quite outside the sphere of our activities. An effort to settle the troublesome question of the seal fisheries in the Bering Sea was decided against us, but had an importance as being the second serious dispute which we settled amicably with England. Another controversy, with Chile in 1891, which threatened what might have been the only war in our history with a South American nation, was also adjusted peacefully.

Our dual system of divided sovereignty causes us trouble. Of more significance than these, because of the prominence which it again gave to one of the features of our Constitution, was the difficulty which

arose with Italy in the same year. For some time there had been much violence and a number of murders in New Orleans. It was suspected these were due to the operations of an Italian secret society, and many of the victims had been Italians. The chief of police had done his best to track the murders, when he was himself murdered. Eleven persons, three of them Italian subjects, and the rest naturalized, were indicted for the crime. It appeared that they would be acquitted because the jury feared that vengeance would be wreaked on them if they rendered a verdict of guilty. A mob of several thousand persons then stormed the jail and lynched the eleven suspects.

The United States had a treaty with Italy guaranteeing Italian citizens in our country constant protection and security, but the Federal Government was without control over the Louisiana government. Italy demanded the immediate punishment of the offenders. This, of course, no government could guarantee until they had been proved guilty. Fortunately, although diplomatic relations were broken for about a year by the mutual recall of ministers, Italy had placed herself in a weak position by demanding too much. Eventually the Federal Government settled the matter by the payment of 125,000 francs to the families of the three murdered Italians. In spite of the fact that Governor Nicholls of Louisiana showed himself quite accommodating, the weakness of our dual system of divided sovereignty had again appeared as it had in the McLeod case in New York in 1840.

We face a serious financial condition in 1892. By the end of 1892, our import duties were being paid 96 per cent in silver and only 4 per cent in gold. Gold was being hoarded, and the solvency of the national government was seriously in danger. Our trade balance was adverse for practically the first time since the war, instead of heavily in our favor. Our railroads and other enterprises had been loaded with watered stock for the benefit of speculators. Partly from the fears aroused in Europe by the threatened default of the great English banking house of Barings in 1890, partly from other European conditions, and partly from fear whether we could continue to pay in gold, Europe began to draw that metal from us in payment of debts in large amounts. The Eastern banks had to restrict credit. It seemed that our whole financial structure might collapse, and bankers and magnates might have to follow the farmers into the bankruptcy courts.

Such was the condition under which the presidential campaign of 1892 was fought. It was a depressing prospect for any candidate who might be elected.

2. Cleveland's Luckless Years

The Republicans nominate Harrison, the Democrats Cleveland. The Republican convention met at Minneapolis on June 7. Its platform reaffirmed the American doctrine of protection. On the money issue it demanded bi-metallism and the maintenance of the parity of gold and silver. Although Harrison had aroused no enthusiasm, there was little question that he would be renominated. Whitelaw Reid, the owner of *The New York Tribune*, received second place.

Some months before the Democratic convention met at Chicago on June 21, it seemed that the strongest candidate was Senator David B. Hill of New York, who had twice been governor of that state. Cleveland was unquestionably the strongest man in the party, but he had made many enemies, had apparently definitely retired from politics, and had been subjected to scandalous abuse by even such Democratic papers as *The New York Sun*.

Moreover, it had been thought that an incident of February, 1891, had lost him his last chance to be again the leader of his party. Both parties and most politicians had refused to face squarely the silver question. Cleveland was asked to address a meeting of business men in New York, which had been called for the purpose of opposing an unsound currency. Although his friends advised him not to express himself strongly, he declined to accept their advice.

Unable to be present in person, he wrote a brief, clear-cut letter in which he stated that he considered the "experiment of free, unlimited, and independent silver coinage," then before Congress to be "dangerous and reckless." As in his previous pronouncement on the tariff, he insisted that the people should know where he stood, even if it involved complete defeat.

The result was interesting. Almost every practical politician thought that this was the end of Cleveland, but he won the nomination on the first ballot. Without minimizing the able work done for him in the preceding months, it was Cleveland's own strength of character and his complete independence in saying what he believed which gained for him the support of the rank and file of voters. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois was nominated as his running-mate.

The platform was trimmed to suit varied tastes. It did, indeed, "denounce the Republican protection as a fraud," but the currency question was handled with gloves and a concession to the cheap-money advocates was made in the suggestion that the ten per cent prohibitory tax on the notes of state banks should be repealed.

The Populist party enters the field. From the various parties of discontent throughout the country emerged the national People's party. It held its convention at Omaha in July, and nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa for President and James G. Field of Virginia for Vice-President. The platform demanded free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, and that the amount of currency in circulation be increased at once to not less than fifty dollars per capita of the population. In addition to the cheap-money planks, there were others which to the conservatives seemed almost as heretical and radical. Many of these, however, have since been enacted into law and are now commonplaces, such as the establishment of postal savings banks, restriction of immigration, a graduated income tax, and the popular election of senators.

Cleveland is re-elected. In a number of states, such as Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, North Dakota, and Wyoming, the Democrats joined with the Populists, and in the South the Populists joined with the Democrats, so that it is impossible from the figures of the popular vote to judge of the real strength of either party. The campaign, which was rather dull and quiet, resulted in an overwhelming victory for Cleveland.

On his second accession to office, Cleveland was at once strong and weak. In the House of Representatives his party numbered 220 against only 126 Republicans and 8 Populists. But on the other hand there was scarcely a move he could make which would not offend a large part of the people. That the Republicans would bitterly oppose tariff revision was, of course, certain. But the condition of the currency and finances demanded immediate action with regard to silver that would almost equally displease many of his own party and the Populists to whom, in part, he owed his election.

The Cabinet members whom Cleveland chose for advisers formed a strong group, especially John G. Carlisle at the Treasury, Daniel S. Lamont in the War Department, and Richard Olney as Attorney-General. The chief position, Secretary of State, went to Judge Walter Q. Gresham, formerly a Republican. It was Cleveland himself, however, who dominated the policies of the administration.

Our gold reserve decreases. The President was at once confronted with an alarming situation. In the national currency there was the \$346,000,000 of paper money, the old "greenbacks." By early summer under the Sherman Act the Government had already been obliged to buy \$147,000,000 of silver, of which over \$135,000,000 had

gone into circulation as silver certificates, and there was also, under the Bland Act, some \$328,000,000 as treasury notes. We have already mentioned the hoarding of gold and the failure to pay customs duties in gold under Harrison.

At the same time that the Treasury had been accumulating the \$147,000,000 of silver, each dollar of which was worth only about sixty cents in gold, the amount of gold in the Treasury's possession had been lessened by \$132,000,000. Against the combined total of

THE UNIVERSAL SCAPE-GOAT.



McKINLEY BILL (IN GOATISH GLEE) "HA! HA!
"LAST YEAR IT WAS ME!"

AS THE CARTOONISTS REGARDED THE SHERMAN SILVER BILL

From the Library of Congress.

some \$809,000,000 of paper and depreciated silver, the government had tried to keep a gold reserve, for exchange on demand, of \$100,000,000. Just before the end of Harrison's term, this amount was threatened with impairment. The Republicans had made preparations to issue bonds to buy gold, but New York bankers came to the rescue, and Harrison left Cleveland just a trifle over the \$100,000,000 when the latter came in.

The "endless chain," however, was working rapidly. Greenbacks could be presented for payment in gold. Then the Government was forced to re-issue them again, and the next holder could again present them for gold. Also, the pur-

chase of \$54,000,000 a year of depreciated silver had to continue. People both in America and abroad had become frightened at the probability that the Government would not be able to continue to pay in gold, and the more frightened they became, the more gold they demanded.

Cleveland could be counted on to defend the gold standard, but the Vice-President, Stevenson, was a silverite. Just before Cleveland's inauguration, the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad had failed. Toward the end of April, the government reserve fell below \$100,000,000. A

week or so later came a devastating panic, starting with the failure of a great number of banks and important commercial concerns.

Congress repeals the Sherman Silver Act. On June 30, 1893, the President sent out a call for a special session of Congress to repeal the Sherman Act, but, for reasons not then understood, it was not to meet until August 7. The unknown reason was that the President was in danger of his life from the growth of a cancer and a critical operation was immediately essential. On the day he issued the call for Congress, he went aboard a yacht in New York harbor to undergo the operation in complete secrecy. The truth could not be told or the panic already raging would have become instant destruction. Fortunately the surgeons were successful, and it was not until many years later that the nation knew how critical had been that June 30.

In his message to Congress Cleveland clearly stated the situation into which the Sherman Act had brought us and demanded its repeal after "the ordeal of three years' disastrous experience." With the aid of about 100 Republicans—a large part of the President's own party voting against the measure—repeal passed the House by 239 to 108. In the Senate, the Democrats were equally divided, but there also the bill was passed with Republican support.

The panic of 1893 sweeps over the country. The number of commercial failures in 1893 was three times as large as in 1873. Among financial institutions, 158 national banks failed (almost all of them in the West and South), 172 state banks, 177 private banks, 47 savings banks, 13 trust companies, and 16 mortgage companies. Railroads, great and small, went into receiverships. One hundred sixty-nine of them, with a mileage of 37,800 miles and a capitalization of over \$2,400,000,000, were bankrupt. The nation seemed prostrate, and unemployment and labor troubles were universal.

Bands of workless men wandered about the country, and one of these bands, under the lead of Jacob Coxey, gave the nation a genuine thrill of terror by marching from Ohio to Washington early in 1894 to demand, among other things, that the Government at once issue a half-billion of paper money. This episode ended in a farcical anticlimax when the remnant of the "army" which reached Washington was quietly arrested for not "keeping off the grass" of the Capitol grounds!

A serious railroad strike occurs. The grievances of labor, however, were deep and real, and in 1894 about 750,000 workmen were involved in disturbances of one sort or another. In the early

summer there was one of the most serious strikes in the history of our country. In May, 1894, the Pullman Palace Car Company cut wages twenty per cent, although salaries of the high officials were untouched. The grievances of the men were treated with indifference. On the 11th a strike at the shops began, without violence. Two months earlier, many Pullman men had joined the American railway union. In June, the union threatened to go on strike also and to stop trains with Pullman cars unless the company would arbitrate with its men. This the company refused to do, although the mayors of about fifty cities urged Mr. Pullman to consent. Eugene V. Debs, head of the railway union, gave orders to start a railway strike but to avoid violence.

The governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld, was not trusted by the large business interests, chiefly because, on reviewing the case of the anarchists still confined in jail for the Haymarket affair of 1886, he had decided they were innocent and had pardoned them. The best opinion to-day supports Altgeld in his conclusion that those whom he pardoned in 1894 were innocent of the crime alleged against them. However, he was denounced with extreme rancor and was considered by many men as an enemy of society. Altgeld, although strongly in favor of a square deal for labor, was a conscientious public officer who was prepared to maintain law and order. He posted state militia where called for and had a force in Chicago. How violence began in the strike, which soon spread over a large territory, it is impossible to say. As in the Homestead strike, the employers engaged their own guards, selecting and paying for 3600 deputy marshals.

The labor unions object to the use of the injunction. Although the railway men had obeyed Debs's orders to keep the peace, violence broke out, and there were mobbing and destruction of railroad and other property on a large scale. The worst of this occurred after the Federal Government had obtained an injunction from the courts forbidding any one to interfere with the moving of trains and the transportation of the United States mails. Cleveland, sensing in the case only the maintenance of law and order, made his famous pronouncement that he would see that the mails were carried if it took every soldier in the army and every dollar in the Treasury to deliver a single postcard in Chicago.

Federal troops were sent to that city and after their arrival on July 4 there were serious clashes with the mobs. Debs and three other labor leaders were arrested for conspiring to restrain trade, and were tried for contempt of court in disobeying the injunction. When the

president of the American railway union was sent to prison for six months, the strike collapsed.

Altgeld as governor had objected to the sending of Federal troops into a state against the wishes of its governing authorities. He claimed that there was nothing left of the Constitution if the President on his own initiative could interfere with the internal affairs of a state by the use of the United States army. The laborers felt that by the use of the injunction and Federal troops the power of the national government was thrown on the side of the Pullman Company and the railway owners to break the strike. The employees had a sound case and at first public opinion was with them. They had offered to arbitrate their grievances but Pullman had refused. This brought about a situation in which many lives were sacrificed, about \$80,000,000 in property and wages was lost, and an extremely ugly feeling was developed between capital and labor.

The use of the injunction was later declared legal by the Federal Supreme Court and the owners of property were thus given an enormously powerful weapon in labor disputes. The strike was a landmark in the rising tide of opposition to wealth and "big business" among the laboring class.

The laboring men feel that the Government is with the rich. Another incident occurred which seemed to indicate to the farmers and workmen that the Federal Government, including the Supreme Court, was on the side of the rich and against the poor. This was in connection with the effort of the administration to redeem its campaign pledge and reform the tariff. In the Wilson Tariff Bill, passed by a very large majority in the House, duties had been materially reduced and many articles put back on the free list. The bill was greatly changed in the Senate, where a handful of senators forced over 600 amendments to be added. These made a less well-balanced measure with scarcely lower duties than in the act which Representative McKinley had sponsored in the previous administration of Harrison. Cleveland, disgusted with the bill, allowed it to become a law without his signature.

To allay the increasing discontent of the country there had been added to the bill a clause levying an income tax of two per cent on all incomes over \$4000. But here again the Supreme Court intervened. Although that tribunal had decided by a unanimous vote fifteen years earlier that an income tax was constitutional, it now decided that such a tax was unconstitutional as being "direct." The three facts, that a previous unanimous decision was reversed, that it was now decided by

a vote of five to four, and that one of the justices had changed his vote at the last moment, made it appear to labor that the court had changed to the side of capital.

Our Government sells bonds to build up the gold reserve. Meanwhile no improvement in business had appeared. The depression continued throughout the country with the usual increasing hopelessness and decreasing confidence. Everything that Cleveland had done had been unpopular. In 1894 the congressional elections went heavily in favor of the Republicans. The bad business conditions alone would have accounted for an overturn, and they had been getting worse.

The drain on the gold in the Treasury continued with increasing menace to the reserves. By January, 1894, these had dwindled to \$70,000,000 instead of the customary \$100,000,000. Issuing bonds while treasury notes could be handed into the Treasury to be paid in gold, and then, having been reissued according to the requirements of the law, be presented again for more gold, was obviously pouring precious liquid into a vessel which was leaking faster than it could be filled. As lack of confidence in the government's ability to keep up this game increased, the game itself went on with accelerated swiftness. In February, 1895, the reserve was down to \$41,000,000.

On the 7th of that month, Cleveland had an interview in the White House with J. P. Morgan, the leading banker of the country. Merely to issue another block of bonds as the President had done before would be futile. He had asked Congress to pass a law by which the Treasury notes when presented and paid in gold could be cancelled instead of being reissued. Congress had refused. The President now arranged with a syndicate headed by the Morgan firm to sell to them bonds to the extent of about \$62,000,000 at a premium of four and one-half per cent, which the syndicate re-sold to the public at 118.

A howl of rage went up from the country. The President was accused of having sold the country to Wall Street. There is no question, however, that he was justified. The syndicate had done more than buy the bonds. By their management of the gold market and foreign exchange they stopped, for a while, the "endless chain," which Congress had refused to stop. They made a loss on their own business to keep gold from flowing to Europe, as called for by the rate of exchange. They provided the government with \$15,000,000 more gold than they had agreed to furnish.

Confidence slowly came back, and in January, 1896, when \$100,000,000 more was needed, and the last bond issue was floated,

it could be offered directly to the public and was taken at a premium. Much gold was still hoarded by the people but the danger had passed. Nevertheless, Cleveland had scarcely a political friend left. Members of his own party were as hostile to him as were the Republicans. Few men who have rendered so great a service to their country have been so bitterly reviled.

Cleveland refuses to annex Hawaii. Among Cleveland's outstanding characteristics were independence, honesty, and courage. Detesting imperialism and the "big stick" methods with which we were to become familiar later, he blocked the attempt to annex Hawaii which had started under Harrison. Indeed, the treaty of annexation of the new Hawaiian Republic, which had been prepared for submission to the Senate by the previous administration, was pigeon-holed by Cleveland. He felt that we had not been honest in so far as we had helped to foment trouble in the islands for our own ultimate benefit.

Venezuela's boundary-line dispute with England involves the Monroe Doctrine. In another and more important affair, however, he was to wield the "big stick" with a vengeance, and gain, for a moment, the applause of even such Republican expansionists as Roosevelt and Lodge. In South America, the British colony of Guiana lay next to the republic of Venezuela, and for decades there had been a boundary dispute. At Venezuela's request we had offered to mediate in 1887, but England had declined to accept our offices. The Venezuelan claims seemed too sweeping to be justified. There were somewhat delicate questions involved, in view of our assertion of the Monroe Doctrine, in allowing a European nation to enforce demands



ISSUING BONDS IS LIKE POURING
WATER IN A SIEVE

A cartoon by Coffin after the Leroux painting. From the Isabella Solomons' Collection, Library of Congress.

for a considerable extension of its own territory on the American continent.

The doctrine, of course, was mere assertion on our part and was not considered as international law. Bismarck had in fact referred to it as an "international impertinence," and the only sanction it might possess would be our physical power to enforce it. However, in 1895, our navy did not include a single first-class battle-ship. Cleveland wished to have the Anglo-Venezuelan dispute settled by arbitration, but having failed in that in 1895 he allowed Olney, the Secretary of State, to dispatch a sharp note to the British Government.

Olney brusquely demanded a settlement of the Venezuelan dispute which should be satisfactory to us, and claimed our right to intervene. "To-day," he wrote to Lord Salisbury, "the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition. Why? It is not because of the pure friendship or good will felt for it. It is not simply by reason of its high character as a civilized state, nor because wisdom and justice and equity are the invariable characteristics of the dealings of the United States. It is because, in addition to all other grounds, its infinite resources combined with its isolated position render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable as against any or all other powers."

We arbitrate with England the Venezuela question. Salisbury did not reply for four months. Our own public was not aware of the seriousness of the situation until Cleveland submitted all the correspondence to Congress in December, with a warlike message. There was almost a panic in Wall Street, and general consternation in both countries.

Fortunately, to the sane public opinion in each of them it appeared to be the height of criminal folly to bring on war between the United States and the British Empire over a minor imperial boundary dispute. Luckily, also, at the beginning of January, the German emperor sent his famous telegram to Kruger in South Africa congratulating him on having captured the Englishman Doctor Jameson. This insult, as it was considered, offered to England by the Kaiser, acted as a lightning-rod to ground some of the anger felt against the United States.

In his message to Congress, the President had asked for the appointment of an American commission to determine for ourselves the boundary in dispute. The force of the United States was to be pledged

to keep England from advancing beyond such a line as we should determine. England, of course, would not consent to that. After a good deal of diplomacy the whole question was finally submitted to arbitration, as a result of which most of England's claims were conceded. The episode, undoubtedly, brought to the attention of Europe with startling suddenness the fact that the United States was no longer a fourth-rate and negligible power. Fortunately, it also brought to light the very strong feeling in both countries against their ever again engaging in war for any reason whatever if there was any other way out. That was probably the most valuable by-product of the incident.

In a few years England was to have her energies absorbed by her war in South Africa, and we were to have our thoughts forced into wholly new channels by our war with Spain and all the results flowing from it. The whole affair of Venezuela left much less lasting impression than might have been expected. But the danger which played over the destinies of both peoples for some months was more or less in accord with the whole of the stormy period of Cleveland's second term.

An increased gold supply raises prices. The two important questions in the campaign of 1896 were to be prosperity and free silver, with the tariff as a subsidiary one. The irony of the situation was that prosperity was returning in any case, and that free silver was almost at once to lose importance as an issue, both from causes with which parties and platforms had nothing to do.

Periods of business depression come in cycles of about twenty years. That which was due in the early nineties had run its course by 1896. Prosperity had begun to return before the campaign in the fall of that year and, although no one knew it, the nation was at the beginning of a period of great speculation and business advance.

Apart from the recovery which might have been expected from the law of cycles, there was to be another factor which was greatly to increase business, to expand credit, and to settle the silver question for forty years. This was the discovery in several parts of the world of immense deposits of gold. For the twenty years preceding 1891 the world production of that metal had never again reached the figure of 6,270,000 ounces mined in 1870, and in five of the years had been well below 5,000,000 ounces. This had been one of the causes of low prices of agricultural and other products, and thus of much of the hardship suffered by primary producers and debtors. From 1891, however, the annual gold production began to rise. There was a big jump in

1897 to over 11,000,000 ounces and by 1912 it had reached almost 23,000,000.

As there were no great wars in the period, practically all of this enormous increase was available for the needs of normal business, and consequently resulted in a general rise in prices. The tremendous political fight for free silver approaching in 1896 came just at the very moment when underproduction of gold was ceasing to be a menace to the classes which feared it.

3. *The Campaign of 1896*

Bryan fights for his economic doctrines. By 1896, however, the question of the gold standard had become infinitely more than a problem in economic theory. Gold had become the symbol in the eyes of vast numbers of our people of the "money power," of Wall Street, of a plutocracy riding rough-shod over the happiness and rights of the ordinary man. The common man believed he was not getting what Theodore Roosevelt later called the "square deal" from his government. It seemed to him as though the rich and powerful could get any favor wanted, whereas both in Congress and in the courts his interests were increasingly sacrificed.

In Cleveland, the Democracy had had a sound leader, but aside from the fact that he had already run for President three times, he was considered too subservient to high finance to be longer acceptable to the people at large. During 1895 and early 1896 the young congressman Bryan, who had opposed Cleveland's stand on gold, had been going up and down the country preaching his economic doctrines. Also a little book on free silver, by W. H. Harvey, called *Coin's Financial School*, had been selling at the rate of 100,000 copies a month.

Few men in public life have been guided more consistently in all their actions by morality as they have seen it or by a more genuine desire to serve the people than Bryan. The ideas which he had were those of millions of his fellow-countrymen, and therefore he seemed to them an ideal leader. Bryan was a silver advocate, but he saw in the campaign something more than silver. And it was precisely that "something more" which maintained Bryan's hold on the public for a score of years.

In one of his speeches he clearly stated that "this is not a contest for the supremacy of one of two metals—it is not a miners' campaign." The fight, he added, was to save the American people from being dominated by Wall Street . . . "to make money the servant of

industry, to dethrone it from the false position it has usurped as master." This he believed could be done only by preventing the continued fall in prices due to the gold standard and the scarcity of gold, and by fighting the increasing concentration of wealth in the hands of the few.

Republicans nominate McKinley on a gold platform. The party conflicts in the 1896 campaign were unusually complicated. The Prohibition party, which was the first to hold its convention, split into two factions, each putting a ticket in the field. The Republicans, meeting at St. Louis, nominated William McKinley with Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey as Vice-President. Platforms are not very important usually in American campaigns, but in this year they were. All the Republican delegates could unite in proclaiming that the business depression had been solely due to the Democrats; that the reduction in pensions deserved the



MISS DEMOCRACY IN A QUANDARY AS TO WHICH WAY TO GO BEFORE THE 1896 CONVENTION

A cartoon in *The New York Advertiser*.

"severest condemnation"; that America sympathized with the Armenians and the Cubans; and that the Monroe Doctrine should be upheld. There was, however, a real struggle over the money plank.

The candidate himself, McKinley, who had been for silver, became converted to the gold standard. The platform declared that all money must be maintained on a parity with gold, but a sop was thrown to the silverites by adding the phrase "except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations." The silverites considered the concession as of no value. After 110 had voted against the plank, without avail, 34 including 4 Republican members of the United States Senate bolted the convention and withdrew. Most of them went over to the Democrats later.

Democrats nominate Bryan on a silver platform. The Democrats held their convention at Chicago, where a fierce fight took place

over the money question. The national committee was in the control of the gold Democrats, whereas the majority of the delegates were for silver. It soon became evident that the silverites would have things their own way. Pleading for the little business man, the farmer, the country-store-keeper, the wage-earner, as against the big business man, Bryan claimed he spoke in their name. "We have petitioned," he said, "and

our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more; we defy them!"

At the end of his speech he repeated a sentence from his congressional speech which had attracted little attention when first used but which was now to stir the nation. "Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: 'You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns—you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.' " The wildest excitement seized the delegates.



WILLIAM MCKINLEY ADDRESSING
A MEETING

In the platform, as finally adopted, the convention came out squarely for free and unlimited coinage of silver, declared the money question the paramount one in the campaign, and refused to pass the usual vote endorsing the administration of the retiring President. On the fifth ballot Bryan was nominated for the office, with Arthur Sewall, a rich free-silverite of Maine, as running-mate.

The gold Democrats put a ticket in the field. Almost immediately the gold Democrats, who felt they could neither vote for Bryan nor turn Republican, organized the National Democratic party. On a platform declaring for sound money, they put another ticket in the

field with John M. Palmer and General S. B. Buckner as candidates. Meanwhile both the People's party and the National Silver party had also held conventions, both endorsing free silver and the nomination of Bryan.

McKinley is elected after an exciting campaign. The ensuing campaign was extraordinary, and was perhaps best described by Mrs. Lodge, the wife of the Republican senator, in a letter to an English friend. Immediately after the result was known she wrote: "The great fight is won and a fight conducted by trained and experienced and organized forces, with both hands full of money, with the full power of the press—and of prestige—on the one side; on the other, a disorganized mob at first, out of which burst into sight, hearing and force—one man, but such a man! Alone, penniless, without backing, without money, with scarce a paper, without speakers, that man fought such a fight that even those in the East can call him a crusader, an inspired fanatic, a prophet! It has been marvellous. . . . We acknowledge a \$7,000,000 campaign fund against his \$300,000. We had during the last week of the campaign 18,000 speakers on the stump. He alone spoke for his party. . . . It is over now but the vote is 7,000,000 to 6,000,000!"

The Republicans had indeed had the money. Marcus Alonzo Hanna, the Ohio iron magnate who was responsible for McKinley's nomination, had seen to that. Ordinary business men and the great corporations were frightened at the possibility of a debased currency, and their fright was easily coined into campaign contributions. It was estimated that the Republicans distributed a quarter of a billion of pamphlets and other printed matter in a score of languages to educate the voter. So great was interest in the campaign and so great was Bryan's popularity that he polled almost one million more votes than Cleveland had four years before.

The fervor which Bryan aroused, comparable only to that of the old religious revivals, and the huge vote he polled, not only among Eastern farmers but Eastern industrial workers, were not in the last analysis mere endorsements of free silver. The great uprising under Bryan was an uprising against the growing injustices, as the ordinary American saw them, of the combined economic and political system as it was then developing.

Republicans pass a high protective tariff measure. McKinley wished to have in his Cabinet his friend and supporter, Marcus A. Hanna of Ohio, but Hanna preferred the Senate. So it was arranged

that the venerable John Sherman, also of Ohio, should be made Secretary of State, and Hanna elected senator in his place. Sherman was soon replaced by William R. Day, who, in turn, in about a year was succeeded by John Hay. Among other Cabinet members were Lyman J. Gage, a Chicago banker, in the Treasury; C. N. Bliss, a New York banker, in the Interior Department; Russell A. Alger in the War Department; and John D. Long in the Navy, with Theodore Roosevelt as Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

In spite of the fact that the election had been fought and won on the question of the gold standard, legislation on that issue was to be postponed for three years. McKinley preferred to consider the tariff as paramount. During the campaign he had been proclaimed as "the advance agent of prosperity." Thus began the practice of regarding the President of the United States not as the head of our Government but as the creator of prosperity for the nation.

McKinley favored a higher tariff, and the administration at once set to work to secure one. The two houses of Congress were Republican and there was little difficulty about passing a bill. In their platform the Republicans had unqualifiedly proclaimed protection to be the foundation of American prosperity.

Our Government insures the gold standard. Although the issue of the bitter campaign of 1896 had been free silver, it was not until three years later, that an act insuring the gold standard was finally passed and signed. This established that all forms of our money must be redeemable in gold on demand, created a redemption fund of gold metal to the amount of \$150,000,000, and provided that paper notes, when presented for payment in gold, should not be issued again except for gold. The "endless chain," which Cleveland had pleaded to have broken, was at last shattered.

The rapid increase in the annual production of gold, of which we have spoken, and a series of unusually fine harvests had brought abounding prosperity to the United States. There was, however, much dissatisfaction with the distribution of its fruits, and Theodore Roosevelt noted in 1899 that "the agitation against trusts is taking an always firmer hold."

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: *Beard, A Short History of the American Labor Movement*; *Bryan, The First Battle*; *Buck, The Agrarian Crusade*; *Cleveland, Presidential Problems*, chs. 2-4; *Dewey, National Problems*, chs. 16-

20; Ford, *The Cleveland Era*; Lingley, *Since the Civil War*, chs. 8, 12; Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic*; Thomas, *The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884*; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, nos. 149-150, 152-156.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *American History Leaflets*, no. 6; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, nos. 170-173; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 180-183; Muzzey, *Readings*, 526-545.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Cullom, *Fifty Years*; Foraker, *Busy Life*; Ford, *The Honorable Peter Stirling*; Hoar, *Autobiography*; McElroy, *Life of Grover Cleveland*; Nevins, *Grover Cleveland: a Study in Courage*; Richardson, *Messages*, VIII, 580-591; Werner, *Bryan*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What was the principal issue in the presidential election of 1888?
2. What new rules did "czar" Reed introduce in the House?
3. What are the provisions of the Sherman Silver Act?
4. Tell of Blaine's interest in foreign affairs.
5. What did the Populist party advocate?
6. What caused our gold reserve to decrease?
7. Why did Congress repeal the Sherman Silver Act?
8. What caused the panic of 1893?
9. Describe the labor troubles of Cleveland's administration.
10. Why did the laboring men object to the use of the injunction in labor disputes?
11. What did our government do to build up our gold reserve?
12. Why did Cleveland refuse to annex Hawaii?
13. What stand did Cleveland take on the boundary-line dispute between England and Venezuela?
14. Characterize W. J. Bryan.
15. What was Bryan's stand on silver?
16. Describe the presidential campaign of 1896.
17. What were the real issues in that campaign?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: "Czar" Reed's rules, the Sherman Silver Act, the McKinley Tariff Bill, treaties made by Blaine, decrease of our gold reserve, the panic of 1893, the railroad strike, the Venezuela boundary dispute, the presidential campaign of 1896.
2. PROJECT: Compare the political philosophy of Cleveland, Wilson, and Roosevelt—the three Democratic Presidents since the Civil War—with that of Thomas Jefferson, the father of the Democratic party.
3. PROBLEM: How was the presidential campaign of 1896 like that of 1828?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the use of the injunction in labor disputes is unfair and unjustifiable.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The Venezuela boundary dispute.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you attended the Democratic convention in Chicago in 1896 that nominated Bryan for the presidency. Write

a letter to a friend describing the excitement of the delegates at the conclusion of Bryan's famous speech.

7. DIARY: You were interested in labor problems during Cleveland's administration. You made notes of events as they happened during those four years and especially events pertaining to the strikes that occurred. Read some of these notes to your class.

8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Thomas B. Reed, John Sherman, John Hay, James B. Weaver, Eugene V. Debs, John P. Altgeld, Marcus A. Hanna.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1893, 1895, 1896.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Silverite, bi-metallism, legal tender, reciprocity, parity of gold and silver, ratio of sixteen to one, "greenbacks," the use of the injunction, law of cycles, "money power," free and unlimited coinage of silver, sound money, debased currency, "the advance agent of prosperity."

11. MAP WORK: Give a map talk pointing out the following places and stating the historical significance of each: Chile, New Orleans, Chicago, Hawaii, Venezuela.

12. GRAPH WORK: *a.* By means of bar graphs show the population of whites and blacks in 1880 in South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE PANIC OF 1873: Blaine, *Twenty Years*, II, 556-566; Bolles, *The Financial History of the United States*, III, 283-290; Conant, *History of Modern Banking*, 509-512; Noyes, *Thirty Years of American Finance*, 18-20; Richardson, *Messages*, VII, 243-247.

2. OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1885-1897: Andrews, *Our Own Time*, 409-416, 508-516; Dewey, *National Problems*, chs. 7, 13, 19; Garner and Lodge, *United States*, II, 957-961; Sparks, *National Development*, chs. 13-14; Wilson, *American People*, V, 240-252.

3. MONEY AND TARIFF: Andrews, *Our Own Time*, 691-699; Bogart, *Economic History*, 349-352, 444-448; Dewey, *Financial History*, ch. 19; MacDonald, *Select Statutes*, nos. 121, 125; Stanwood, *Presidency*, chs. 30-31.

4. LABOR PROBLEMS: Adams and Sumner, *Labor Problems*; Bliss, *New Encyclopedia of Social Reforms*, 624-627; Carlton, *Organized Labor*; Peters, *Labor and Capital*; Pratt, *Organization of Agriculture*.

TOPIC III

WE EXPAND BEYOND THE SEAS

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To know the conditions that caused the Spanish-American War.
2. To follow the course of the war and to understand its outcomes.

1. *Spanish Rule in Cuba*

An insurrection breaks out in Cuba. Purely economic questions, however, were quickly to be overshadowed by an adventure into world politics that was to change the United States more profoundly than any other single event between the Civil and the World Wars.

Cuba and Porto Rico were the last remaining possessions of Spain in the New World. There had long been unrest in the larger of the islands where the situation was difficult. Much of the capital used in Cuba had been provided by American and English owners of sugar estates. Other than the comparatively few American and English residents, the population was made up of some pure-blood Spanish, and a mass of negroes and mixed bloods to a great extent illiterate.

The government by Spain was inefficient, weak, and venal. In 1895 a new insurrection had broken out, under Maximo Gomez, a Santo Domingan. General Weyler was sent from Spain to quell it. The "insurrectos" kept up a guerrilla warfare, killing the Spanish from ambush, burning sugar cane, and levying tribute on American and English planters, who had to pay the "patriots" large sums to save their crops, while the Spaniards were not above levying the same tribute for "protection."

Weyler's policy was one of ruthless suppression. In the course of carrying it out he adopted the plan of gathering the people from certain country districts into "reconcentration camps," leaving him free to deal with the rebels outside. The problem was a difficult one. Owing to the absence of a large organized force of rebels, it was impossible to strike a vital blow at them. Most of them were mere civilians who alternately worked when they felt like it and fought when they felt like it.

Due partly to the basic impossibility of Weyler's plan, partly to the

natural inefficiency of the Spanish authorities, and partly to other causes, there was much suffering among the *reconcentrados* herded into the camps. Sickness and insufficient food took a large toll of life, though the number of deaths, like all else in the situation, was enormously exaggerated for propaganda purposes.

Many factors favor our interfering in Cuban affairs. Near the end of his term, Cleveland had offered to intervene but the offer had been refused by Spain. The President, however, realized that strenuous efforts were being made to embroil us in the affair. Such was the situation when McKinley was inaugurated, who had as honest a desire to avoid war as Cleveland had had.

The United States, however, as well as Cuba, was full of combustible material in 1897. There were four chief factors involved. In the first place there was the genuine idealism of the great mass of the American public. It is always easy to rouse our sympathy for any people which is struggling for its liberty. We also have a rather naive belief that all peoples and races are capable of orderly self-government. Emotionally based on an expansive good-nature and our own history, this belief is a force to be reckoned with. Both parties in their 1896 platforms had expressed sympathy with the Cubans.

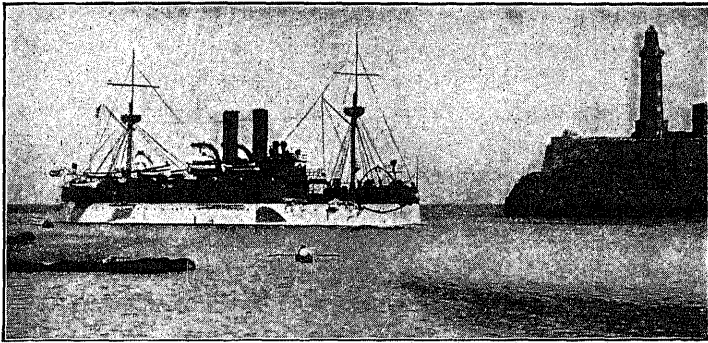
Moreover, there was at work in New York a Cuban junta of no mean ability which expended much money in clever propaganda, doing its best to enlist the sympathy mentioned above. There were, again, a good many Americans in high places in government or business who favored imperial expansion. The new upturn of business called for new markets.

Lastly, there was the newspaper situation. The decade of the nineties saw a great change in journalism. Although there had been "yellow" journalism before, it was about 1890 that the modern paper, with big headlines and the attempt to make sensational news of everything from a murder to the stock market, became general. Prosperity was returning, and failures and strikes as sources of headlines were beginning to disappear. Companies beginning to earn dividends again and men going soberly to work were insignificant news items for selling papers as compared with unemployed or striking mobs and defaults of great railroad and industrial enterprises. The newspapers were looking about for more exciting news.

Such, then, were the conditions: an idealism in the people at large that could be easily aroused in favor of any people supposed to be oppressed and struggling for freedom; a really bad and difficult situa-

tion in Cuba widely advertised by a Cuban junta; a group of powerful business men and politicians bent on imperial expansion; a group of newspapers searching for sensational news. A spark thrown into such a collection of combustible material would be bound to cause an explosion.

Our Government sends note of protest to Spain. On June 27, 1897, the old and distinguished Secretary of State, John Sherman, sent a note of protest to Spain against Weyler's inhumanity. The Spanish Government replied with a denial, and a hint that Weyler's



From a photograph, copyright by J. C. Hemment

THE BATTLESHIP "MAINE" ENTERING HAVANA HARBOR

conduct in Cuba under the necessities of the case was no more inhumane than had been that of the American Secretary of State's brother, General Sherman, on his march through Georgia. But, just as the Cubans were not satisfied with the Spanish Government, neither were many of the Spaniards themselves at home. Soon after the note was received by our indignant Secretary, the reactionary Spanish Premier, Canovas, was assassinated and the Liberal Sagasta became head of the government. Weyler in Cuba was replaced by an abler and more humane general, Blanco, and autonomy was promised to the island. Our minister at Madrid, General Stewart L. Woodford, was working hard for peace and affairs looked more hopeful.

Our battleship "Maine" is destroyed by an explosion. However, Senator Proctor of Vermont, who had gone to Cuba, painted a lurid picture of conditions there. Our consul-general was sending despatches alarming to our people and demanding the presence of American warships at Havana. The newspapers were fanning our

idealism and emotions into a blaze. Our battleship *Maine* was ordered to pay a friendly visit to Havana.

Meanwhile, an unfortunate incident had occurred. The Spanish minister in Washington had written a private letter to a friend in Cuba, in which he expressed a very unfavorable opinion of McKinley. The letter was stolen from the Havana post-office and published both in a Cuban newspaper and in *The New York Journal*, arousing a storm of resentment. His usefulness obviously over, the minister at once resigned, though protesting against the publication of a stolen private letter. The letter had been published on February 9, 1898. Before the public excitement over this incident had had time to cool, on the morning of February 16, the public read in the papers the ghastly news that the previous evening the battleship *Maine* had been blown up by an explosion and sunk in Havana harbor with the loss of 260 officers and men.

It has never been satisfactorily determined what caused the explosion. An American board of naval experts examining the sunken hull claimed that the vessel had been blown up from the outside. A Spanish board, who were not allowed to examine the hull but who did examine the bottom of the harbor, determined that the explosion must have been internal. Thirteen years later, the hull was raised and examined afresh by our own naval experts. They decided that the first board had been wrong as to the part of the ship where the explosion had occurred. A majority still claimed, however, that the explosion had been external while a minority decided that it had been, as the Spaniards claimed, internal. As the ship was then towed out into deep water and sunk, no one can examine her again and the truth will always remain uncertain.

2. Our War with Spain

We go to war with Spain. The newspapers and the public at once decided that the ship had been blown up by the Spaniards, and the war-cry of "Remember the *Maine*" swept the country. Three weeks after the sinking, Congress voted \$50,000,000 for the national defense. On March 29, McKinley sent an ultimatum to Spain demanding the immediate abandonment of the reconcentration policy and an armistice in Cuba. Spain complied immediately with the first demand and, on April 9, with the second demand. Two days earlier the six greatest European powers had offered their services to intervene and bring

about a peaceful solution. Woodford from Madrid reported that the Spanish Government was moving as rapidly as possible to comply with all our demands without bringing on revolution, the overthrow of the government, and chaos.

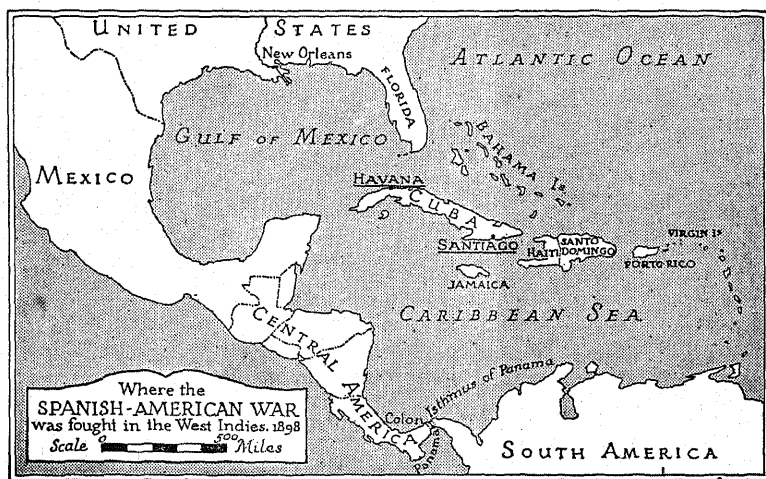
McKinley himself had desired peace, but the pressure on him had become overwhelming. The newspapers fanned the fury of the populace to a roaring blaze. News of Spain's agreement to our demands was not given out. The President decided to throw the decision on Congress, and on April 10, had his message ready. The next day, McKinley sent his message to Congress. On the 19th, Congress passed a resolution declaring Cuba independent, calling on Spain to withdraw from her colony, authorizing the President to enforce this demand with the army and navy, and finally declaring that we would ourselves withdraw from Cuba as soon as we had secured her independence and would leave her to govern herself. Five days later, Spain declared war. We declared war on April 25, 1898.

Our idealism runs high. At this stage, the idealism of the American people was in full flood. The Cuban patriots had been painted in glowing colors, the ferocity of the Spaniards in deepest black. We considered ourselves on an unselfish crusade to help a glorious little people win their freedom from oppression, and we had guaranteed that we would leave them independence when we had helped them to achieve it. How immensely finer we thought ourselves than the empire-grabbing states of Europe who, particularly since about 1880, had been seizing territory all over the world and subjecting alien races to themselves because of markets or raw materials!

Dewey destroys the Spanish fleet at Manila. If the people were thinking only of Cuba, certain statesmen and captains of industry were strongly flavored with European imperialism. They wanted to take from Spain her possessions in the New World, and especially the Philippines in the Old. Roosevelt, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, had sent Dewey to the Far East. The day before we formally declared war, Dewey at Hong-Kong received orders to proceed to the Philippine Islands and to destroy or capture the Spanish Oriental fleet. On May 6, the news came to this country that five days earlier Dewey had destroyed ten Spanish men-of-war at Manila, killed or wounded 381 men, without the loss of a single American, and with no damage to our ships. He had then settled down to the blockade of Manila with the intention of taking possession of the Philippine Islands.

We take possession of the Philippines. Although Dewey could

take the city of Manila, he had no troops to hold it and had to await reinforcements. While waiting, British, French, Japanese, and German ships of war arrived to look after the rights of their nationals. All behaved with courtesy except the German admiral, Von Diedrich, who blustered and threatened until Dewey accused him of gross discourtesy and suggested that if he wanted a fight he could have it at once. The chief result of this otherwise unimportant incident was the



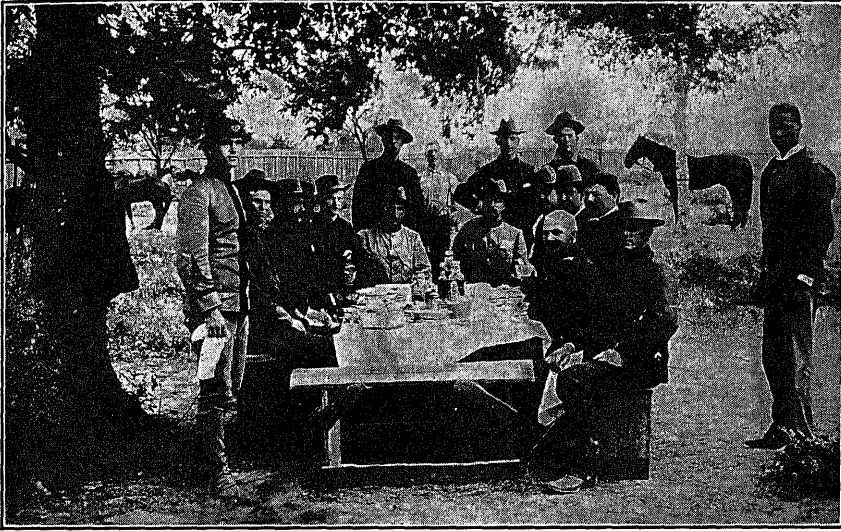
beginning of a far more friendly feeling for England in America. The British commander, Chichester, had made it clear to the Germans that if they did try a fight he would be on the side of Dewey. At this time England and Germany were not very friendly toward each other on account of England's fear of the rising power of Germany.

After our troops had arrived, an assault was made on the city, and on the 13th of August the capital of the islands passed into our possession. Meanwhile, Congress by joint resolution had annexed the Hawaiian Islands on July 7, as a valuable naval base and a handy stepping-stone to our possible Oriental empire.

Our forces win the naval and land battles of Santiago. In the West Indies theatre of operations we had been trying to locate the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera. For a while it could not be found and there was tremendous excitement up and down the Atlantic coast lest it should appear and bombard our coast cities. It was finally found

that Cervera had taken refuge in the harbor of Santiago in Cuba, and there he was bottled up by an American squadron under Admirals Sampson and Schley.

Our troops destined for Cuba had been gathered at Tampa, Florida, where there was much confusion since we were wholly unprepared for war. Finally, however, troops did reach the coast of the island, and on June 23 won against the Spanish at Las Guasimas, and on July 1



OFFICERS' MESS OF THE ROUGH RIDERS IN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, 1898
Colonel Leonard Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt at head of table.
Cadet Haskell, badly wounded in the San Juan fight, at the left.
From a photograph in the War Department.

assaulted the heights around Santiago. The most noted minor engagement was that at San Juan Hill where Roosevelt under Colonel Leonard Wood led the Rough Riders against the enemy. The American charge against fortified positions was magnificently carried out, and much valor was shown on both sides.

Santiago itself had not yet been captured but was in imminent peril, although sickness was taking a heavy toll of the Americans, and General Shafter was inclined to withdraw the troops. On July 3 Admiral Sampson had steamed to Siboney, where General Shafter had his headquarters, to confer with him. He had been gone from the block-

ading squadron only about half an hour when the Spanish fleet made an effort to escape from the harbor.

No braver man or more courteous enemy has ever commanded at sea than Admiral Cervera. He had known from the start, when ordered overseas by his government in unfit and unprepared vessels, that only surrender or destruction could await him. Realizing that when Santiago fell, his fleet would be bombarded from the heights, he preferred to dash out to sea and end in glorious fight. There was never any chance for him, and one after another his ships were destroyed. Cervera himself leaped from the burning deck of the *Maria Teresa* into the sea, to be picked up by the Americans, as they rescued hundreds of others from the blazing and exploding vessels.

Two weeks after the battle, General Toral surrendered Santiago to Generals Shafter, Miles, and Wheeler. By the 25th, Miles, who had proceeded to Porto Rico, was in possession of the island. The war was over. We had lost fewer than 400 men killed or died of wounds, though the toll of sickness was heavy in comparison. Perhaps no other war has had such amazing results at so slight a cost in life.

Our country turns imperialistic. In the meantime, American sentiment had suffered a profound change. Whatever many leaders had had in their minds at the beginning, the people had thought only of freeing Cuba. But as we gathered islands into our arms in the Atlantic and Pacific, a wave of imperialistic ambition swept the nation. Men who believed that America as an empire, governing alien and subject races, would change its character from that of the great self-governing Republic, were denounced.

The conventions of the Republican party all over the country were passing resolutions declaring that "where the flag once goes up it must never come down." McKinley wrestled with the problem of whether or not to demand the Philippines, while imperialists, as they were called, like Senator Lodge, and large business interests which wanted materials and markets, all brought pressure on him. Finally, he decided it was destiny that we must keep the islands.

The peace commission which met the Spanish commissioners in Paris secured all that the most ardent imperialist could have wished. Spain gave up her sovereignty over Cuba, ceded Porto Rico and Guam to the United States, and for \$20,000,000, also surrendered the Philippines to us. The treaty further provided that Congress should be empowered to determine the rights of the inhabitants of the ceded territories.

The treaty, however, met with strong opposition in the Senate. Many senators felt that the constitutional and other problems involved in our becoming an empire were bound to have serious and unhappy results. Lodge insisted that not to accept it would "be a repudiation of the President and humiliation of the whole country in the eyes of the world." Bryan, who was opposed to imperialism but who wished also to end the war, made it known that he was in favor of the treaty and voted for it. The treaty was ratified by a margin of one vote.

On December 10, 1898, a peace treaty was signed. We had acquired eight and one-half million "subjects"—about one million Spaniards and negroes in Porto Rico, and seven and one-half million Filipinos. The latter, under their leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, had, like the Cubans, been fighting for independence. This insurrection was now directed against us instead of Spain, and it took us about four years to suppress it.

We organize governments for our possessions. It was not until the spring of 1900 that we began to provide forms of government for our new dependencies, but Cuba received attention more promptly. We had pledged ourselves to her independence, so the main problem was settled. Much to the mortification of the Cubans, however, we tied a string to their sovereignty. We forced them to add an amendment to their constitution by which the United States could in part control their foreign policy and finances. The Platt Amendment, as it was called, also gave us the right to intervene at any time to maintain an adequate government for the protection of life, property, and liberty, and forced Cuba to cede us a couple of coaling stations on her coast.

The American army of occupation, under General Wood, did extraordinarily good work in sanitary and other improvements in the island before it withdrew. Wood handed over the government to the first elected president, Estrada Palma, on May 20, 1902. It was a fine piece of colonial administration.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Chadwick, *Relations of the United States and Spain*; Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power*; Elliott, *The Philippines*; Faulkner, *American Economic History*, 649-653; Fish, *The Path of Empire*, ch. 7; Jenks, *Our Cuban Colony*; Jones, *Caribbean Interests of the United States*; Lodge, *The War with Spain*; Millis, *The Martial Spirit*; Page, *Dramatic Moments in American Diplomacy*, ch. 12; Shepherd, *The Hispanic Nations of the New World*, ch. 11; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, ch. 36.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *American History Leaflets*, no. 34; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, nos. 180-196; Hill, *Liberty Documents*, ch. 24; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 184-187; Thayer, *Our New Possessions*.
3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Brooks, *War with Spain*; Forbes, *Philippines under American Rule*; Hagedorn, *The Rough Riders*; Olcott, *Life of William McKinley*; Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, 217-255; Schley, *Forty-five Years under the Flag*; Scollard, *Ballads of American Bravery*, 138-157; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 609, 612-613, 637; Thayer, *Theodore Roosevelt*; Wallington, *American History by American Poets*, II, 328-368.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Describe the methods used by Spain in attempting to quell the Cuban insurrection.
2. What factors were there that favored our interference in Cuban affairs?
3. Do you hold Spain responsible for the destruction of our battleship *Maine*?
4. Why did we go to war with Spain?
5. Describe the military operations of the Spanish-American War.
6. What were the terms of the treaty of peace that ended our war with Spain?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The Cuban insurrection, destruction of the United States battleship *Maine*, battle of Manila Bay, battles of Santiago, the treaty of peace.
2. PROJECT: At this point in your history work compile a list of the efforts made by the United States in the past to acquire Cuba. Does this study help you to understand more clearly the real causes of the Spanish-American War?
3. PROBLEM: How did the destruction of the battleship *Maine* help those who were intent on our going into war with Spain?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That our government was not justified in waging war against Spain.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: If the Spanish-American War had not occurred.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: You lived in Cuba before the beginning of the Spanish-American War and were one of the *reconcentrados*. Write a letter home describing your experience in the reconcentration camps.
7. DIARY: During the months preceding our war with Spain you read the news dispatches and editorials of many newspapers regarding the Cuban situation. In your diary you jotted down your reactions to the articles you read. Read some of these to your class.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: General Weyler, Admiral Dewey, Admiral Cervera, General Wood, Admiral Sampson, General Shafter, General Miles, Senator Lodge, Emilio Aguinaldo.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: February 15, 1898; July 3, 1898; December 10, 1898.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: "Insurrectos," "reconcentration camps," *reconcentrados*, Cuban junta, "Remember the Maine."

11. MAP WORK: *a.* Give a map talk pointing out the following places and showing the relation of each to the Spanish-American War: Havana, Hong-Kong, the Philippines, Porto Rico, Manila, San Juan Hill, Santiago, Guam. *b.* Draw a rough outline map of the world and place on it the territory we acquired in the Spanish-American War.

12. GRAPH WORK: Show in some graphic way the amazing results that the Spanish-American War secured.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. OUR WAR WITH SPAIN: Andrews, *Our Own Time*, 799-823; Latané, *America as a World Power*, chs. 1-4; Roosevelt, *Rough Riders*; Peck, *Twenty Years*, 531-608; Wilson, *American People*, V, 269-300.

2. THE GOVERNMENT OF OUR DEPENDENCIES: Baldwin, *Acquisition and Government of Island Territory*; Beard, *Readings in American Government*, ch. 21; Moore, *Four Phases of American Development*, chs. 3-4; Snow, *Administration of Dependencies*; Woodburn, *American Republic*, 373-397.

3. HOW THE UNITED STATES VIEWS THE PACIFIC PROBLEM: Hart, *Obvious Orient*; Mahan, *Problems of Asia*; Martin, *Awakening of China*; Reinsch, *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East*; Ross, *The Changing Chinese*.

TOPIC IV

THE UNITED STATES BECOMES A WORLD POWER

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand how the United States became a world power.
2. To see the relations of our country to its possessions.

1. *Our International Relations*

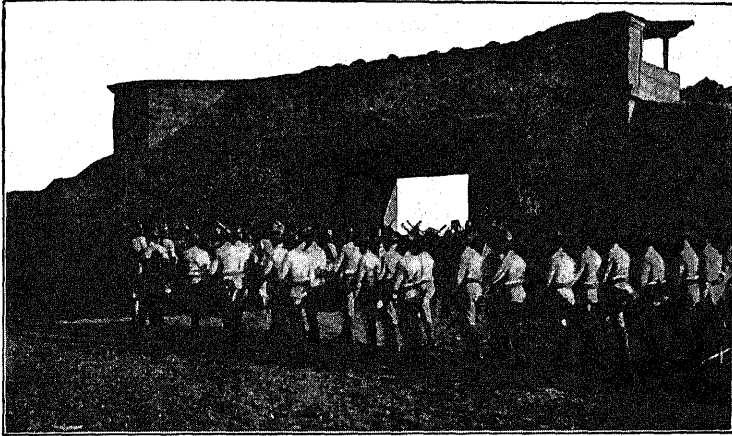
We take our place among the nations of the world. Little by little, since the peace of 1783, we had been extending our territory, but now for the first time we found ourselves a world power, and were so recognized both by our own people and foreign statesmen. This did not come about from our having defeated a tottering second-rate European nation with a glorious past. That was not a great feat in itself, and at least the ostensible cause of the quarrel had been conditions just off our own coast in Cuba, and had had nothing to do with world politics. Nor did the recognition of our new status come altogether from our having become an Asiatic power by the acquisition of the Philippines, though that did mark a great departure from our traditional policy.

It came, rather, from the sudden recognition of what had been largely overlooked until the war turned the spotlight of the world's interest on us, namely, the fact of our colossal economic growth. In the new world system then developing, wealth and economic resources had begun to spell power as never before. The world all at once discovered that there were 75,000,000 of restless and energetic people, possessing the richest half of one of the richest continents in the world, who were beginning to emerge from their self-centered isolation and to spread out in trade and conquest. Small and short as the war had been, it had also fired the enthusiasm of most of our own people for taking a place among the nations of the world.

If one overlooked the almost pathetic weakness of our foe, the naval victories at Manila and Santiago had certainly been smashing ones, and the people suddenly developed an immense pride in their navy. Atlases had been much in demand during the war and great numbers of citizens whose interest before had scarcely gone beyond their "Main

Street" found themselves thinking in terms both of Europe and the Far East. Minds were opened, and victory brought a sense of power. For the next twenty years it seemed that we were destined to play that rôle in international affairs which all expected that we should.

The United States aids in establishing International Court. In 1899 when the Czar of Russia sent out invitations to the powers to meet at The Hague to discuss the problem of the economic burden of



AMERICAN SOLDIERS ENTERING TANG-CHOW, CHINA, DURING THE BOXER REBELLION

From a photograph.

armaments, breaking with our traditional policy of isolation, we accepted. We sent an able delegation with Andrew D. White at its head. They were not mere "observers," and it was chiefly owing to American influence that the conference agreed to establish the permanent Court of Arbitration. Three years later, the United States and Mexico were the first nations to appear before it to settle a serious dispute by amicable methods.

We save China from dismemberment. Our delegates were scarcely home from The Hague, when Secretary of State Hay took the lead in endeavoring to save the Chinese Empire from practical dismemberment by competing European powers. In 1899, he initiated the policy which became known as the "open door." He asked that France, England, Russia, and Germany should each make no discrimination against other nationals in the spheres of their "conces-

sions." They all acceded—a distinct liberalizing of the older imperialism.

Some months later there was again a serious threat of the dismemberment of the empire. Floods, famines, and hatred of the foreigners stirred a revolt, and the revolutionists, or "Boxers," threatened to destroy the foreign legations at Peking. A complete massacre of all the foreigners and their families in the beleaguered city was feared. The world was in suspense until a rescue was effected by a force of 2500 American troops, 3000 British, 800 French, and 8000 Japanese.

Such an incident under the old imperialism was considered an opportunity to acquire territory as a means of punishment. The European nations were ready to dismember China by securing large grants. Secretary Hay blocked this plan by claiming that the rebellion was a domestic one against the Chinese Government, and that all foreigners could claim would be the proper punishment of offenders and the payment of a cash indemnity for actual losses. America placed hers at \$24,000,000. It was only with much difficulty that the European nations were induced to place theirs at \$110,000,000, secured by Chinese taxes and duties.

America, however, had saved the territorial integrity of the empire. Five years later, when it was found that our actual loss had not been much more than half the sum first named, we remitted \$11,000,000 of the payment. China in gratitude put this money aside as a fund to send Chinese students to American universities.

2. Our Relations to Our Possessions

McKinley and Bryan are the presidential candidates in 1900. There was no doubt at all as to candidates for the presidency. McKinley had got on well with Congress, had been dignified in office, and was popular and respected. In the Democratic party the attitude of the rank and file toward Bryan was rather that of the followers of a prophet than of a mere political leader. In their eyes he stood for the cause of humanity rather than for any particular policy. But the exigencies of a campaign demanded specific issues, and there was none in 1900 on which he could rouse the country.

Bryan came out strongly against imperialism and our governing subject races, but, with the exception of a comparatively small group of intellectuals, the mass of the people were proud of the war and of our new acquisitions. Besides, it had largely been Bryan's influence

which had made possible the ratification of the treaty by which we acquired the Philippines. This fact made a weak point in his armor.

With abounding prosperity, both the tariff and the free-silver issues roused comparatively little interest. It was probably Bryan's attacks on the trusts and corporate wealth which brought him the greatest number of followers. To a certain extent Hanna, who was again manager of the campaign, afforded Bryan ammunition. Hanna found it much easier to get contributions to elect McKinley from a comparatively few rich men and corporations than from the people at large. On the other hand Hanna was able to make effective use of the slogans of "Republican prosperity" and the "full dinner pail."

Theodore Roosevelt is nominated as McKinley's running-mate.

As it was to turn out, the most important event in what would otherwise have been a rather stale political season was the choice of McKinley's running-mate. In many respects there has been no other figure in American public life to compare with Theodore Roosevelt. After a rather sickly youth he had become a man of almost incomparably abounding physical, as well as mental, vigor. The range of his intellectual interests was wide and his memory unusual. He stood firmly for the ideals of the clean, honest American. Of his patriotism, ideals, and ability both in politics and statesmanship, there can be no doubt. There were genuine qualities in Roosevelt which enormously interested people of the most varied sorts. No other American, if any statesman anywhere, has ever aroused the world-wide interest in his doings which attended Roosevelt in the fifteen years after the Spanish War.

In that war he had promptly abandoned his desk to raise a regiment of Western cowboys. Although he was only second in command, to Colonel Wood, the spot-light of publicity was always on Roosevelt. He served with distinction. Even before his return he was being boomed for governor of New York. He was nominated and elected, but he antagonized the larger business interests, who were anxious to get rid of him. In view of his enormous popularity as "Teddy" throughout the country, the safest thing seemed to be to kick him upstairs to the un-influential office of Vice-President. Although McKinley was not desirous of having this human dynamo as his running-mate, it was arranged that he should be given the nomination. He went to the convention in Rough Rider hat and red bandanna, and received and accepted the nomination.

McKinley and Roosevelt win. Although, in the ensuing campaign, there was an unusual number of parties in the field, the real

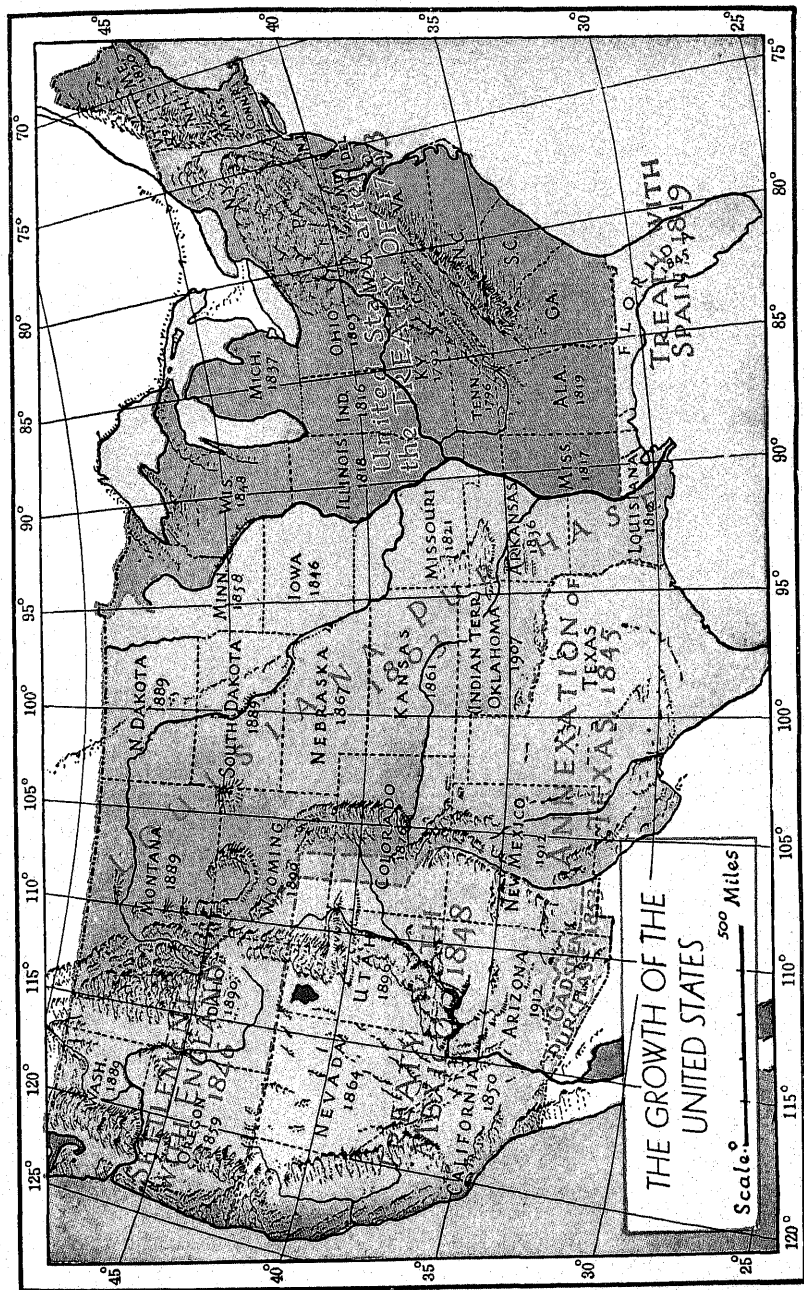
contest, as always, was between the Republicans and Democrats. As had been expected, the ticket of McKinley and Roosevelt easily won, 7,219,000 to 6,358,000 in the popular vote and 292 to 155 in the electoral college. Apparently Roosevelt had been respectably buried as presiding officer of the Senate, and big business sighed relief. It did not dream of assassination.

The Supreme Court gives Congress power to legislate for possessions. The last year or more of McKinley's life as President, both before and after his second election, was chiefly notable for the adjustment of our relations to our new dependencies. In a series of cases which reached the Supreme Court in 1900 and 1901, it became all too clear that the overseas possessions did not fit into our constitutional system. Unlike the areas acquired in the course of our steady continental expansion, these islands, inhabited by alien races all speaking languages other than our own, could not be passed through a "territorial" stage to be admitted within reasonable time as states of the Union.

We had, however, acquired them, and the Supreme Court was faced by a condition and not by a theory. If the logic of its decisions was far from clear, that was chiefly because the situation itself was not logical. The new possessions were declared not to be foreign countries but on the other hand neither were they parts of the United States, and their citizens were left suspended in an uncertain status. What mainly came out of the decisions was the verdict that Congress had the power to legislate for the possessions and to do about as it chose.

The possessions prosper under American rule. At first, largely because of the insurrection, the Philippines were placed under strict military rule. But Aguinaldo was captured by General Funston in March, 1901, and the backbone of the revolt was broken, though the islands were not entirely pacified. We may note that although we paid Spain only \$20,000,000 for the Philippines, and had complained of her inability to put down the Cuban revolt, it took us four years and cost us \$170,000,000 to conquer the Philippines. An adjustment of disputed land titles with the friars cost us over \$7,000,000 more, so that our new possession really cost us about nine times the sum first contemplated.

Civil governments of different forms were set up in all the newly acquired islands, in both the Atlantic and the Pacific, before the end of McKinley's term. In many respects they followed the precedents of the old British colonial governments before the American Revolution. It is interesting to note that in ruling our own dependencies we have



found it necessary to do not a few of the things of which we so bitterly complained as being tyrannical in 1776. It is the old story of the different viewpoints of those in opposition and those in power with the responsibilities of office.

In Porto Rico, for example, we erected a government in which both the governor and the members of the Upper House were appointed by the President of the United States, and the Lower House was elected by the qualified voters in Porto Rico. As Congress had also the power to legislate for the welfare of the island, we reproduced the old type of royal colony, merely substituting the President for the King, and the Congress for Parliament. In April, 1900, both Hawaii and Porto Rico were made territories. Although the numbers of their populations warranted statehood, they have never received that status.



From "The Rocky Mountain News," Denver, 1900

UNCLE SAM: "BY GUM, I RATHER LIKE YOUR LOOKS."

The United States undertook its obligations of governing in good faith, and all of our possessions have improved greatly in such matters as public health, education, and order. There has been much advance in building of roads, in the sanitation of cities, the establishment of hospitals, in water supplies, and in many other fundamentals of modern life. Our administrative services have been mostly free from graft and scandal. Indeed, beginning with Wood in Cuba and William H. Taft in the Philippines, they developed a series of administrators of whom we may well be proud.

The possessions raise constitutional questions. How completely outside our normal course of expansion they were was shown at once in the disputes over levying tariff duties on the products imported from them. It would be as unthinkable as it would be unconstitutional to lay duties on the import of products of any of the continental states or territories into the rest of the country. But both Congress and the

Supreme Court decided that we could do so on the products of even Hawaii and Porto Rico after they had become "territories," and we did the same in the Philippines. Of course we could not do so if they ever became states, and this fact has large political significance. In 1934 our Congress voted for independence for the Philippines, to become effective in ten years, and this the Philippine legislature accepted.

McKinley is assassinated. McKinley was chiefly concerned with these insular questions in the early months of his second term. He was an able, gentle, and lovable man, and since he had been in the White House he had endeared himself in an unusual degree to the American people. He had also developed as a statesman, especially in his views of international relations and policy. As a congressman he had believed in tariffs around protected American industries; as President he said in a speech on September 5, at Buffalo, we cannot "forever sell everything and buy little or nothing." He had come to regard the tariff not as protection for American industry but, in reciprocity treaties, as a means of expanding American commerce. The nation applauded the speech, and with three-and-a-half years yet to serve, McKinley seemed to have a great and useful future before him.

The next day at a reception he held out his hand to shake that of a young foreigner, one of whose hands, apparently injured, was done up in linen. Instantly a flash of flame came from the bandage, followed by another, and the President fell back, shot through the stomach by an insane anarchist. Rallying from the operation which was immediately performed, his recovery was looked upon as certain, but a week later he began to sink and died on the 14th. Roosevelt, whom the bosses and big business thought they were burying as presiding officer of the Senate, was President of the United States.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Allen, *Only Yesterday*; Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power*; Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*; Fish, *The Path of Empire*; Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*; Haring, *South America Looks at the United States*; Howland, *Survey of American Foreign Relations*; Jones, *Caribbean Interests of the United States*; Kawakami, *American-Japanese Relations*; Latané, *America as a World Power*; Paxson, *Recent History*; Roosevelt, *Autobiography*; Ross, *Changing America*; Schurz, *The Policy of Imperialism*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Hart, *Contemporaries*, V, nos. 193, 201; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, no. 215.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Charnwood, *Theodore Roosevelt*; Foster, *Diplomatic Memoirs*; Thayer, *Life and Letters of John Hay*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 661-662.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How do you account for the sudden emergence of the United States as a world power? 2. What attitude did our government take toward the establishment of a permanent Court of Arbitration? 3. How did the United States prevent the European powers from dismembering China? 4. What were the principal issues in the election of 1900? 5. Why was Theodore Roosevelt selected as McKinley's running mate? 6. What were the outcomes of the election of 1900? 7. What power did the Supreme Court give to Congress over the territories? 8. How do you account for the prosperity of the possessions under American rule? 9. What constitutional questions arose as a result of our possessions?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Establishment of the permanent Court of Arbitration, the "Boxer" rebellion, the presidential campaign of 1900, the assassination of President McKinley.

2. PROJECT: Compare the methods used by the United States in governing our possessions with those used by the English Parliament in governing the thirteen colonies.

3. PROBLEM: Does the Constitution follow the flag?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the Philippines should be given immediate independence.

5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The "open door" in China.

6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you were attending the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo in 1901 and were a witness to the assassination of President McKinley. Write a letter describing the scene.

7. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1899, 1900, 1901, 1934.

8. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: "Main Street," "open door," "Boxers," "Republican prosperity," "full dinner pail," "Rough Rider" hat.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. OUR RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA: Haring, *South America Looks at the United States*; Jones, *Caribbean Interests of the United States*; Latané, *The United States and Latin America*; Shepherd, *The Hispanic Nations of the New World*; Stuart, *Latin America and the United States*.

2. OUR RULE IN THE PHILIPPINES: Kalaw, *The Case of the Filipinos*, chs. 4, 6; Snow, *The Administration of Dependencies*, chs. 26-27; Willis, *Our Philippine Problem*; Willoughby, *Territories and Dependencies of the United States*; Worcester, *Philippines Past and Present*.

TOPIC V

ROOSEVELT AND TAFT FACE THE PROBLEMS RAISED BY BUSINESS

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the problems raised by big business.
2. To observe the methods used by Roosevelt and Taft in handling the problems raised by business.
3. To see our Caribbean policy and especially to understand the significance of the Panama Canal.
4. To comprehend the accomplishments of Roosevelt.

1. *Roosevelt and Big Business*

Huge corporations are formed in our country. The mourning country, which now so unexpectedly found the young Roosevelt—he was yet but forty-two—at its head, had changed much in the preceding decade. Not only had it become a world power but there had been a similar change of scale in many other aspects of its life. We were on the threshold of the era in which we are still living, in spite of the vast changes which have occurred since.

Although the “trusts” and large corporations had appeared before the Spanish-American War, the change in scale and the tendency toward consolidation were most notable immediately after. Between 1898 and 1900 more than two score combinations took place in the iron and steel industry alone. In those years were formed such huge companies as the Amalgamated Copper, the American Smelting & Refining, the larger Standard Oil, and the Consolidated Tobacco, to be followed in 1901 by the United States Steel.

Big business becomes powerful. The only way to make profits on all this gigantic mass of capital, much of it representing no tangible property or earning power, was to keep expenses, including wages, to their lowest point, to charge unwarranted and sometimes outrageously high prices for services or product, and to utilize all possible means of controlling markets and prices.

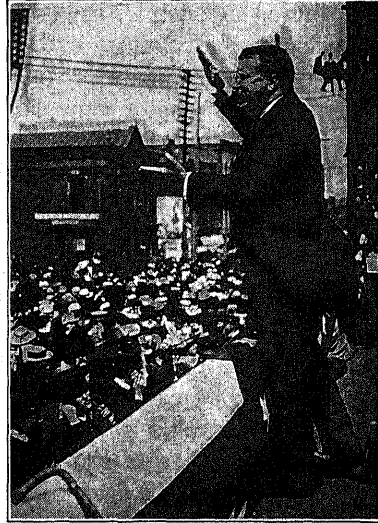
Both the consumer and the wage-earner had begun to feel completely helpless before these colossal aggregations of wealth and power. The

word of these financial titans, and not of the people's representatives and judges, appeared to have become the law of the land. They seemed, and felt themselves to be, all-powerful.

The great change in the scale of business and the vast opportunities from stock watering and market operations had made a few men colossally rich while wages were being lowered. Speaking of them five years after the steel trust had marked the advent of billion-dollar companies, Roosevelt said that "in their hearts they take the ground that to take legal proceedings against them when they violate the law and to endeavor to have them pay their proper share of the taxes is as much of an outrage as to excite the mob to plunder the rich."

The people resent the influence of big business. Free silver as an issue was dead for the time being, but what had been the underlying issue of the 1896 campaign was not. The question in 1901 was of a sound national life and of the rights of the tens of millions of ordinary citizens as against the concentrated power of a few dozen. The discontent of the people had become more profound and widespread, but the question of a sound currency was settled for many years to come.

By 1904, some 164,000 miles of railroad, practically all that was worth anything, was controlled by six groups of individuals, who by means of their own wealth, and yet more by the control they held over banks and life-insurance companies, were coming to dominate the life of the people in every department. The organization and control of the business concerns were, in truth, concentrating very rapidly. By 1910 an investigating committee of Congress reported that the two banking groups in New York, known generally as the Morgan and the Rockefeller groups, held 341 directorships in 112 companies with aggregate resources of over \$22,000,000,000.



From a photograph by Underwood and Underwood

**THEODORE ROOSEVELT ADDRESSING
A CROWD AT ASHEVILLE, NORTH
CAROLINA**

On the other hand, the people were becoming very much alive to the evils, though they did not know how to cure them, and the spiritual forces of the nation were gathering strength. For the first time, the women, who had been given a great increase of leisure in many classes by the change in the type and management of the home, began to take their part in forming public opinion. The women's clubs throughout the country tended rapidly to become aggressive centers in their communities for the improvement of local conditions. Here and there, in such cities as Cleveland, Toledo, Milwaukee, or San Francisco, efforts, more or less successful, were made to clean up the municipal governments.

By 1901 among a very large and steadily increasing part of the ordinary people, there were developing a vast disgust and a vast fear. The magnates believed firmly that they had the power, and refused to accede to any demands of the public. In truth they were living over a smouldering volcano which might blow them into air at any moment if no vent were provided for the forces of discontent.

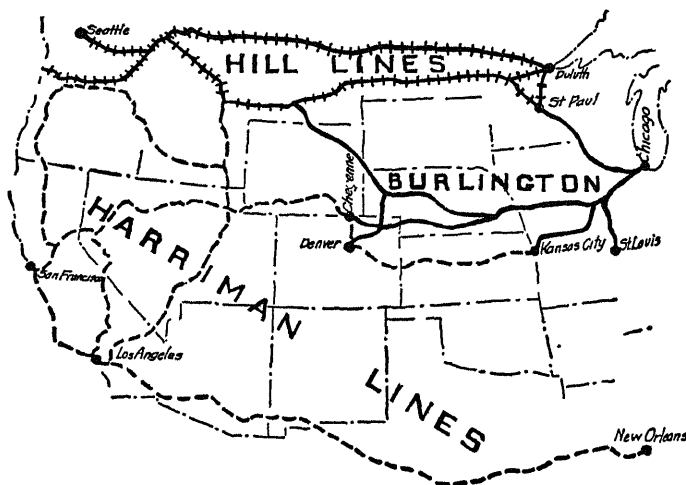
Roosevelt advances the "square deal" for all classes. The shot that killed McKinley had installed in the White House a leader who understood both the social discontent and the inevitability of large aggregations of capital under the conditions of the new economic era. It was Roosevelt's sympathy with all classes, his love of fairness, and his ability as a statesman, that led him to undertake, not the leadership of the forces of discontent, but the reconciliation of the conflicting parties on the basis of what he called the "square deal."

Roosevelt's general love of honesty, his devotion to the people as a whole and not to any one class, his practicality, together with the extraordinary popularity which he possessed, made him the best possible leader in the struggles of the next eight years and the commanding figure in the entire nation.

Roosevelt proposes to control business. It had been McKinley and not himself who had been chosen President by a great majority, and Roosevelt declared that he would continue his predecessor's policies, as he did his Cabinet. The latter had been an unusually distinguished one, including John Hay as Secretary of State, Lyman J. Gage in the Treasury, Elihu Root in the War Department, and Philander C. Knox as Attorney-General. It was impossible, however, that Roosevelt should merely carry on the policies of another. The most dynamic and explosive personality that has ever crossed the stage of American public life, he could be no one but himself. During his

service as President he made no less than twenty-three changes in his Cabinet.

In his first message to Congress, on December 3, 1901, he went at once to the attack of the economic problems of his day. It was, in truth, a distinctly conservative message, decrying any rash attempts to destroy the existing delicate economic machinery of the nation. Nevertheless it seemed radical to certain business men, because the



THE HILL LINES ON THE NORTH AND THE HARRIMAN LINES ON THE SOUTH WERE THE CONTENDERS. THE BURLINGTON, BETWEEN, WAS THE PRIZE FOR WHICH THEY FOUGHT

President suggested that corporations should be amenable to the law and subject to investigation and, "within reasonable limits," controlled by the government in the interest of the people. The addition of another member to the Cabinet, a Secretary of Commerce and Industries, was also suggested. The extraordinary long document laid down all the principles on which Roosevelt was to act for the next eight years.

Rival railroad groups fight for supremacy. Meanwhile, the Sherman Anti-trust law had been almost wholly neglected since its passage in 1890. The great combinations had given it scant attention. Suddenly, in the spring of 1901, all Wall Street, and a good deal of the country, were made to realize how powerful for good or ill had become the forces wielded by the masters of business. The Hill-

Morgan group controlled the Great Northern and Northern Pacific lines in the Northwest, and wished to obtain control of the Burlington, running out of Chicago. The Harriman-Kuhn, Loeb and Company group owned the Southern and Union Pacific lines, and wished to block the purchase. Hill and Morgan won. Thinking themselves secure, Hill went home and Morgan went to Europe. Harriman would not be balked, and began to buy Northern Pacific stock. Sensing what was being attempted, Morgan cabled orders to do likewise. As that stock rose, others fell with appalling rapidity. The chief contestants, to save the whole banking structure, had to call a truce.

Roosevelt dissolves the holding company. Each side claimed to have approximately half the stock of the Northern Pacific. As a way out of the difficulty, a great holding company was formed to take over the stocks of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific. It seemed as though the entire western railway system would come under one control. The West was immediately up in arms.

This had been done in November, less than a month before Roosevelt sent his first message to Congress, and those who were waiting to see what he would do had not long to wait. In February, the government brought suit for the dissolution of the holding company under the Sherman Act, and in a little less than two years had won its suit and dissolved the company. By his action, Roosevelt had antagonized practically all the greatest leaders in finance and industry. In the summer, after his Attorney-General had started the suit, the President made a speaking tour of the country. The wild enthusiasm of the audiences in response to his reiterated statements that there should be no one in the nation so great or powerful as to be above the law and that he intended to enforce it, showed clearly that the people stood behind him.

Roosevelt had grasped the fact that the time had come to control irresponsible power for the interests of society as a whole. On the other hand, the business leaders denounced the suggested right of control as destructive of the business interests of the nation. This attitude was to appear again in another contest between Roosevelt and the business leaders in the autumn of the same year.

The coal miners of our nation have grievances. The condition of the coal-mining industry had been bad for many years, both legally and socially. In some states contrary to law the great railroads owned mines, the products of which they carried, and, contrary to social justice, the owners treated their employees shamefully. Kept

on low wages, forced to live at exorbitant rents in houses belonging to the mine-owners, required to buy even the tools of their trade at more than double cost from the companies, and receiving in many cases the bulk of their wages in certificates good only for purchase of supplies at the companies' stores, the workers in the mines had some reason to feel that justice was being denied them.

There had been a flare-up in 1900, when the miners had offered to submit their grievances to arbitration and to abide by the decision. This the owners refused, but to avoid serious trouble just before the Presidential election a truce had been patched up. There was no real redress of grievances, however, and in the early summer of 1902 the storm broke.

The leader and spokesman for the miners was John Mitchell, one of the finest and broadest-minded of the labor leaders we have had in America. The leader of the owners was George F. Baer, president of the Reading Railway, one of the big business magnates. He refused to consider complaints, to arbitrate, or to recognize the union.

Roosevelt settles the coal strike. Almost 150,000 desperate men had gone on strike in May. As the cold autumn approached without any settlement, the price of coal to consumers rose to thirty dollars a ton. The coal owners warned Roosevelt that they had the right to make all they could out of the situation and that nothing should be done by the government to end the strike and interfere with the increase in profits.

President Roosevelt had no constitutional power to do anything beyond maintaining order by force, if necessary, in the mining districts, but he undertook personally to bring about a settlement. Calling a conference at the White House of John Mitchell and some of the representatives of the owners, he asked them to reach some agreement which, for the good of the suffering nation, might result in resumption of mining. Mitchell immediately offered to arbitrate, but the owners refused, and the meeting broke up in anger. Mitchell, according to the President, was the only one of all, including Roosevelt himself, who kept his temper.

The public, however, who had been on the side of the men, was deeply roused and alarmed, and the owners began to take fright. Moreover, the President was considering taking over the mines with federal troops and operating them for the benefit of the people regardless of the owners. At last the latter agreed to the appointment of a commission of arbitration. Mining was at once resumed and the nation

was saved unthinkable suffering. Four months later the commission decided largely in favor of the miners, who received a ten per cent increase in wages, recognition of the union, and other advantages. Roosevelt's able handling of the situation enormously increased his popularity as a leader.

Roosevelt conserves our natural resources. Few Presidents have had such a successful year as Roosevelt had in 1902. Perhaps the most important and beneficent policy which he initiated in it, and which Congress embodied in the Newlands Act, concerned the much-needed conservation of our national resources. For generations we had been recklessly wasteful of them. Private ownership had destroyed the forests of state after state, with no replanting. The vast forest areas which under proper management might have lasted us a thousand years had disappeared almost in one generation. The government had taken little interest in preventing their rapid dissipation in private hands.

Cleveland had made a beginning, and a few acts, such as the Forest Reserve Act of 1891 and the Carey Act of 1894, had been passed. But fraud, graft, and greed, combined with lack of aggressiveness on the part of the authorities, had largely made them dead letters. Roosevelt initiated a wholly new era and indeed changed the current of national thought on the subject. He withdrew 85,000,000 acres of public lands from sale until their mineral resources could be examined. Under the act of 1891 former Presidents had set aside about 30,000,000 acres of forest land, but Roosevelt formed a national forest preserve of nearly 150,000,000 wooded acres, out of the 200,000,000 that remained when he became President.

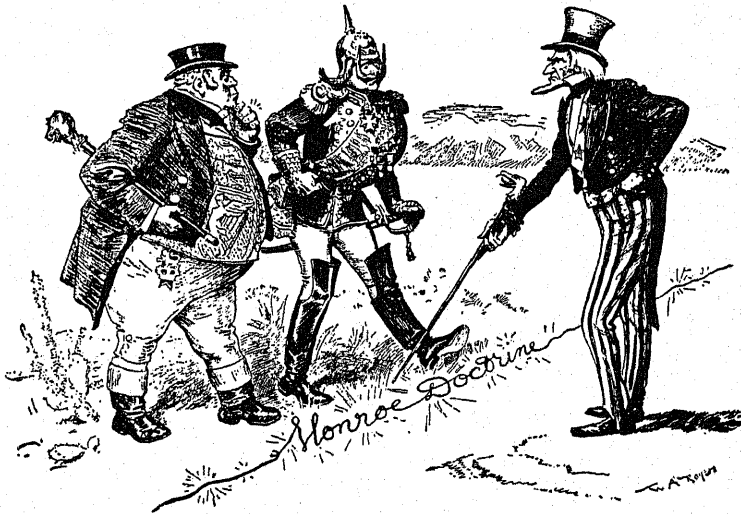
Moreover, by the building of dams and the utilization of our western water powers for the irrigation of desert lands, the results of Roosevelt's policy and foresight are crops now valued at about \$250,000,000 a year. In this, as in all else, he encountered the strong opposition of private interests. They much preferred making money by exploiting the resources of the moment to conserving their value for future generations.

Our government continues progress of social legislation. Although 1903 was chiefly notable at its close for the acquisition of Panama, it began less spectacularly with continued social legislation. In February an act was passed by Congress creating the Department of Labor, and another giving precedence in the courts to cases against the trusts, such as one against the beef combine which was won by the government in May. Another act, although it did not give the

government control over railway rates, made an important step forward by making illegal any secret rebates from published rates, and making the receiver as well as the giver of such rebates liable to punishment.

2. *Our Caribbean Interests*

Roosevelt defends the Monroe Doctrine. An episode at the very end of the same year was still further to increase his popularity



UNCLE SAM—THAT'S A LIVE WIRE, GENTLEMEN!

A CARTOON ON THE MONROE DOCTRINE

From *The New York Herald*, December 16, 1902.

as well as to give him prestige abroad, although the details were not disclosed for many years after. Venezuela, under its dictator Castro, owed considerable sums to several European nations and had been involved in disputes over payments for a long time. England and Germany, working in harmony, broke off diplomatic relations, and both sent war-ships to the Venezuelan coast. Roosevelt had no objections to the European nations' bringing Castro to terms, but he became convinced that Germany intended to use the incident to acquire at least a permanent naval base in the Caribbean. This we could not have allowed in any case under the Monroe Doctrine, but in addition, as we shall see,

we had begun negotiations looking to the building of the Panama Canal. The President had no intention of allowing Germany to establish a fortified base commanding its eastern end.

England withdrew her ships. When Venezuela proposed arbitration, Germany refused any compromise but denied that she intended "permanent" occupation of any Venezuelan territory. Roosevelt pointed out to the German government that "permanent" was a very vague word, and that Germany had taken the Chinese port of Kiauchow on a ninety-nine-year lease.

Meanwhile, the President had ordered Dewey, with a fleet of over fifty ships, including every battleship and torpedo boat in the American navy—at that time more powerful than the German—to "manœuvre" in the West Indies waters, with secret orders to have the fleet ready to sail to Venezuela at an hour's notice. The German ambassador was then informed that if Germany did not agree to arbitrate within ten days Dewey would be ordered to Venezuela. The Emperor agreed to arbitration and asked Roosevelt himself to be the arbitrator, but the President declined, and strengthened the position of the Hague Tribunal by having all the nations take their cases to that court.

Although the full story of the negotiations was not to be revealed for more than a decade, it was clear that the President had scored a heavy diplomatic victory over the Emperor. Between his defense of American rights abroad and his defense of the ordinary small citizen at home, Roosevelt was attaining a degree of enthusiastic popularity which has fallen to the lot of possibly no other President.

Our government becomes interested in a Panama Canal. Whatever other things he accomplished, and they were both many and great, Roosevelt himself always believed that the greatest was the building of the Panama Canal. It is certain that no other action of his life brings out more clearly both his qualities and their defects.

The background of the situation in 1903 may be briefly described in its essential points. For at least a decade, Roosevelt had been deeply interested in the project of an isthmian canal, which, owned, controlled, and fortified by us, he deemed essential to our security and naval policy. To accomplish what he wished, it was necessary to abrogate honorably the old Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 with England. After a couple of years' negotiation this was done amicably by the signing of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, ratified by the Senate in 1901.

There was a question whether the route across Nicaragua or that

across Panama was the more suitable. The decision finally was in favor of the latter. A French company had long before secured a concession, terminating in 1904, from the Colombian Government. It had done some work but had been unable to make a success of the undertaking. In January, 1902, the company offered to sell out to the United States for \$40,000,000.

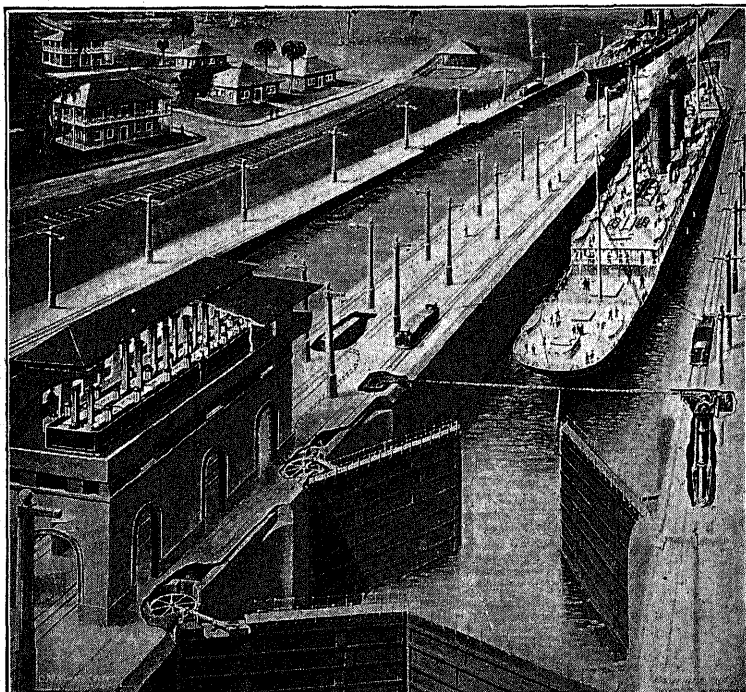
Colombia refuses to sell strip of land across Panama. There was also in the background an old treaty made in 1846 between Colombia, then called New Granada, and the United States. For nearly sixty years this had been interpreted by both parties to mean that we should protect the neutrality of Panama, a province of Colombia, against foreign attack; preserve freedom of transit across the isthmus; maintain Colombia's sovereignty over it; and avoid interference with any effort of Colombia to suppress insurrection, indeed to assist her in so doing.

In 1902, negotiations were begun with the Colombian minister in Washington for a treaty which should serve as the basis for our undertaking to build the canal. We had agreed to buy the rights of the French company. In January, 1903, a convention was signed by John Hay and the Colombian chargé d'affaires, Thomas Herran. The terms were, in brief: that the United States should have full control over a strip of land six miles wide across the isthmus, and that for this and other considerations we should pay Colombia \$10,000,000 in gold, and after nine years \$250,000 a year. On March 17, the American Senate ratified the agreement. On the other hand, the Colombian government did not. Popular sentiment in Colombia upheld its Senate in the contention that Colombia should not give up its sovereignty and that the \$10,000,000 offered to that country was too little compared with the \$40,000,000 paid to the almost defunct French private company. In August, the Colombian Senate rejected the proposed treaty.

We recognize the Republic of Panama. There is no question that Colombia was entirely within her rights in declining to ratify the treaty, precisely as our own Senate had declined to ratify innumerable treaties. It is almost certain that, although more time would have been involved, a satisfactory treaty could have been made by the use of more courteous negotiation and by the payment of a larger sum. However, Roosevelt would brook no delay. He preferred, therefore, to wield the "big stick," and throughout the negotiations there was an air of haste which was most unusual in diplomatic intercourse.

The province of Panama itself naturally wanted the canal built.

So when Colombia declined to sign the treaty and we declined to negotiate further, it was not difficult for those interested in the \$40,000,000 payment to the expiring French company, and others, to stage a revolution. Although by our treaty of 1846 we were supposed



From a photograph, copyrighted by the Scientific American

PANAMA CANAL LOCKS

The passage of a vessel through these locks is controlled by means of a remarkable switchboard located in the building at the left. The rise and fall of the water, the opening and closing of the gates are controlled by electricity.

to uphold Colombian sovereignty, Roosevelt gave a different and wholly new interpretation to that document. As a result of the intervention of our naval forces we established the independence of the revolted province as the Republic of Panama. We then made a treaty with that new state.

The consequence of the way the affair was handled was that not only did Colombia become our enemy, but fear of the aggressiveness

of the great American Republic spread throughout the whole of South America. In 1922 justice was done to Colombia by the payment to her of \$25,000,000, a much larger sum than we would have had to pay in the first place if negotiations had been continued.

Our government builds the Panama Canal. In 1906, work actually began on the Panama Canal. It was completed in eight years and at a cost of about \$375,000,000. The two American continents



THE WEST INDIES AND THE CARIBBEAN

had been cut apart by one of the greatest engineering feats yet attempted. Great as that was, however, it was scarcely greater than the sanitary and medical work of Colonels Gorgas and Goethals who transformed our tropical jungle, ravaged by diseases, into a healthy land for white men. Whatever may be the objection to our method of acquiring the canal zone, we completed in record time the digging of the canal where the French had failed, and also, what they had not even dreamed of doing, we made an almost magic transformation of the zone both physically and morally. In those respects we have everything to our credit.

We exercise an international police power in the Caribbean. In the treaty with Panama we reserved to ourselves the right to intervene to maintain order in that new "sovereign" state, as we had done in the case of Cuba. Largely as a result of our interest in the canal,

we were in succeeding years to develop further the theory of our "protectorate" over the countries of the Caribbean. Most of them were unstable in government and in debt to Europe. This was a situation which might cause us, in order to prevent European occupation, as Roosevelt pointed out in his message to Congress in December, 1904, to exercise "an international police power."

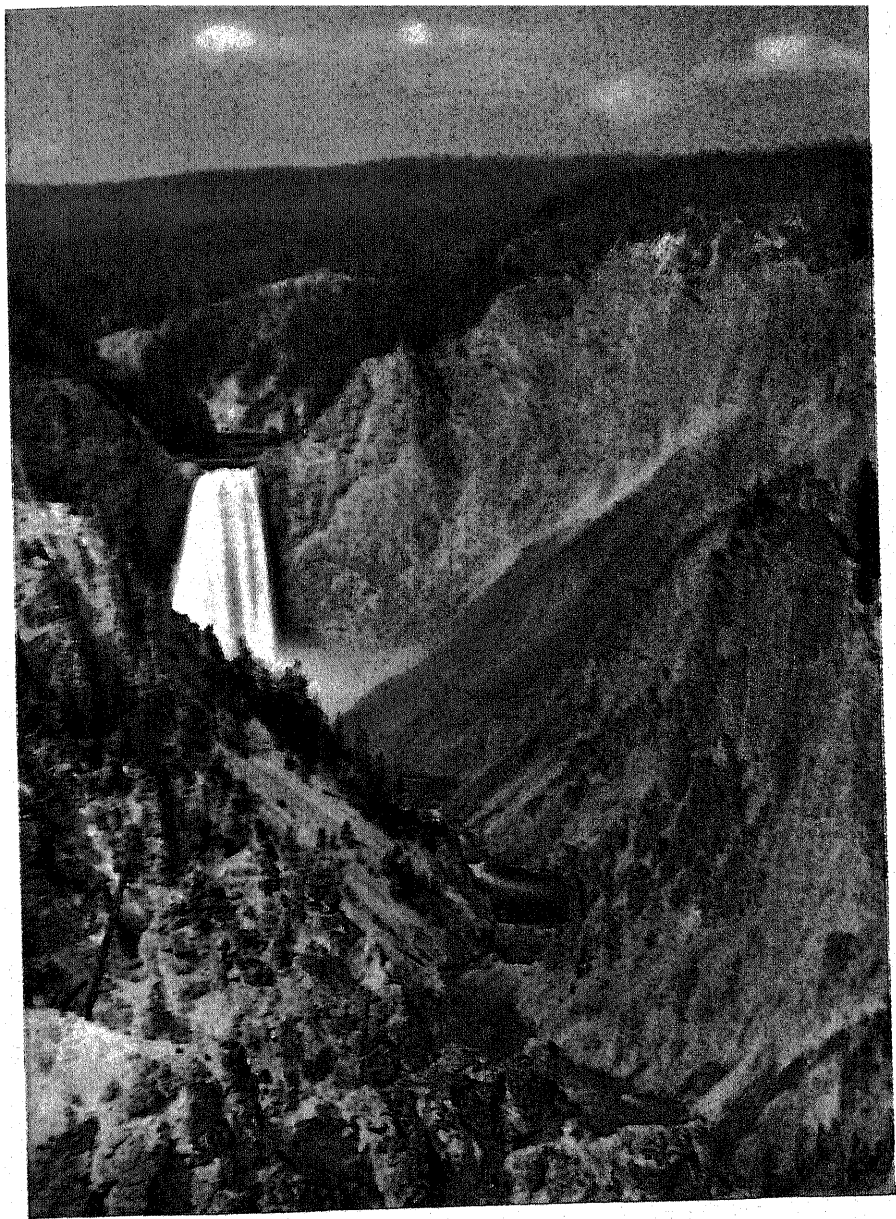
This, within a few weeks, he proceeded to do in Santo Domingo, which had become bankrupt, owing money to France, Italy, and Belgium. These nations had announced their intention of extorting payment by force. Roosevelt made a treaty with the small republic under which the United States was to take over the finances and assets of Santo Domingo in the capacity of a receiver and to administer them for the benefit of that nation and its creditors. Although the Senate declined to ratify the treaty and denounced Roosevelt's usurpation, the President went ahead and carried out his plan by executive action only. The plan worked well, and the treaty was ratified three years later. The extension given to the Monroe Doctrine by Roosevelt marked an important step in the interpretation of that policy.

3. Roosevelt's Accomplishments

Roosevelt is renominated and re-elected. The settlement of the Alaska boundary dispute with England and Canada in 1903, the courageous handling of the coal strike the year before, and above all the President's attitude on the trust problem, had won him enormous popularity. On the other hand, the last two points had also made him a host of powerful enemies among the leaders of business and his party. To these were now added many who had formerly approved of his course but who objected to our wielding the "big stick" in foreign relations. Mark Hanna, who had made Roosevelt's predecessor President, and was now himself spoken of for the office, was one of the bitter enemies to be reckoned with. But his death in February, 1904, cleared the path, and made Roosevelt's nomination practically a certainty. When the Republican convention met at Chicago, Roosevelt was unanimously acclaimed as the candidate, with Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana for Vice-President.

The Democrats at their convention at St. Louis were torn between the radical section under Bryan and the conservatives under Cleveland. They finally united on a respectable but weak candidate, Judge Alton B. Parker of New York.

There was no doubt of the result of the election. Roosevelt, in



YELLOWSTONE FALLS

No other place, of equal area in the world, contains as many natural features as Yellowstone National Park: geysers, hot springs, rivers, lakes, cataracts, and gorges embracing every known shade of color, make up a scene of incomparable splendor.

From an autochrome photograph by Charles J. Belden

resisting the demand of trades unions when pushed too far against public interest, just as he resisted the trusts, had made some enemies in the labor ranks, but he had made for himself a place in public opinion comparable only to that of Andrew Jackson. His personality was the issue in the campaign, which was carried on in the returning flood-tide of prosperity after the brief but rather sharp depression in business in 1903. Roosevelt was overwhelmingly elected. Roosevelt was now President in his own right, and consequently in a much stronger position. The independence of this he also strengthened by announcing that "the wise custom which limits the President to two terms regards the substance and not the form, and under no circumstances will I be a candidate for, or accept, another nomination." This statement was to plague him later when he became a candidate in 1912.

Roosevelt succeeds in bringing the Russo-Japanese War to an end. The idealism and aspiration of the American people were steadily rising with Roosevelt as leader. They were growing more determined to set their own house in order and to play

a distinguished part in the international life of the world. Oddly enough, one of the marked features of the decade and a half before the World War was to break upon the world, was the increase in many countries of the sentiment for peace. Peace societies multiplied, and America was one of the leading nations in favor of arbitration and the use of the Hague Court.

The Russo-Japanese War had been going on since February, 1904, with heavy losses and with no end in sight. That war gave Roosevelt an opportunity which he seized to lead both the world move-



"HE'S GOOD ENOUGH FOR ME"

The famous cartoon by Davenport on Roosevelt's election to the Presidency.

ment for peace and to bring his own country into the larger life of nations in a beneficent way. In June, 1905, he urged on both warring governments that they should send representatives to negotiate peace. After many delays and much adroit statesmanship on his part, representatives of the two nations met at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Over and over in those sweltering August days, it seemed as though his efforts had been in vain, but, to the relief of the entire world, a treaty was signed on September 5.

The other nations gladly acknowledged the part which America had played, and America only, for European diplomacy had wholly broken down in the effort to end the strife. In America, the entire credit must go to Roosevelt, who displayed statesmanship of a high order and an unexpected degree of patience and tact.

Roosevelt helps France and Germany to smooth out differences. Not only had America, almost ignored a decade before, played a great part in world affairs but the President had gained a standing as one of the leading statesmen of the world. That position was to be enhanced the following year by his entrance again into European affairs, although his full part was not realized until the publication of documents some years later.

In the summer of 1905 feeling was tense between France and Germany over the advance of the former in creating what was practically a protectorate over Morocco. The situation in Morocco made it appear that a Franco-German war was inevitable.

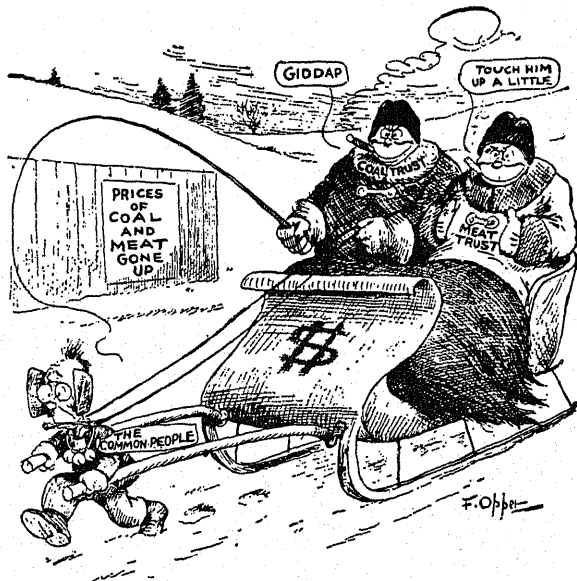
Through the good offices of Roosevelt, a conference was arranged to meet at Algecirras, Spain, January, 1906, in which the United States was represented by Henry White and S. R. Gummer. In that conference what had appeared as insuperable difficulties were smoothed away. Even more important than the Portsmouth conference, this affair brought Roosevelt further prestige. Both our growing power and the transition through which we had been passing from a nation chiefly agricultural to one largely manufacturing, with the need of overseas markets, had led Roosevelt to the conviction that we should play a leading part in international affairs.

We straighten out affairs in Cuba. In 1906 we were called upon to intervene again in Cuba, at the request of the Cuban authorities. The government had been lax, and had allowed much of the sanitary and other work of improvement we had bequeathed the island from our former occupation to be undone. Moreover, the electorate, largely illiterate, had shown itself more apt for revolution against its

own government than governing. Elections had become a farce. In 1905 the actual number of qualified voters, about 300,000, was increased in registration by approximately 150,000 fictitious names, a fraud on so colossal a scale as to make the operations of our political bosses seem almost morality itself.

Secretary of War Taft took charge of this second occupation, which lasted about two years. Although we sent a small body of American troops, no force had to be used. The intervention had been entered upon with genuine reluctance on our part. When an orderly election had been held in the autumn of 1908, we withdrew on the inauguration of the new President and turned the island over to the Cubans.

Our government prosecutes giant corporations. Roosevelt's first message to Congress in 1901 had outlined practically all his views and policies, and these he continued to carry out throughout his two terms. Both the "muckraking" and public dissatisfaction with big-business methods reached their climax between 1903 and 1906. The year 1905 was marked by the investigations of the great insurance companies in New York. Charles E. Hughes, who was in charge of the investigation, conducted it with such skill and success as to give him a national reputation. Surprising and disgusting scandals and graft were disclosed on the part of men who had stood high in the



"Jingle bells, jingle bells, jingle all the day!
Oh, what fun it is to ride in a one-horse open sleigh!"

A CARTOON BY F. OPPER IN "THE NEW YORK AMERICAN," JANUARY 10, 1910

Showing popular idea of the power of the trusts of the period.

business life of the country. The public resentment, emphasized by the feelings of hundreds of thousands of policy-holders, who felt themselves personally injured, was intense, and Roosevelt's term, "malefactors of great wealth" took on new meaning.

Congress, conscious of the state of public opinion, continued to place new social legislation on the statute books. In 1906, the disclosures which had been made with regard to patent-medicine frauds and the facts which had been given to the public about conditions in the stockyards, led to the passage of the Pure Food Act, which has proved of great protective benefit to American households. In the same year, a law was passed forbidding corporations to make campaign contributions, and also an employer's liability act.

Big business, however, seemed to be learning little or nothing. In 1907, it was found that the American Sugar Refining Company had been deliberately, and for years, defrauding the government on the collection of customs duties, and over \$4,000,000 was recovered from it in the courts. Likewise in spite of the law against rebates, it was found that the Chicago and Alton Railroad was giving and the Standard Oil Company receiving them. The fantastic fine of almost \$30,000,000 levied by Judge Landis on the latter corporation did not obscure the fact that apparently some of the richest business men in the nation were still defying the laws. Although the sugar and oil company scandals were the most spectacular of those unearthed in 1907, they were far from the only ones. The New York Central, for example, was also convicted of rebating. The people felt with steadily mounting enthusiasm that Roosevelt was almost the sole champion of the doctrine of one law for both rich and poor.

Another panic comes to our country. The financial situation by 1907 had become distinctly unstable. A series of good harvests had brought prosperity, but this had been recklessly over-capitalized by financiers in the flotation of new enterprises, and there was heavy strain on credit. The stock market had risen rapidly and attracted a large number of buyers, quite willing to share in the profits made by the very men whose methods they were denouncing. On the other hand the succession of scandals had really undermined confidence in these men and in the institutions which they controlled and operated. Panic would seize the public quickly if they came to suspect any crack in the strength of the general position.

In the spring of 1907 the banks, over-extended, had to call loans

and the stock market began to tumble. There was a sharp break, and throughout the summer confidence became more and more undermined. In October the crash came, precipitated by the failure of the great Knickerbocker Trust Company of New York and ten other financial institutions in that city within a few days. It was with great difficulty that others were saved, and currency went to a premium of five per cent. Business throughout the country received a very severe shock. It was not until the Pennsylvania Railroad floated a successful loan in the following March that confidence began to revive. Roosevelt used every legitimate means in his power to assist business, but efforts were made by the larger interests to spread the opinion that it was his reckless meddling with business affairs and men and his wild radicalism that had brought the business structure crashing.

We take steps to secure a more elastic currency system. The lack of response to business needs of the old credit and currency system of the nation had been again revealed by the panic of 1907. The following year a commission with Senator Nelson W. Aldrich at its head was appointed to consider the whole problem of our banking system. Meanwhile, as a stop-gap, the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, authorizing the Treasury to lend emergency currency to the banks in time of stress, secured by approved collateral, marked the first step toward reform and a more elastic currency system.

Roosevelt makes a "gentleman's agreement" with Japan. While we were in the midst of the panic, an episode occurred which, on a third important occasion, called attention to the dangers of our federal system. Racial feeling in California had been steadily growing more intense against the Japanese for some years, when in 1906 the San Francisco board of education issued an order segregating Japanese school children from the whites. A sensitive and proud nation, Japan promptly resented what she considered an insult, and what was unquestionably an infringement of her treaty rights with the United States.

As in the previous cases of New York and Louisiana, however, the Federal Government had no power to coerce a state, and a dangerous international situation developed. It was saved, though only partially allaying Japan's resentment, by the negotiation in 1907 of the Root-Takahira treaty and a "gentleman's agreement." These met for the time the problems of the school children, immigration into the United States, and some larger questions of the Pacific and the Orient.

4. *Taft's Four Years*

Roosevelt chooses Taft as his candidate for the presidency. By the end of 1908 prosperity was returning, the canal was being built, we were preparing to withdraw in a few weeks from Cuba, and an immense amount had been accomplished to purify the business life of the country. Roosevelt was at the summit of his popularity and prestige at home and abroad. A President would have to be chosen in November, but Roosevelt had declared that he would not accept another nomination.

There was little or no doubt in advance as to who would be the candidates of the two major parties in the campaign of 1908. Each party was wholly dominated by its leading personality, the Democratic by Bryan and the Republican by Roosevelt. Either could have received the nomination without effort. Bryan intended to accept it, and did, from the Democrats. Roosevelt, in view of his two terms and his self-denying pronouncement of 1904, made it clear that he would not accept. He intended to have the nomination go to William H. Taft.

Taft is well qualified for the presidency. The man whom he had chosen was extraordinarily well trained both to make a great President and to carry out Roosevelt's policies. At fifty-five years of age, Taft had had a distinguished career as a judge in the federal service, as a member of the Philippine commission, as first civil governor of the Philippines, 1901-04, as Secretary of War in Roosevelt's Cabinet, 1904-08, as a temporary governor of Cuba, 1907, and as head of diplomatic missions to various courts, as well as to the Pope at Rome and to the Mikado in Japan. He had acquitted himself with marked ability in every post he had occupied, had been one of Roosevelt's closest friends, favored the President's social policies, and was incorruptibly honest, genial, and popular.

There were, however, two points as to which Roosevelt miscalculated. One was a lack in Taft's training. Taft had never been in the rough and tumble of American political life, and did not know how to get on with politicians in ways which a President must use to get things done. The other point was that, although Taft was not a reactionary and was in full sympathy with the President's own aims, his approach to the practice and theory of government was quite different. If there was one quality thought to be lacking in Roosevelt, it was the judicial mind. Taft was essentially judicial. Although liberal in his political and social outlook, he was extremely conservative when it came

to questions of legal or constitutional methods of solving problems. These two points—his lack of political knowledge and finesse, and his judicial conservatism of mind—were to shipwreck him amid the swirling currents of American political life in the next four years. But they were as hidden from the people as they were from the man who almost alone made him President.

Taft is elected in a quiet campaign. In their convention the Democrats chose Bryan on the first ballot; the Republicans named Taft, the latter with James S. Sherman as his running mate for the vice-presidency. The campaign, so tamely begun, continued without marked interest. Smaller parties, such as the Socialists nominating Eugene V. Debs, and the Independence League which nominated William Randolph Hearst, were as usual in the field. Taft polled about 7,700,000 of the popular vote to Bryan's 6,500,000, and was easily elected, together with a Republican Congress.

If the campaign was comparatively quiet, there were, nevertheless, a good many features in it to give the politicians pause. Not much attention was paid to party platforms, and the contest was really between the popularity of Bryan and that of Roosevelt, embodied in his candidate Taft. Issues, however, were not wholly ignored. The fact that Taft ran far ahead of his ticket in all the states, while many of those who voted for him elected at the same time Democrats as governors and members of legislatures, indicated that there was much unrest. Although wages had risen in the preceding decade, they had not kept pace with the rising cost of living, and the working class had shared to only a small extent in the prosperity of the great corporations.

The people demand more voice in the government. In many directions increasing lack of confidence of the rank and file of the people in the older organizations and forms of government was becoming manifest. Distrust of the Senate was bringing on an ever stronger demand for a change in the Constitution which would require the popular election of its members. The experimentation in many Western states with the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, as well as the acceleration in the movement for woman's suffrage, all were symptoms of the same mistrust of old ways of governing. They showed that the people believed that conditions could be improved by bringing the governments into closer relations with a widening electorate.

The rise, from 1905, of the extreme radical groups in labor, such as the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.), betokened likewise an increase of unrest among the wage-workers. Its left wing was now

preaching violence as the only means of cure. On the other hand, the ultra-conservatives, whether in business or politics, were merely resisting any changes that might threaten their interests.

The Republicans pass a tariff bill. The objection in the country to the tariff had forced the Republicans to put in their platform a promise of revision in a special session of Congress, to be called immediately following the inauguration of their President, if elected. When Congress, called together by Taft, met to consider the problem, the new tariff bill proceeded through all the usual stages with which the nation had become all too familiar.

As passed by the House, it embodied in considerable degree a genuine downward revision. In the Senate, under the lead of Aldrich, 847 amendments were made. These mostly raised duties, in spite of the efforts of the group of Progressive Senators, including La Follette, Beveridge, Cummins, Bristow, and Dolliver, who were gradually emerging as insurgents from the Republican party. When the bill finally went to Taft for his signature, it was evident to the people that there had been no downward revision. The President, however, signed the bill and in a speech in Minnesota defended it as the best tariff bill the Republicans had ever enacted.

The Progressives believe Taft has abandoned the Roosevelt policies. The disappointment of the Progressives, as those were called who favored Roosevelt's policies, was intense. They feared that the man who had been elected to carry out Roosevelt's policies had gone over to the conservatives. Balked on tariff reform, the Progressives now felt that Taft was going back on one of Roosevelt's most important policies, the conservation of our natural resources. Taft was as thoroughly in sympathy with a conservation policy as was Roosevelt, but the difference between the two men came out clearly in their attitude toward the legal questions involved. The problem was a confused one, both as to legislation and organization.

Congress, which to some extent had fought Roosevelt on the point, had never passed proper conservation laws, and in the organization of the government the land office was in one department, the forestry service in another, and there was as yet no Bureau of Mines at all. For the working out of his plans, Roosevelt had relied chiefly on his young Secretary of the Interior, J. R. Garfield, and on the Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot, both ardent followers of the President. Pinchot, in particular, was fanatically devoted to the cause of conservation at all costs.

Taft dismisses Roosevelt's friends. Taft had replaced Garfield, when forming his Cabinet, by R. A. Ballinger, a Seattle lawyer, whose father had studied law in Lincoln's office. On examination of some of the concessions which had been made and of claims in connection with others, Ballinger was by no means as convinced of their legality as had been Garfield and Pinchot. At once, when Ballinger began to move slowly, the cry went up from the conservationists that he was impeding the work and that he was even on the side of private interests against the government.

An employee of the Interior Department made charges against his chief in a letter to Senator Dolliver, and was dismissed. Pinchot took the quarrel to the newspapers, and was removed for insubordination. A congressional committee, appointed to investigate the charges against Ballinger, found that they were groundless. The committee said that there was not a single fact to indicate that Ballinger had been actuated by any motive other than the public interest.

Under ordinary circumstances, the dismissal of two public officials would not have had serious results, but the circumstances were not ordinary. In the first place, Pinchot was a close friend of Roosevelt. He hurried off to Europe to wait for Roosevelt's emergence from the African wilderness, where he had been hunting big game, and to be on hand to tell him all his woes. As his was the first personal account which Roosevelt received of the affairs of Taft's administration, the impression was important. In the second place the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy was used with great effect by the Progressives to emphasize the growing belief that Taft had betrayed the cause of liberalism and had gone over to the "interests."

Taft proceeds with reforms. There is ample evidence to disprove this, and even in the matter of conservation distinct progress was made in his administration. The taking over of the coal lands which Roosevelt had reserved without legal sanction was, at Taft's request, lawfully authorized by Congress. He also began the reservation of oil lands, and established the Bureau of Mines. In the same year, 1910, the passage of the Mann-Elkins Act greatly strengthened in some respects the Hepburn Act of the Roosevelt administration. The older act had given to the Interstate Commerce Commission the right to change interstate railway rates. The new act gave it jurisdiction over telegraph and telephone companies as well as railways, and authorized it to suspend rates which it considered questionable, pending investigation.

Taft, like Roosevelt, took very active steps against the trusts. It was

Taft's Attorney-General, George W. Wickersham, who secured the dissolution of the Standard Oil and Tobacco companies, and the government was successful in winning many of its other cases.

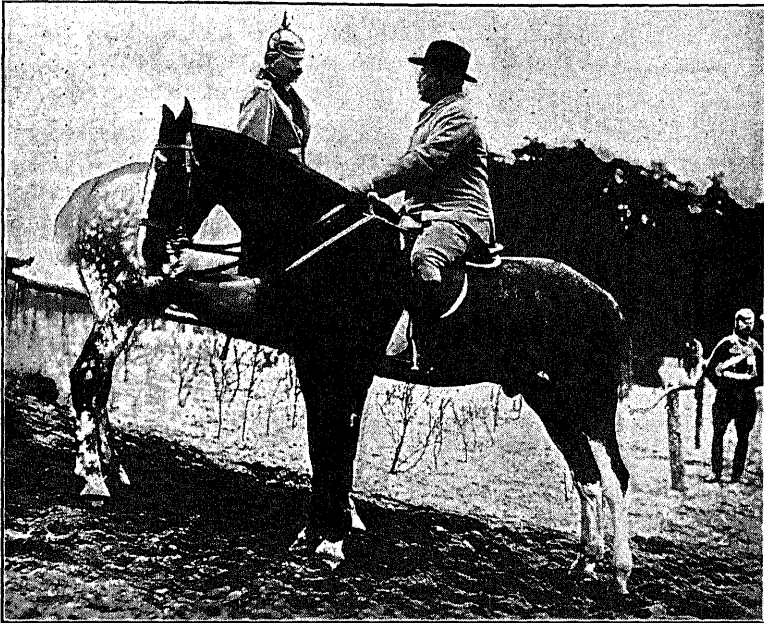
Taft is faced with many difficult problems. It was already beginning to be recognized that in the new economic structure arising everywhere in the world, justice for the ordinary man would not be secured by the simple process of breaking up great aggregations of capital. The fact is that Taft had to contend with a situation of rapidly growing difficulty. The tendency towards building up great national units of business, which had been a marked feature of our economic life ever since the Civil War, could not be permanently checked. The population, which had numbered about 38,000,000 in 1870, and 76,000,000 when Roosevelt had been elected in 1900, had risen to 92,000,000 by 1910 when he returned from Africa. There had been a still more rapid increase in national wealth and in the aggregations of corporate capital.

Enormous abuses had crept into our political and social life in this process of growth. Roosevelt had rendered a most useful service in arousing the people to a sense of these, and in serving as a leader. Having led the people to believe that a hero could save them, his term had come to an end and he had presented Taft to his followers as that saving hero. When Taft failed to save them, the people murmured mightily. They did not realize the magnitude of the forces which were changing the face of the world and society.

In the year that McKinley was first elected the world production of gold had been less than 10,000,000 ounces. During Taft's four years it averaged about 22,000,000 ounces. The shortage of gold which had brought about the hardships that made possible Bryan's campaign of 1896 had been followed by a huge increase in the supply. This was bringing to the front new problems and hardships for other classes. The rapid rise in prices was depreciating wages and salaries. The increased scale of big business was creating huge wealth and incomes. The whole social structure seemed to be getting out of gear, and the resentment against dishonesty and injustice, which had been fanned by Roosevelt, sought an outlet in some quick remedy. Taft could not supply it, and was thus considered a failure and a reactionary. No one else, however, has yet found the way.

Roosevelt preaches his "New Nationalism." Roosevelt returned from Africa in June, 1910, after an extraordinary tour of Europe in which he had been fêted by many of the sovereigns. He

found a Republican party rapidly splitting, with much bitterness, into Progressives and Old Guard. Within a few weeks he was making political speeches through the country, clearly showing his preference for the insurgent wing of the party. The chief point in the "New Nationalism" which he preached was the injection of more democracy as a cure for our ills. This was notable in his appeals for an extension of



ROOSEVELT VISITED THE KAISER IN EUROPE AND WITNESSED THE GERMAN ARMY MANŒUVRES. THE "COLONEL" WAS THE ONLY PRIVATE CITIZEN EVER ALLOWED TO REVIEW THE TROOPS OF GERMANY

the primary election as a means of nominating candidates, and in his demand for the recall of elected officials during the term for which they were elected if the people wished.

There was no doubt of the dissatisfaction of the people with the world as it was, and the congressional election returned 229 Democrats to 161 Republicans and 1 Socialist in the House, while of the 10 Republican majority left in the Senate enough were insurgents to nullify the apparent advantage. Taft's administration, like so many others under our system, had to face its second two years handicapped by a legislature of a different party.

The Progressives split with the Old Guard Republicans. In 1911, under the organizing lead of LaFollette, the insurgent senator from Wisconsin, there had been formed the National Progressive Republican League, including among its sponsors such men as Cummins, Beveridge, Bristow, Bourne, and others who had long been fighting both the "interests" and the Old Guard. LaFollette, who was able, honest, and intelligent and had made an excellent record as a reform and progressive governor of his state, had a large following in the Northwest, but was feared as a radical in the East.

There was no question that, from the date of Roosevelt's retirement, Senator LaFollette was the real leader of the Progressives. He had a long and honorable record of successful fighting for fair play for the ordinary man. During the special session of Congress, the split in the Republican party became complete. In the Senate LaFollette worked with the Democratic leader in the House, Oscar Underwood, to put through a new tariff bill, lowering duties, which barely failed of passage even over the veto of the President.

We interfere in the affairs of our Southern neighbors. For the rest of Taft's term, the interest shifts from Congress to the departments. The Attorney-General was busy with suits against the trusts, while the State Department had its hands full with our relations to our neighbors on the south. Since the building of the canal had started, the policies initiated by Roosevelt had practically developed into the theory of our exercising a protectorate over all the Caribbean governments, except that of Mexico. Coupled with the practice of "dollar diplomacy," that is of using our diplomatic service for the purpose of promoting loans and other economic interests in foreign, and mostly backward, countries, the theory of protectorates found new applications.

In 1911, as part of the terms of securing a loan from New York bankers, the custom-house in Nicaragua was placed in charge of an American. The following year, we landed marines there to quell disorder, and, with a brief interval, they have been there until recently. In 1913, we supervised the elections in Santo Domingo, and sent our marines three years later. In 1915 we established with marines a forcible protectorate over Haiti.

Unquestionably much good work has been done during the American occupations, and we could not afford complications with European nations arising from lack of order in these ill-governed small countries. On the other hand, although the problem is understood by many in the greater nations of South America, there is no doubt that the

southerly advance of the "colossus of the North" has caused much ill-feeling and alarm in the Southern portion of the dual American continent.

We have trouble with Mexico. A far more serious problem was raised by the situation in Mexico. After a revolution led by Francisco Madero, the long rule of the strong dictator Diaz came to an end in May, 1911. There had been a good deal of fighting just over the United States border and Americans on our side had been killed. The President sent 20,000 troops to patrol the border, and prohibited the shipment of arms into Mexico. The pot boiled again at the end of Taft's term. When he left office, he was to bequeath, as we shall see, a difficult problem to his successor.

Our new foreign policy causes us trouble. What seemed our new foreign policy was giving serious concern. The "dollar diplomacy" of Secretary Knox was greatly disliked and mistrusted by many. The seeming willingness of the government to shut the "open door" in China and to pronounce a blessing on participation of American bankers in the "Six Power" loan of \$300,000,000 to that country, with various entering wedges for the acquisition of its territory, appeared to be a complete reversal of our former policy.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Abbot, *Problems of the Panama Canal*; Bennett, *History of the Panama Canal*; Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time*, I, chs. 14-27; De Witt, *The Progressive Movement*; Fish, *The Path of Empire*, chs. 15-16; Howland, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Times*, chs. 6-9; Mitchell, *Organized Labor*, ch. 18; Pinchot, *The Fight for Conservation*; Taft, *The Anti-Trust Act and the Supreme Court*; Van Hise, *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States*; Wilcox, *Government by the People*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Beard, *Readings in American Government*, ch. 32; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, no. 201; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 192-196; *United States Statutes at Large*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: BROWN, *Through the Mill*; Cotton, *William Howard Taft*; Hill, *Highways of Progress*; Olcott, *Life of William McKinley*; Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt, a Biography*; Rocheleau, *Great American Industries*; Thayer, *Theodore Roosevelt*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why were trusts and corporations formed? 2. How did big business become powerful? 3. Why did the people want the government to curb

the power of the trusts and monopolies? 4. What did Roosevelt mean by his "square deal"? 5. What was Roosevelt's attitude toward big business? 6. Describe the fight for supremacy between the rival railroad groups. 7. Why did Roosevelt dissolve the holding company? 8. Describe the economic and social conditions of the coal miners. 9. How did Roosevelt settle the coal strike? 10. How did Roosevelt defend the Monroe Doctrine? 11. Tell of Roosevelt's conservation policies. 12. Why did our government become interested in a Panama Canal? 13. How did Roosevelt secure the right to build the Panama Canal? 14. Why did our government begin to exercise international police power in the Caribbean? 15. How did Roosevelt concern himself in international affairs? 16. What social legislation did Roosevelt secure? 17. What was the cause of the panic of 1907? 18. What was Roosevelt's "gentleman's agreement" with Japan? 19. Describe Taft's qualifications for the presidency. 20. What evidences of social unrest appeared in Taft's administration? 21. Describe Taft's break with the Progressives. 22. How did Taft handle the trust question? 23. What difficult problems confronted Taft? 24. What was Roosevelt's "New Nationalism"? 25. How was our government forced to interfere in the affairs of our southern neighbors?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The power of big business, Roosevelt's "square deal," the coal miners' strike, Roosevelt's defense of the Monroe Doctrine, Roosevelt's conservation program, building the Panama Canal, the Russo-Japanese War, prosecution of the trusts, the panic of 1907, Roosevelt's agreement with Japan, Roosevelt's "New Nationalism," our "dollar diplomacy."

2. PROJECT: Begin at this point in your history work a comparison of Theodore Roosevelt's "New Nationalism" with Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom" and Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal."

3. PROBLEM: How do you explain the formation of huge corporations at this period in our history?

4. ESSAY SUBJECT: Roosevelt's conservation policy.

5. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you lived in western Pennsylvania at the time of the coal strike. Write a letter to your member of Congress urging that the national government take measures to end the strike and to relieve the condition of the miners.

6. DIARY: You were an employee in the White House during Roosevelt's term and came in daily contact with the President. You took down many notes about the activities of that busy man. Read some of your notes to the class.

7. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: John Hay, William C. Gorgas, George W. Goethals, John Mitchell, Alton B. Parker, Charles E. Hughes.

8. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1901, 1905, 1907, 1911.

9. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Trust, financial titans, magnates, "square deal," holding company, secret rebates, chargé d'affaires, "big stick," "protectorate," "muckraking," "malefactors of great wealth," "gentleman's agreement," "New Nationalism," insurgents, "dollar diplomacy."

10. MAP WORK: Draw an outline map of the world and indicate on it the following places. Write a statement showing the historical importance of each of these places: Venezuela, Panama, Kiauchow, Colombia, Portsmouth, Morocco, Algeciras, Santo Domingo, Haiti.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE PANAMA CANAL: Abbot, *Problems of the Panama Canal*, chs. 2-6; *American History Leaflets*, no. 34; Arias, *Panama Canal*; Johnson, *Four Centuries of the Canal*, chs. 9-21; Weir, *Conquest of the Isthmus*.

2. CONSERVATION: Beard, *Readings in American Government*, ch. 20; Gregory, *Checking the Waste*; Pinchot, *Fight for Conservation*; Van Hise, *Conservation of Natural Resources*; Vrooman, *Roosevelt, Dynamic Geographer*.

3. CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH: Ely, *Evolution of Industrial Society*, ch. 6; Myers, *Great American Fortunes*; Spahr, *Present Distribution of Wealth*; Taussig, *Principles of Economics*, I, ch. 6; Youngman, *Economic Causes of Great Fortunes*, ch. 4.

4. THE PROBLEM OF THE TRUSTS: Clark, *The Control of Trusts*; Ely, *Monopolies and Trusts*; Jenks, *The Trust Problems*; Montague, *Trusts of To-day*; Van Hise, *Concentration and Control*.

5. THE FIGHT ON THE TRUSTS: Baker, *Monopolies and the People*; Harper, *Restraint of Trade*; Lloyd, *Wealth against Commonwealth*; Nettleton, *Trusts or Competition*; Wallace, *Trusts and How to Deal with Them*.

UNIT V

HOW WE PARTICIPATED IN THE WORLD WAR AND LATER FACED GRAVE PROBLEMS AT HOME

TOPIC I

WOODROW WILSON AND THE NEW FREEDOM

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the significance of the presidential election of 1912.
2. To set forth the political philosophy and the idealism of Woodrow Wilson.
3. To know Wilson's position in foreign affairs.

1. *Wilson and Domestic Affairs*

Roosevelt seeks re-election to the presidency. With the opening of the presidential year of 1912, it was clear that there would be a terrific struggle for control within the Republican party between the Progressives and the Conservatives. If the latter, who were already in control of the machinery of the party, won they would undoubtedly nominate Taft, but if the former won, who would be the candidate? If Roosevelt had been killed by a lion in Africa, the answer would have been simple: La Follette, the man who more than any other had kept the Progressive banner flying the past four years, would have been the candidate. Roosevelt, however, was not lying in an African grave but was in America, bursting with energy. He still had an immense public following, not diminished by the limelight which played over his every action.

What would be his attitude toward the political complications of his party and nation? Given his character and temperament, there was really but one answer—Roosevelt would run again for President. On February 21, 1912, he gave out his political creed, a program like that of La Follette and the Progressive League. Three days later he announced that he would accept a nomination if offered. With Roosevelt's popularity in all parts of the country, the contest for the regular Republican nomination had now evidently been narrowed to himself and Taft. La Follette had been eliminated.

Roosevelt bolts the Republican party. When the Republican convention met at Chicago on June 18 the question of the contests among the delegates from several states arose. It involved about 200

delegates, about one-fifth of the total. The contests were, as always, settled by the Republican national committee, and practically all in favor of the Taft delegates. Most of the Roosevelt followers withdrew from the convention which chose Taft as its candidate.

The Democrats nominate Woodrow Wilson. The break in the Republican ranks appeared to make a Democratic victory certain, and the interest in that party's convention at Baltimore on June 25 was unusually keen. Bryan was still the most powerful individual leader, but the principal candidates for the nomination were Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Oscar Underwood, chairman of the committee of ways and means of the House, Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio, and Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey.

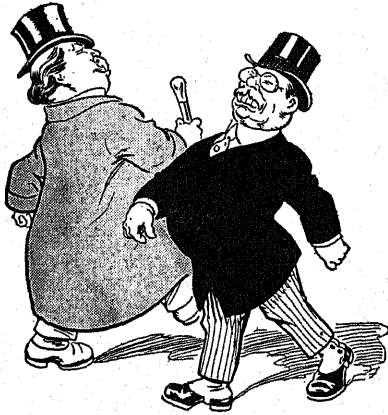
The political career of the last had been extraordinary. A college professor who had become president of Princeton, his forceful personality and determined views had led to conflicts between him and some of the trustees of the university, and finally to his retirement. What seemed like a break in one career, however, was but the opening to another. The Democratic party in New Jersey, normally a Republican state, had been casting about for a candidate for governor, and had chosen the president of Princeton. Wilson had not only won the election but had made such a record as governor as to fasten himself upon the attention of Liberals and Progressives throughout the nation.

The contest at Baltimore, however, was long and bitter, with many dramatic moments. It was only on the forty-sixth ballot, after Bryan had thrown down the gauntlet to both Tammany Hall and the great bankers in New York, and given his full support to Wilson, that this former college president was nominated for the presidency of the nation.

The Progressives nominate Roosevelt. It was not until August 5 that Roosevelt and the bolting Republicans held their convention at Chicago to nominate the ex-President as head of the ticket put forward by the newly organized Progressive party. It was an extraordinary gathering even for American national conventions. Roosevelt was cheered for a whole hour, and the members marched around the hall singing "Onward, Christian Soldiers." The convention ended, after the nomination of Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson of California, with the singing of the "Doxology." Roosevelt had himself announced that the sound tradition of no more than two terms for a President looked to the substance and not the form. He now explained

away his earlier statement by saying he had meant serving more than two terms in succession.

As far as platforms were concerned, there was practically nothing to choose between the Democrats and the Progressives, or "Bull Moose party" as it came to be called. The Democrats had nominated not Bryan but a man who had already become nationally known for a sane defense of progressive principles. Astute politician as Roosevelt was, he must have known that the only result of his splitting the Republican party wide open would be to elect the Democrats.



"WE NEVER SPEAK AS WE PASS BY"

From a cartoon in *Puck*, February 19, 1912. Courtesy of Roosevelt Memorial Association.

Wilson is elected. The result of the campaign was to give Wilson a popular vote of about 6,300,000, Roosevelt 4,125,000, and Taft 3,500,000. The wave of progressivism was at its height, as was that of discontent with things as they were, evidenced by the polling by the Socialist party of its highest recorded vote. Of the two progressive candidates Wilson received nearly 60 per cent more votes than Roosevelt. With him was elected a strong majority in the House of

Representatives and a small majority of six in the Senate. The general Democratic landslide throughout the country in both local and national elections reflected the deep dissatisfaction of the people.

Wilson reveals his philosophy of life. It was to this dissatisfaction that Wilson turned in his first inaugural address. In moving words he spoke of the greatness of the nation in spiritual and material goods, but added that "evil had come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. . . . We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone

of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. . . . The great government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people. . . . There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been 'Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself,' while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves. . . . This is the high enterprise of the new day: to lift everything that concerns our life as a nation to the light that shines from the hearthfire of every man's conscience and vision of the right. . . . We shall restore, not destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon. . . . This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do."

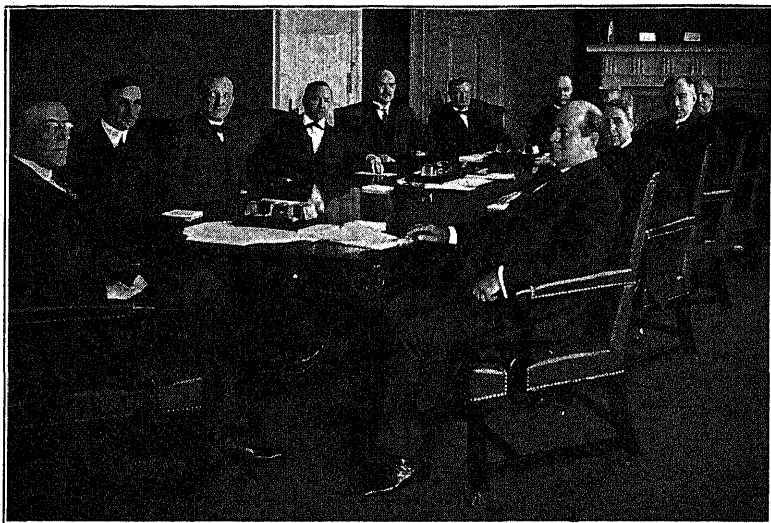
Wilson selects a competent Cabinet. The necessity of placing Bryan at the head of the Cabinet as Secretary of State was too obvious to be ignored. Not only did the President owe his nomination to him but his influence in a large section of the party was still so great as to make essential his loyalty to the administration if the presidential policies were to be carried out by Congress.

Two other Cabinet members, W. G. McAdoo in the Treasury and Franklin K. Lane in the Interior Department, were national figures. Both former President Eliot of Harvard and former Secretary of State Olney declined the appointment to England. But that ambassadorship, always the most important in our service, and of supreme difficulty as it was to prove in the next few years, was at last filled by Walter Hines Page.

The Democrats reduce the tariff. In the short list of problems with which Wilson in his inaugural address had promised to grapple he had placed first the tariff and the reform of the banking system. He at once called Congress in special session to consider both of these. Under the lead of Oscar W. Underwood in the House, a bill was rapidly drafted which, although still keeping the protective principle, raised the duties on only 86 articles, left them unchanged on 307, and reduced them on 958. Any reduction in government income was pro-

vided for by taxes on incomes of over \$3000 for single and \$4000 for married persons. This provision was made possible by the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which had been submitted by Congress in 1909 and was ratified by the states just before Taft's retirement.

The first genuine effort made for a generation to reduce the



Photograph © Underwood & Underwood

A PHOTOGRAPH OF WILSON'S CABINET AS IT STOOD IN THE BEGINNING. ON THE LEFT AT THE HEAD OF THE TABLE IS PRESIDENT WILSON. ON THE PRESIDENT'S RIGHT IN THE FOREGROUND IS SECRETARY OF STATE BRYAN

tariff was promptly successful in the House, where the bill was passed readily by 281 to 139 votes. But it still had to run the gauntlet of the Senate, where the Democrats had a majority of only 6. Wilson threw a bombshell into the Senate when he appealed directly to the people with the statement that a "numerous, industrious, and insidious lobby" was at work trying to prevent a reduction in the tariff. In answer to this charge, Congress had to appoint an investigating committee. The public attention thus focussed was undoubtedly the means of eventually securing the passage of the bill through the Senate so that it could at last receive the President's signature. He had carried out his first pledge.

Our banking system is inadequate. As may be recalled, our banking system had been evolved during the needs of the Civil War. And our bank-note currency, being based on government bonds as security, depended on the amount of bonds profitably available at any time but not at all on the shifting demands of trade activity. One result had been an annual scramble for money in the autumn when the crops were being moved, and a succession of minor and major "money panics" or crises. On occasions, reputable New York banks might be charging 6 per cent on loans to one customer and many times that amount to another.

The government had made no effort to amend the system for fifty years except the appointment of the Aldrich commission to investigate the subject and the passage of the Aldrich-Vreeland Bill in 1908 after the money panic of 1907. The commission had made exhaustive investigations, the results of which had been published in nearly forty volumes, but nothing further had been done.

Wilson establishes the Federal Reserve banking system. Wilson now undertook this second task, and the result of his efforts was the Federal Reserve Act under which the banking system of the nation was to be conducted for twenty years.

The bill itself was drafted by the President, by Secretary McAdoo, and the chairmen of the committees on banking and currency in Congress, Carter Glass and Senator R. L. Owen, with, of course, help from many sources. In general the plan called for twelve regional Federal Reserve banks to be located in various parts of the United States, under the control of a central Federal Reserve board. This board was to be made up of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, and other members, now six, to be appointees of the President. Two of the principal objects to be attained were to establish regional banks in which the individual commercial banks could safely keep their reserves, and to provide an elastic currency which would expand and contract with the varying demands of business.

Wilson took a leading part in helping the bill through both Houses of Congress, and it was no small feat of statesmanship that it could be passed for him to sign by December 23, less than ten months after he had taken office.

Congress passes important industrial legislation. Although the President was engaged in the spring of 1914 with foreign entanglements, which he had so much dreaded, he continued to push forward his program of internal reform. He was urging on Congress the

creation of a federal trade commission, which should collect information as to industrial organizations and take the initiative in securing the enforcement of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. He was also outlining the Clayton Act, which diminished the evils of interlocking directorates, declared that labor and agricultural organizations were not in restraint of trade, and prohibited the issue of injunctions in labor disputes unless it were clear that irreparable damage would otherwise be done. Both of these were passed by Congress in the early autumn. Meanwhile, the swift occurrence of unpredictable events in Europe had relegated our domestic policies to positions of secondary interest.

Congress passes acts to aid the working men. Glancing ahead for a moment, we may note two other important accomplishments of Wilson's administration. The Farm Loan Act of 1916 was epochal in its effect on the farmers. Local banks had often charged them as high as 10 per cent for accommodation. The Farm Loan Act provided means for their borrowing from the government at rates as low as 6 and even 5 per cent, thus saving nearly half their interest charges. Whether or not this sudden facility in borrowing should be wisely used or induce unwise increase in obligations would naturally depend on the wisdom and restraint of the individual farmer. That it came as a blessing to many cannot be denied.

Another act, the so-called La Follette's Seaman's Act of 1915, was directed at improving the condition of another class of workers. In the opinion of some it is "the charter of liberties for America's seamen" which "freed the men in the fore-castle from the tyranny of the bridge." Others consider that it "prescribed such rules for the wages, food, and accommodations of sailors as made it impossible to compete with foreign shipping." With England operating her ships at 25 per cent lower costs and Japan hers at 50 per cent less, and with the high wages offered American workmen in other employments, there was in any case little hope ahead for an American merchant marine unless heavily subsidized. Both these acts, however, marked a proper and growing interest in the welfare of the ordinary man as contrasted with the larger business interests.

2. Wilson and Foreign Affairs

Wilson is an idealist. With a revision of the tariff accomplished—that reef on which so many Presidents have foundered—and

with the reorganization of the banking system of the nation to his credit, Wilson might well take pride in the accomplishment of his first few months in office. Unfortunately, some other matters were not going so well. He had never given much attention to, or had much interest in, diplomatic or foreign affairs. His teaching and his writings had been almost wholly devoted to the constitutional aspects of the history of his own country.

He had entered upon office with the burning desire to readjust the economic and social life of his country to conform more closely to the new spiritual vision of what it might be, which he had suggested in his inaugural. Before leaving his home at Princeton to go to Washington, he had remarked that "it would be the irony of fate if my administration had to deal chiefly with foreign affairs." It was to be not only the irony but the tragedy of it.

Wilson was an idealist, perhaps the greatest idealist in the history of the world who has held the post of a responsible statesman of such surpassing importance in any crisis of world history. Had he been called upon to deal only with American affairs during his terms of office, as he hoped he would, his idealism would have been wholesomely kept in touch with practicality by his knowledge of the psychology and history of his own countrymen. But when he had to do with foreign nations, his misunderstanding of them let his idealism fly loose, like a balloon whose string has been cut and which floats away from the solid earth.

Our government refuses to recognize Huerta in Mexico. Wilson had a profound belief in morality, and also believed that a government could not govern usefully or efficiently unless its acts were moral. He believed, again, profoundly in democracy, and in the ability of the ordinary human being to govern himself wisely. Knowing American conditions, he extended this belief to the entire world and to peoples of all races and conditions. It was with this background of rigid beliefs that he undertook to solve the Mexican problem.

Briefly, the situation was that the new dictator, Madero, after he had gone through the forms of a popular election as President, had been killed and the government seized by former Diaz men and others under Huerta, a ruthless Madero general of Indian blood. Opposed to Huerta was the insurgent faction under Carranza, and Mexico was plunged in civil war. Conditions were so disturbed that life and property were unsafe.

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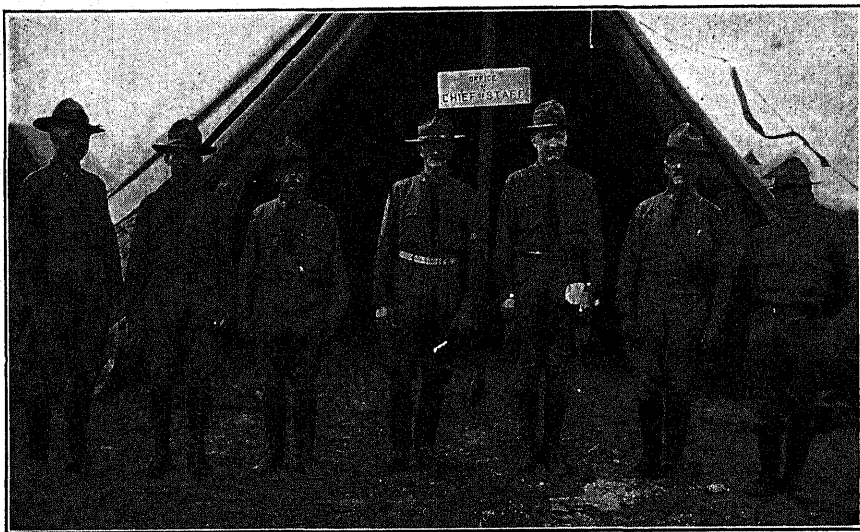
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capitalists, whose investments had been estimated by Taft at over one billion, and European capitalists were greatly interested in the establishment of stable conditions. The English oil concessions alone were colossal and tied up with the British navy. Huerta might be considered as a bloody usurper, but he was strong. Capitalists and foreign



GENERAL PERSHING AND STAFF, IN MEXICO

Left to right: Captain W. O. Reed, 6th Cav., M.I.D. 1st Lt. J. L. Collins, 11th Cav., A.D.C. Col. DeR. C. Cabell, 10th Cav., Chief of Staff. Brig.-Gen. J. J. Pershing, Commanding. Major John L. Hines, Adj. Gen. Col. G. O. Cress, Div. Inspector. Capt. L. B. Kromer, 11th Cav. Div., Q. M.

From a photograph in the War Department.

governments believed that rule by him offered the best chance at least of maintaining order in a nation in which, with the illiteracy and the depressed economic condition of the mass of the people, genuine democracy could not be expected to exist. So Huerta was promptly recognized by England and other European countries. But Wilson refused to recognize a government which he declared did not represent the people and which was founded on bloody crime.

Wilson continues his policy of "watchful waiting" in Mexican affairs. He insisted that "just government rests always upon the consent of the governed, and that there can be no freedom without

order based upon law and upon the public conscience and approval." Unfortunately, as far as Mexican conditions were concerned, this was merely an ideal with no foundation in fact. Among the mass of Mexicans there were much suffering, ignorance, and injustice, but it was impossible to think of them in terms of an American or British electorate. Many people thought that to insist upon a democratic government in Mexico, based on the consent of the governed, was to dream of building a skyscraper on a quicksand.

Wilson drifted along, expecting the Huerta régime to collapse, largely ignoring the business interests which felt that hundreds of millions of dollars were being sacrificed to his policy of "watchful waiting." There was no doubt that Huerta was unspeakably bad, but the Mexicans resented our not recognizing their government.

We support the Carranza government in Mexico. In April, 1914, a boatload of American sailors with one or two officers, who had gone ashore at Tampico for supplies for the U. S. S. *Dolphin*, were arrested by the Mexican authorities. Although they were released, Huerta declined to offer the salute to the American flag which Admiral Mayo demanded as an apology. We were slipping into deeper water. About two weeks later, to prevent a German vessel from landing arms for Huerta, Wilson cabled Mayo to seize the port of Vera Cruz, later sending General Funston with 6000 men to hold the city.

It looked like war, and the three great South American powers, Argentine, Chile, and Brazil, offered their mediation, which was accepted. The negotiations were only partly successful, but soon Huerta abdicated and sailed to Europe. In February, Wilson had abandoned neutrality by lifting the embargo on arms for Carranza, although he had not allowed arms to go through for Huerta, and his policy toward the latter prevented the dictator from getting loans abroad. Wilson had thus drifted into active intervention to overthrow a government which did not suit his constitutional and moral ideals. He had incurred the enmity of Mexico and the suspicion of all South America by doing so.

Nor did the accession to power of Carranza settle the Mexican question. He was well-meaning, but the uprising against him of the bandit Villa continued disorder in Mexico. With Carranza's permission the United States despatched General Pershing across the Mexican border to capture Villa, without success. Wilson, by 1916, had 150,000 militiamen from various states patrolling the frontier. Our troops were withdrawn in January, 1917, when Carranza proclaimed a con-

stitution for Mexico, but three years later he himself was to be assassinated.

Wilson satisfies England's demands of canal tolls. If Wilson failed to solve the Mexican problem, his anti-Huerta policy had one important result. Under the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901, the United States had agreed that all vessels of all nations should be allowed to use the Panama Canal on a basis of perfect equality. The Canal was now nearing completion and was to be opened in 1915.

For a very long period no foreign ships had been allowed to engage in our purely domestic coastwise business, a rule of many other nations as well as of our own. As there was thus no question of competition in this traffic, both political parties in Congress had considered that the exemption from tolls of our own ships when merely passing from one coast to another and not engaging in foreign trade was not an infringement of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. In 1912 this business had been granted exemption from tolls. England, however, denounced the exemption as a breach of good faith although it had certainly not been intended as such. A good deal of irritation had been aroused on both sides of the water, and the question had become so tinged with emotion as to make it difficult of adjustment.

Suddenly, on March 5, 1914, Wilson appeared before Congress, and asked for a repeal of the exemption clause in the act of 1912. He asked for this not only because it was in violation of our solemn pledge but also, he added, because if Congress did not grant him confidence "in ungrudging measure" and repeal the clause without further delay he would not "know how to deal with other matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence."

No one knew what important complication in our foreign affairs might be signified by these words. But the clause was promptly repealed, and it seems possible that what Wilson intended was to secure the co-operation of England in his Mexican policy against Huerta. In this he was successful, for England's oil interests ceased to dominate the British foreign office, and in less than four months Huerta had fled.

We have threatened trouble with Japan. Although it seems certain that the repeal was asked for in connection with the Mexican policy, it has also been said that it was on account of the complicated and threatening situation in which Wilson found himself with regard to Japan. This arose again from the form of our Federal Government. About eleven months before Wilson appeared before Congress,

the Japanese ambassador had protested against the law then being considered in California forbidding aliens from owning land. This law was directly aimed at Japan and appeared to be in contravention of her treaty rights with us.

The feeling against the Japanese had continued strong in California, and indeed was not friendly throughout the nation. Laws relating to land ownership were within the legislative jurisdiction of the individual states and not of the Federal Government. But the Federal Government was responsible for making treaties and for foreign relations. Theoretically a treaty, as the "supreme" law of the land, supersedes local law, but in practice, when feeling is strong, it does not. California declined to change her policy and passed the law. With a jingo press in both countries doing its best to irritate instead of to smooth over the situation, the affair began to appear extremely serious. We could not afford war with Japan while getting more and more mired in Mexico and with a quarrel with England on our hands. With reference to the Panama Canal tolls, the Mexican and Japanese situations may perhaps thus be regarded as one. The California law remained in force.

Wilson expresses regrets to Colombia. In April, 1914, Wilson also made an effort to adjust the old Panama dispute with Colombia by negotiating a treaty which expressed "regret" for the incident and which gave Colombia \$25,000,000 in lieu of all claims. Roosevelt at once proclaimed that the administration had forfeited all right to the respect of the American people, and called the payment "belated blackmail." It is possible that his subsequent bitter hatred of Wilson was in no small measure due to what seemed to him this suggested placing of a stigma on his own acts. In any case, the treaty failed in the Senate. The matter had to wait until a Republican administration finally made amends to Colombia, without the courtesy of expressing regret other than in terms of cash.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*; Houston, *Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet*; Kemmerer, *The ABC of the Federal Reserve System*; Kohlsaatt, *From McKinley to Harding*; Lippincott, *Economic Development of the United States*, ch. 27; Paxson, *Recent History of the United States*, chs. 31-46; Redfield, *With Congress and Cabinet*; Robinson and West, *The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson, 1913-1917*; Shepherd, *The Hispanic Nations of the New World*, chs. 10-

12; Willis, *The Federal Reserve System, Legislation, Organization, and Operation*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *American Year Book*, years 1910-1918; Clark, Hamilton, and Moulton, *Readings in the Economics of War*; Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*; Muzzey, *Readings*, 566-583; Wilson, *Selected Addresses and Public Papers*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Dodd, *Woodrow Wilson and His Work*; Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson*; Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson as I Knew Him*; White, *Woodrow Wilson*; Wilson, *The New Freedom*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why did Roosevelt seek re-election to the presidency in 1912? 2. Describe the presidential election of 1912. 3. What was Woodrow Wilson's political philosophy? 4. What was the position of the Democratic party on the tariff? 5. Describe the Federal Reserve banking system. 6. Show that Wilson was an idealist. 7. Why would Wilson not recognize the Huerta government of Mexico? 8. What was Wilson's "watchful waiting" policy in Mexican affairs? 9. Why did we support the Carranza government of Mexico? 10. Describe our controversy with England over the Panama Canal tolls. 11. What threatened trouble did we have with Japan? 12. What are the main provisions of the Clayton Act? 13. What is the Farm Loan Act? 14. What are the provisions of La Follette's Seaman's Act?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Roosevelt's bolt from the Republican party, the presidential campaign of 1912, the Underwood Tariff Bill, the Federal Reserve Banking Act; our relations with Mexico, the Panama Canal tolls question, our threatened trouble with Japan, the Farm Loan Act, the La Follette Seaman's Act.

2. PROJECT: Compare the idealism of Woodrow Wilson with that of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln.

3. PROBLEM: How do you account for Wilson's "watchful waiting" policy in Mexican affairs?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That Roosevelt was justified in bolting the Republican party in 1912.

5. ESSAY SUBJECT: Wilson's political philosophy.

6. IMAGINARY LETTER: You attended the Republican nominating convention in Chicago in 1912 and witnessed Roosevelt's bolt of the party. Write a letter to a friend describing the scene.

7. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: W. G. McAdoo, Carter Glass, Huerta, John J. Pershing.

8. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1914, 1915, 1916.
9. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: "Steam-roller," bolting Republicans, "Bull Moose party," lobby, "watchful waiting," jingo press, interlocking directorates.
10. MAP WORK: Give a map talk locating the following places and stating the historical significance of each: Tampico, Vera Cruz, Argentina, Chile, Brazil.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM: *Annual Report of the Federal Reserve Board*; Dewey and Shugrue, *Banking and Credit*, 331-341; Faulkner, *American Economic History*, 645; Willis, *The Federal Reserve*, 297-312; Willis and Edwards, *Banking and Business*, 440-477.
2. THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT: Douglas, *Many-sided Roosevelt*; Hale, *Woodrow Wilson*; La Follette, *Personal Narrative of Political Experiences*; Metcalf, *The Real Bryan*, Riis, *Roosevelt*.
3. THE PROGRESSIVE CONVENTION OF 1912: Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time*, II, 334-346; Lewis, *The Life of Theodore Roosevelt*, 370-380; Ogg, *National Problems*, 187-196; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, II, 288-298; Thayer, *Theodore Roosevelt, a Biography*, 350-375.
4. PROGRESSIVE POLITICS: Beard, *Contemporary American History*, ch. 12; Latané, *America As a World Power*, ch. 13; Roosevelt, *The New Nationalism*; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, II, chs. 3-4; Wilson, *The New Freedom*.

TOPIC II

AMERICA ENTERS THE WORLD WAR

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To set forth the efforts made by our government to remain neutral in the World War.
2. To understand the causes of the World War and of our entrance into it.
3. To see the part the United States played in the war.
4. To understand the real significance of the Treaty of Versailles.

1. *The United States as a Neutral*

The European nations are imperialistic. The vast economic changes in the preceding forty years or more which had been developing problems for Americans to solve had also been altering the entire world. The race for overseas possessions, which had made the period from 1880 onward so markedly imperialistic, had been but one expression of the new demands for sources of raw materials and for markets as outlets for manufactured products. The European balance of power, always rather delicately poised, had been subjected to new stresses and strains. Yet the individuals in each nation had continued to live their lives with little realization of the instability in which they were placed.

In determining the causes of the war which was now to burst on the world, one may go back many decades and trace the growing tension among nations, or one may consider merely the events of the few weeks following the assassination of an Austrian archduke and his wife by a Serbian who was an Austrian citizen. When we consider the broader causes and those tensions which sooner or later would have caused an upset of the unstable equilibrium of the great powers, it is somewhat difficult to apportion the blame between nations for plunging the world into the horrors, unforgettable to all who took part in them, of almost universal war. Those who were too young to know anything of those horrors may dream of the glories of military conflict, but those who recall them as experienced, dread with their whole souls a second and worse world tragedy.

The European nations are drawn into conflict. It is impossible here to give a detailed narrative of those momentous days between the murder of Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, and the first week in August when war had actually started with Germany and Austria-Hungary on one side and Russia, Serbia, Belgium, France, and England on the other. Before the war, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy had been united in the Triple Alliance, and France, Russia, and England in the Triple Entente. When Russia came to the aid of her fellow Slav state of Serbia, which Austria claimed the right to chastise for the murder of Franz Ferdinand, Germany had realized that France would go to the aid of Russia. Counting on disposing of the French quickly before the great Russian war machine could get into motion, Germany invaded France by way of the neutral state of Belgium, breaking the treaty, nearly a century old, that guaranteed the neutrality of that little country.

The act shocked the world, but we had had nothing to do with the treaty or guaranty, and at this stage we were in no way concerned with the causes of the conflict. We were not international policemen to defend the injuries of the weak or to enforce treaties to which we were not parties. Nor had other nations in the past undertaken such duties. In 1864, for example, England had made no move when Prussia went to war against Denmark and took from her the province of Schleswig-Holstein, nor had she moved when Germany and France went to war in 1870.

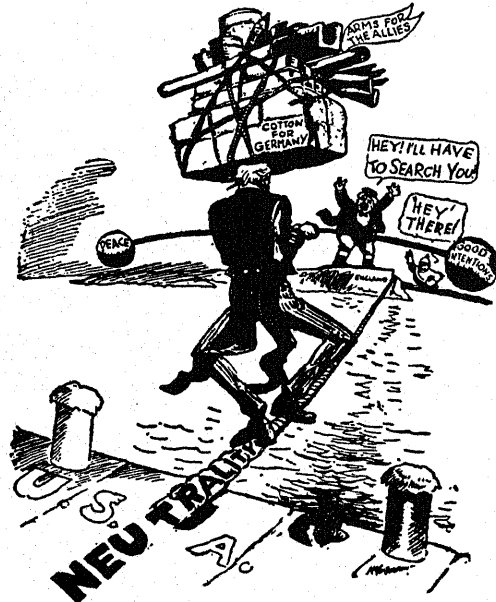
President Wilson proclaims our neutrality. For us, in 1914, there were special reasons for trying to maintain neutrality. For more than one hundred years, our traditional policy had been to avoid European entanglements. Under the Monroe Doctrine we had demanded a free hand for ourselves in the New World and had coupled that assertion many times with the counter-declaration that we should keep out of the local quarrels of the Old. Moreover, of our people, tens of millions were immigrants or children of immigrants from the races now locked in a death struggle, and their sympathies were naturally divided between the two groups of contestants. It was right, therefore, that on August 4, 1914, Wilson should proclaim our complete neutrality.

In view of the claim raised later in so many quarters, both at home and abroad, that it had been "our war" from the start and that we shirked our duty for a long time, it is well to bear these facts in mind. Even Theodore Roosevelt, more than six weeks after the war began,

and Belgium had been invaded, wrote in *The Outlook* that it was desirable and right for us to remain neutral, and that we had "not the smallest responsibility" for what had happened in Belgium.

It was one thing, however, to proclaim neutrality, and another to maintain it. Gradually the conflict took on the aspect of a world war. In the summer and autumn, Turkey joined the Central Powers and Japan the Allies, and other small nations were drawn in. Italy hesitated for ten months, and then joined the Allies, in May, 1915.

Our commerce increases by leaps and bounds. Meanwhile, our whole life had been changed by the sudden upheaval in Europe. To avoid a fatal collapse of all values, the stock exchange had been forced to close on July 31, to remain closed for many weeks. On the other hand, the break-down of the economic life of Europe, and the colossal war-time demand for foodstuffs, ammunition, and goods of all sorts at any prices, brought quickly a feverish activity to American business life.



© John T. McCutcheon

CARTOONIST JOHN T. MCCUTCHEON, IN "THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE," SATIRICALLY PICTURED UNCLE SAM'S DIFFICULTY IN REMAINING NEUTRAL

Our excess of exports over imports rose by leaps, some \$470,000,000 in the year ending June 30, 1914, over \$1,000,000,000 in 1915, over \$2,000,000,000 in 1916 and over \$3,500,000,000 in 1917. In 1914 we had exported only about \$6,000,000 of explosives. In 1917 we exported them to the amount of \$800,000,000. Our total exports, which had been \$2,329,000,000 in 1914, were twice that amount by 1916 and three times that amount by 1917.

It was very far, however, from being a golden shower for all Americans. As usual in wartime, some grew immensely rich and many made

fortunes from the profits of war contracts and opportunities. The daily wage earner had ample work at rapidly rising wages. But for a vast number of Americans, especially for those who were neither war-profiteers nor wage earners, the fast-mounting cost of living, without corresponding increase in salaries or other income, played havoc with family budgets.

Our country attempts to maintain the rights of neutrals. As in the Napoleonic struggles of just a century earlier, the United States was the most important neutral nation, and upon her rested the responsibility of maintaining neutral rights. The problem was an extremely difficult one, for the nature of war had completely changed whereas international law had not. We alone could not alter the latter in the midst of the struggle without being accused of being unneutral. As both sides claimed at times that we took too narrow a legalistic view, that is perhaps as good proof as any that we were trying to steer a middle course.

Within our borders, though we might resent the propaganda of both sides, designed to stir up racial feeling among our mixed population, we could take care of the grosser forms of violation of our neutrality, such as the Austrian and German efforts to destroy factories to prevent supplies being sent to the Allies. In September, 1915, Wilson had to ask for the recall of the Austrian ambassador, and of two of the attachés of the German embassy not long after for connection with such plots.

Allies refuse to adhere to the Declaration of London. But if there was no question as to the laws of our own land, there were many and difficult ones as to sea-borne commerce under the conditions of modern war. As the German navy had quickly been cleared off the sea, most of the earlier problems arose between us and England. They proved so delicate that had Germany not undertaken her submarine campaign there might have been a new "War of 1812" with England and for the same reason.

The nature of war, as we have said, had changed greatly in a century. In 1909, in what was known as the Declaration of London, ten of the greatest maritime powers had signed a convention modifying the international law relative to contraband, seizures at sea, and other such matters. England had signed this, but Parliament had refused to adopt it. Through the summer of 1914, England, by the Orders in Council of which we had such unpleasant recollection from the Napoleonic Wars, had added thirty-two articles to the list of contraband

which had not been specified in the Declaration of London. These included some of our most important products, such as cotton and various metals. When Wilson asked both sides to adhere to the Declaration of 1909, the Central Powers naturally agreed because it was to their advantage but the Allies refused because it was to their disadvantage.

England seizes our ships in violation of international law. According to international law we had a right to export goods as a neutral nation to other neutral nations. To the north of Germany were the neutral states of Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, and our trade with them increased at such a rate, about fivefold in a year, that it was evident our exports to them were in reality going to Germany. As the Allies were not in a position to stop the trade over the German borders from those countries, the only thing they could do was to prevent it on the high seas.

This, England, as the chief naval power on the Allied side, did by stopping our ships, which were heavily laden with essential material for her enemies, confiscating cargoes, and even capturing our mails. Such action was necessary to win the war but was against international law. As immensely valuable cargoes of cotton, meats, and other goods were seized and confiscated, although with promise of eventual payment, the wrath of the American shippers grew, precisely as the wrath of English merchants would have been aroused had the position been reversed.

Germany starts her submarine warfare. Just as a century before, Napoleon and England had answered each other with orders and blockades, now Germany declared, February 4, 1915, that she would meet the Allied effort to cut off her food supplies by this arbitrary extension of the contraband list of the Declaration of London and by illegal seizures, with the proclamation of a war zone around the British Isles. Within that zone German submarines would sink enemy vessels without attention to the international law that demands the placing of the crew and passengers in safety.

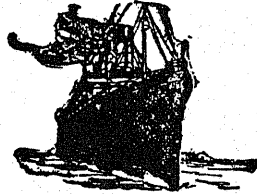
When we notified the German Government that this was illegal and that we would have to hold them to "strict accountability," the reply was that the government would reconsider its action if we would insist upon England's observing the terms of the Declaration of 1909. Later, Germany also demanded that we stop supplying the Allies with munitions, which they were getting from us in huge quantities and which she, from her position, could not get. This, as a highly unneutral act

which would have given the victory almost at once to Germany, we promptly declined to do. Germany claimed, however, that if we were supplying the Allies with all they needed, and that if they illegally stopped goods destined for her, she would also adopt illegal methods. With that the submarine campaign was on.

A German submarine destroys the "Lusitania." In about two and a half months the submarines sank over sixty ships belonging to different countries, including an American steamer, the *Gulflight*, with a total loss of 250 persons, of whom one was an American. On the very day the *Gulflight* was sunk, a notice appeared in the New York papers, signed "Imperial German Embassy," warning Americans not to sail that day on the *Lusitania*. Few, however, cancelled their passage, and the great English liner, with war supplies and 1250 passengers on board, sailed as usual. Six days later she was torpedoed off the Irish coast and sank with over 1150 men, women, and children, of whom 114 were Americans.

The country, however, was not ready for war. In the vast Mississippi Valley and over the mountains on the Pacific slope, thousands of miles from Europe, and with a population a considerable part of which was of Teutonic descent, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, although it carried a thrill of horror, did not appear to most as a cause for plunging a nation of 110,000,000 people into war, if any other way out could be found. It was frequently said that if a few Americans wished to take the risk of travelling through the war zone on a foreign armed ship loaded with ammunition, belonging to a

OCEAN STEAMSHIPS.

CUNARD**EUROPE VIA LIVERPOOL
LUSITANIA**

Fastest and Largest Steamer
now in Atlantic Service Sails
SATURDAY, MAY 1, 10 A.M.
Transylvania, Fri., May 7, 5 P.M.
Orduna, - - Tues., May 18, 10 A.M.
Tuscania, - - Fri., May 21, 5 P.M.
LUSITANIA, Sat., May 29, 10 A.M.
Transylvania, Fri., June 4, 5 P.M.

Gibraltar-Genoa-Naples-Piræus
S.S. Carpathia, Thur., May 13, Noon

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

NOTICE!

TRAVELLERS intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travellers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY

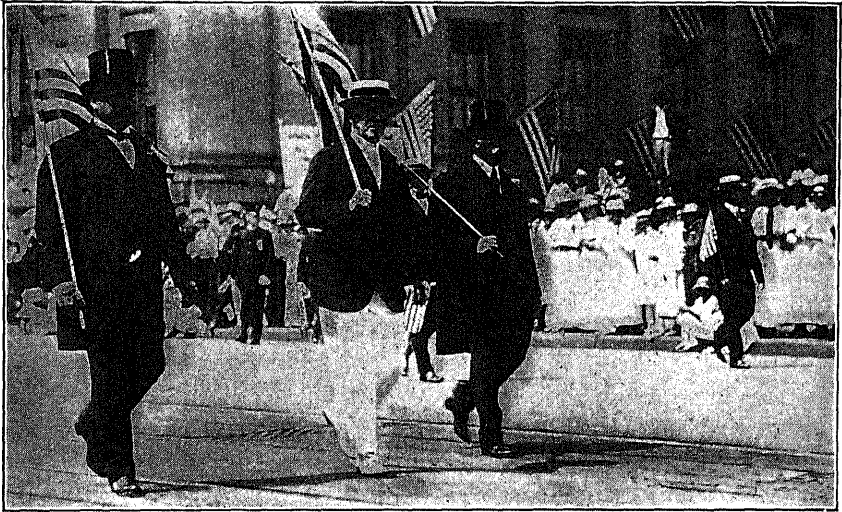
WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 22, 1915.

THE "LUSITANIA" ADVERTISEMENT IN "THE NEW YORK HERALD" OF MAY 1,

1915

nation at war, they had no right to demand that their own nation go to war to avenge them. Whatever the justice of this doctrine, which appears reasonable, the general disinclination of the people for war had to be taken into account by Wilson.

Germany promises to cease her submarine attacks. Instead of declaring war, he demanded that Germany make reparation, and stop the illegal submarine sinkings. Although two more American lives



Underwood & Underwood Photograph

PRESIDENT WILSON MARCHING AT THE HEAD OF A PREPAREDNESS PARADE
IN WASHINGTON

were lost in the sinking of the *Arabic* in August, on the 27th of the same month the German Government solemnly agreed that liners would not be sunk without observing the laws of war, and later offered an apology and indemnity for the sinking of the *Arabic*. In the following February, although unwilling to avow the illegality of the *Lusitania* sinking, Germany also offered indemnity for the lives lost.

In January, Wilson went on a tour of the middle West to rouse the people, pointing out that the national honor must be upheld and that it could not be without adequate preparation. His own ideas as to what that might be, or what the people would support, were nevertheless so different from those of his Secretary of War, Lindley M. Garrison, that the latter resigned. For an opposite reason Secretary of

State Bryan resigned. He felt that Wilson was taking too strong a stand and endangering peace. When, on March 24, 1916, the Germans broke their pledge, and sank the *Sussex* without warning, the President refused to accept Germany's statement as to the circumstances. He wrote that unless such attacks immediately ceased for good and all, he would break off relations. For the next nine months they did stop.

Wilson is re-elected President. The election of 1916 clearly showed that the nation was divided. The Republicans nominated Charles E. Hughes on a platform which denounced Wilson's war policy and demanded preparedness and a more energetic attitude. The Democrats, with Wilson as their candidate for renomination, praised his policy and adopted as their campaign slogan "He kept us out of war." The election was one of the closest in our history, Wilson carrying the whole South and the Far West, and Hughes most of the East. At first it was thought that the latter had been elected, the result not being certain for two days. It was then found that Wilson had won.

America was still primarily interested in her domestic affairs. It is probable that the apparent lack of interest shown by Hughes in progressive policies at home, as well as his somewhat evasive speeches on all topics, had gained as many votes for Wilson as the slogan that he kept us out of war. As the results of the campaign reached Europe, however, it was the latter which made the greatest impression. The Germans had heard it, and, giving much too great significance to it, were to act upon their interpretation of it to their ruin.

President Wilson wishes to keep our nation neutral. As the months went on of what seemed to be an unending nightmare, Wilson ceaselessly turned over in his mind what might be the noblest and most useful service to all humanity which the United States could render. Wilson was neither a weak nor a timid man. If his dealings with Mexico had shown too much of the dreamer and idealist, his years at Princeton and his career since he had become governor of New Jersey showed equally that he could be a hard and determined fighter.

Apart from the wish of America to remain neutral if possible, there was the importance of limiting as much as might be the already vast field of slaughter and madness and impending bankruptcy of civilization. Finally, there was Wilson's belief that when peace might come America could play a better part as the one great neutral nation, untouched by the hatreds of the conflict, than she could as one of the war-maddened belligerents.

2. *Wilson's Idealism*

Wilson hopes to establish a League of Nations. Slowly there had developed in his mind, as there had also in the minds of such men as Taft, Hughes, and Lord Robert Cecil, the possibility of using the terrible war as the means to end all wars. He believed it would be possible to build up through some League of Nations a better order than that based on the old nationalistic ambitions and diplomacy. Wilson saw clearly and rightly that there was little hope for mankind if no better foundation for lasting peace could be found than the armed balance of the great powers of Europe, which broke of its own weight about once a century. Had it not been for the alliances and the armaments, designed to preserve peace, we might not have had war. But in the world as it was there seemed nothing to do but to build up alliances and to maintain armaments.

By December, 1916, the war had been going on for nearly two and a half years, with no prospect of ending. What Wilson wanted was not merely to end the war, but to do so in such a way as to bring about a new order under a league. This he felt would have to be done, if possible, before the bitter hatreds, growing more bitter every day, would put the possibility of such a new order out of the question. On December 18, therefore, he addressed notes to all the belligerents asking them to define their war aims, and to state on what terms they would be willing to consider the making of such a peace. All, he said, had declared, in general terms, what they were fighting for, but each had done so in much the same words. His notes aroused a good deal of bad feeling, particularly on the side of the Allies, who complained that Wilson could not see the difference between what they and the Germans were fighting for.

Our President knows that economic imperialism caused the World War. Wilson was looking not at the moral question of this particular war, however, so much as at the whole problem of war, its causes and its possible cure. To understand his policy, this fact has to be kept in mind. Whatever might be the immediate causes of this war, he saw the *larger* causes. He knew there had been for some centuries the nationalistic desires to expand and to exert power. Whether or not an Austrian archduke had been murdered, Austria and Germany had wanted to extend their power toward the Southeast into Asia Minor. But this would have thwarted Russia's hope of some

day having Constantinople and a southern outlet to the sea. When Russia had come to Serbia's aid, it had been with this ambition in mind. England had vast territories, markets and investments to protect. France wanted her "lost" provinces.

Moreover, in the last few hectic days of July, 1914, when the world was frantically trying to patch up a peace, it had been the huge size of modern armies and the necessity of having the whole machinery move, once a button had been touched, which seemed to make any recall impossible; and the Czar was not without his own responsibility for bringing on the war at the last moment. Again, there was the system of alliances. England and France were bound to Russia. If Russia came in, Germany knew she would have to attack France. England, after some days of hesitation, came in partly to defend the Belgian treaty but also largely because she had been so bound to Russia and France in the Entente that if she did not go in she would win their enmity, and—whichever side won—would find herself in dangerous isolation, and the route to India threatened by either Russia or Germany. Greedy nationalism, the system of alliances, and vast and unwieldy armaments thus appeared to Wilson as the real causes of the world catastrophe.

So the war had begun, and after it had begun came the hope of spoil and the madness and hate of propaganda and war emotion. Italy, after ten months, had deserted her former allies and made a secret treaty with her new ones which promised her additions to her territory on the Adriatic. Japan, likewise, bribed with the promise of loot in Shantung and elsewhere in the East, joined the Allies. Others had been drawn in, and now it looked as though *we* might be, with every wish in the world not to be.

Wilson works against a victor's peace. Wilson was almost wholly concerned with how to prevent in future this recurring disaster to mankind. Even if the Allies won, and there was a redistribution of territory and a nominal peace, the President saw that if the old system of armed balance of power were set up again there would be no guarantee of peace. He came to believe with his whole soul that the only hope for humanity was the inauguration of a new order, of a genuine "society" of nations on the same basis of mutual trust and confidence as underlies the relations of our several states to one another. But every month that the war went on with increasing bitterness seemed to him to make such a plan less and less possible. It was this thought he had in mind when, on January 22, 1917, he addressed the Senate and

used the famous phrase, which aroused almost universal resentment, that there must be "peace without victory."

There must be in future, he said, not a "balance of power" but a "community of power," "only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe." The right state of mind is as necessary to lasting peace, he added, as "is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance." A victor's terms "would be accepted in humiliation . . . and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon a quicksand." The fifteen years following the Peace of Versailles, with their increasing tension of national animosities, their growing sense of instability, their mad increase of national jealousies and almost complete breakdown of economic civilization, were to prove Wilson a seer. We had a dictated victor's peace, a renewal of the old system of armed allegiances, and—disaster.

Our President wishes to bring lasting peace to the world. Before the Senate in January, he pleaded for no more alliances but for a concert of power beneath which all men could "live their own lives under a common protection." The rest of his own life, which he sacrificed to the cause, was devoted persistently to the attempt to make his vision real for all mankind. His was the greatest effort that any statesman has ever made to bring content and lasting peace to all mankind. But, unfortunately, Wilson over-rated the willingness both of his own countrymen and of the world at large to assume the risks of trying to establish a new order in place of the old, while he underrated the forces of nationalism.

Our government breaks off relations with Germany. Wilson was always a puzzle to the diplomats of the Old World, and Germany had interpreted the election of 1916 as indicating not that America was idealistic but that she was cowardly and would stand any amount of abuse. At once the building of new submarines had proceeded rapidly, and on January 31, nine days after Wilson had addressed the Senate as we have noted, Germany told us that she would thereafter sink at sight every vessel, neutral as well as belligerent, in the Mediterranean or in the waters adjacent to Great Britain. *

The German ambassador in Washington, von Bernstorff, had been trying to influence his government against such a measure. On January 23, he cabled to Berlin that he had just received a formal offer from Wilson to act as mediator. Word came back, however, that the military operations already set in motion were of such magnitude that

they could not then be halted. On February 3, the ambassador was given his passports by the American government, and relations with Germany were broken.

President Wilson asks for "armed neutrality." Events now moved more swiftly. On January 19, the German Government had instructed its minister in Mexico to urge that nation to attack us if we attacked Germany, offering to Mexico as loot the American southwestern states. This document was made public by the British intelligence service five weeks later, and a wave of indignation swept the United States. Meanwhile the German submarines had gone promptly and effectually about their work. In the month of February they sank 200 vessels, of which number three-quarters were neutral although only two were American.

About the time the Zimmermann note to Mexico was made public, Wilson had asked Congress for power to arm our merchant vessels with the idea of using the "armed neutrality" policy of a century earlier. The authority asked was granted by the House by an overwhelming vote. But in the Senate, where there was no rule limiting the time which a senator could speak or for bringing debate to an end, twelve senators, about equally divided between the two leading parties, maintained a filibuster which prevented the passage of the bill before the session expired. The dozen senators had also prevented the passage of the army appropriation bill, so that the President had to call the new Congress back in special session to meet April 2.

The Russian Revolution begins. Before that date, the Russian government had fallen, and the revolution, believed to be controlled by the intelligent liberals, had begun. With the Russian Czar as one of the three principal Allies, it had not been easy to make out a case for the war as a struggle of "free peoples" against "autocracy." But in the first days of the revolution, when it was believed that a great democratic and popular government might be established in the former Russian Empire, the war began to appear more as one of liberalism and liberation. Moreover, the submarines were sinking more American ships, and forty-eight Americans had lost their lives.

3. Our Country in the War

We declare war on Germany. When Congress convened, Wilson appeared before it and asked for a declaration of war against Germany. We had, he said, no quarrel with the German people them-

selves, and the war on our part should not be for revenge but for human rights. It is well, in view of all that was to happen, for us to stress his very words, for the aims at which he was striving really changed not at all. Those aims had been, and continued to be, the safe-guarding of the democratic way of governing and the inauguration of a new era of the *concert* instead of the *balance* of powers.

On that evening of April 2, before the crowded seats and galleries of the House, he expressed these aims as clearly as any one could "The world," he said, "must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no self-

New York Tribune

First to Last — the Truth • News Editorials • Advertisements

7,706 (Circulation 1916, The Tribune Staff) TUESDAY, APRIL 3, 1917

The President Calls for War Without Hate

ish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall make. . . . It is a fearful thing to lead this great and peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest in our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations. . . . The day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other."

That night, the resolution declaring war with Germany was introduced in both Houses and passed, and the declaration of war received the President's signature on April 6, 1917.

Our causes for going to war are not the same as those of Allies
 Several points may be noted as to our entry into the war. First, the causes of our going in were not those which had led the Allied Powers to do so. Of them all, Belgium was the only one which had gone in solely on account of the attack on her neutrality. That had counted with England, but so also had her alliances, and her long-range policy. Rus-

sia had gone in to preserve her possible future in southeastern Europe, and France had been drawn in by her alliance with Russia. In regard to the other greater powers, we have already spoken of the extremely practical motives which had influenced Italy and Japan. All these nations had secret treaties among themselves, partitioning the world anew if they should win. Having had nothing to do with the original causes of the war, we had at last gone in because of the attacks on neutral rights. Secondly, our aims were wholly different from those of the Allies. Wilson had utterly disclaimed any intention on our part to seek revenge, indemnities, or territory.

Partly for these differences in causes and aims and partly because of our traditional policy, we did not enter the war as an "ally" but as an "associated power." We did not even go to war with all their enemies. We did, indeed, declare war on Austria on the 7th of the following December, but never declared war on Turkey, and did not even break off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria.

We lend huge sums of money to the Allies. We had not made adequate preparation for hostilities, but the immediate assistance that we could give was to save the credit of the Allies, which had become exhausted. Mr. Balfour, who arrived with the governor of the Bank of England and other members of the British war mission in Washington on April 22, assured McAdoo, the Secretary of the Treasury, that the financial position was even more menacing than the submarine peril.

Two days later, Congress passed the largest finance bill in the history of the world, authorizing the raising of seven billion dollars, of which three billion dollars could be lent to the Allied Powers. The next day McAdoo handed Lord Cunliffe for England a check for two hundred million dollars. Thus began the colossal financing of the struggle in America, and the loans to foreign nations. These together with other causes were to bring the world to the edge of collapse within fifteen years and to win for us the hostility of all our debtors.

The total face value of the loans we made to foreign countries, before interest began to run, was about nine and one-half billion dollars of which over two billion dollars was lent after the armistice. This latter fact is important to remember. In order to make these loans and to pay our own governmental expenses and our own cost of the war, which was nearly thirty-five and one-half billion dollars, we increased our national debt by twenty-one and one-half billion dollars, and during the two years raised, in addition, nearly eleven and one-third bil-

lion dollars by taxation. Had the war not ended in 1918, it was estimated by the Treasury that for the year ending June 30, 1919, we should have had to raise in that one year alone, for the needs of ourselves and the other nations, twenty-four billion dollars.

The United States becomes a creditor nation. Before the war we could not possibly have raised any such sums, for we were ourselves a debtor nation, owing Europe over two and one-half billion dollars. A new country always borrows from the older ones to develop its resources until such time as it has itself accumulated capital sufficient for the purpose. Until 1914 we had always been heavily in debt to the Old World. But the sudden demand for all our goods at war prices had, as has been noted, so increased our exports as to enable us to buy the two billion dollars of our own securities which Europe dumped on us almost at the beginning of the struggle.

By the time we entered it, we had become, for the first time in history, a creditor nation, and able to finance both ourselves and the Allies. No one, under the present system, can keep prices from rising in a war. When Europe sometimes scornfully points to the profits which we made in the first two years and more that she was fighting, it should not be forgotten that, had we not made huge profits, there would have been no such reservoir of credit in the United States as Europe tapped on so colossal a scale after 1917.

Shall we send troops to Europe? Although the available man power in America for an army was obviously enormous, it had been the opinion of many that, even if we should enter the war, our great value to the Allies would lie in the opening of credits and the production of the material resources for their armies rather than in any large army of our own. No nation under modern conditions had ever carried on a war of the first magnitude 3000 miles from its base.

In view of the decreasing amount of shipping through the submarine sinkings, and the dire need of transporting huge stores of supplies, not only for the armies already in the field but to keep the civilian populations of England and the other countries from starving, it was a question whether the sending over of a large army, with its additional need of food and other supplies, might not hinder rather than help. Germany believed the task impossible, and for that reason had looked with unconcern upon forcing us into the conflict.

We rearrange our industrial life to supply war materials. Although our army was almost negligible in April, 1917, we had taken an important step in the organization of our resources by the creation

of the Council for National Defense in the preceding August. Out of this organization there developed many of the great boards which had to undertake the co-ordination of the entire industrial life of the nation. In the six months after our entry into the war, the United States had been transformed from a highly individualistic society of competing business concerns into what was almost a great socialistic state. The control of the whole industry, life, and purpose of the nation was directed from Washington. It was an amazing transformation, for nothing like it had ever been attempted before on any such scale, and the process was wholly opposed to our ordinary ways of doing things.

Volumes might be, and have been, written on the complex problems with which the complicated group of boards had to grapple. Here we can only suggest in broad outline the magnitude of them. One of the early offsprings of the Council of Defense was the War Industries Board. It in turn was made up of many divisions, such as the price-fixing committee, the allied purchasing commission, the labor division, building material, chemical, priorities divisions, and many more. There were sub-committees for all sorts of products essential for the war—acids, alkalis, copper, steel, pyrites, nickel, and some thirty others. The chief task of the War Industries Board was to rearrange the industry of the nation so that all war materials should be produced in sufficient quantities and supplied when and where needed.

We provide supplies for neutral nations. All this involved in many cases the transformation of plants from producing things used in peace to those needed in war. As new capital was suddenly required on a great scale, a War Finance Corporation was set up to provide it, and a capital issues committee to pass on all new issues of stocks and bonds. Foreign trade had to be revolutionized, and so a War Trade



A POSTER BY HOWARD CHANDLER
CHRISTY FOR THE FINAL LIBERTY
LOAN DRIVE

Board was organized. For one thing, it put the neutral nations on rations so that, while their legitimate needs should be supplied, there should be no surplus to be handed over to the enemy.

America itself was rationed in essential foodstuffs, so that every bit possible could be shipped to the Allies, a work taken over by the Food Administration. It soon became necessary also to ration fuel to ourselves, and the Fuel Administration followed the Food Administration, economizing the use of coal and other fuels, stimulating production, and getting all possible shipments across to Europe.

The forced stimulation of all our industries, including agriculture, was to cost us dear when deflation came after peace. But during the war there was nothing to be done but to increase all our means of production—farms and factories—to the fevered needs of a mad world, far beyond those of normal times of peace.

Our government takes over control of railroads. One of the most essential problems was that of transportation by land and sea. In a country as vast as the United States, 3000 miles wide, which it takes four days to cross by fast train, there could be no question of building emergency lines. The existing ones had to serve. In order that they should all be co-ordinated to the one end of rushing supplies to Europe, 240,000 miles of lines, owned by several hundred private corporations, with 2,000,000 employees, were taken over by the government and operated by McAdoo, who added to his duties as Secretary of the Treasury those of director-general of the railroads.

We become a shipbuilding nation. Before we entered the war, we had already felt the lack of shipping, and in 1914 the government had inaugurated a Bureau of War Risk Insurance to insure cargoes which could not be privately insured. In September, 1916, a United States Shipping Board was created to regulate and increase shipping, and immediately on our entry into the war, in April, 1917, Congress organized the Emergency Fleet Corporation. It spent one billion dollars and built ships faster than the Germans could sink them. We had not been a shipbuilding nation and almost everything had to start from nothing. During the war, however, we built 875 vessels and when the armistice came 380,000 men were at work in the yards so that by 1919 our tonnage had risen from the one million of 1914 to over six and one-half million.

After a good deal of confusion and delay in the beginning, most of the work done by all these boards and committees, headed for the most part by leading business men of the country, was excellent. Naturally

there was much waste, including the inevitable profiteering by private firms.

The Allies beg us to send them soldiers. Whatever may have been thought earlier of the possibility of sending large forces abroad, within three weeks after war was declared Congress passed the army bill which had been prepared by the general staff. This provided for the immediate raising of the regular army and of the militia to their maximum strengths by voluntary enlistment, and for the raising of a new



A U. S. SHIPPING BOARD POSTER SHOWING A GOVERNMENT SHIPYARD DURING THE WORLD WAR

army by conscription of 500,000, or, if the President believed it necessary, of 1,000,000. The war missions sent to us by the Allies begged for man-power as soon as possible. They admitted that Germany was winning, that the courage of the French was giving way, and that some troops must be sent almost immediately to save the situation.

Our government sets to work to train an army. The problem was a difficult one. It was useless to send mere fresh recruits with no training, and our regular force was so small that if we sent any considerable part of it we should have few or no officers to train the millions of civilians who might have to be put into the service. Moreover, it was possible that in a nation so divided in its racial blood and

sympathies, we could never raise millions by volunteering. To vast numbers in the great Mississippi Valley and the Far West, as well as to others in all sections, the war seemed almost as remote from their daily concerns as a flood in China. Conscription was a fairer way to raise an army in a common cause.

Yet, with recollections of the draft riots in the Civil War, it was a



SECRETARY OF WAR NEWTON D. BAKER DRAWING THE FIRST NUMBER IN THE SECOND MILITARY DRAFT, JUNE 27, 1918

From a photograph in the War Department.

question what might happen if we tried conscription on a large scale. Would all those who were opposed to the war and those millions whose German, Austrian, Hungarian, and other racial descent and affinities bound them to the Central Powers rather than to the Allies, peaceably accept being drafted to go overseas to fight their own kin? It was freely predicted that conscription might mean for us torrents of blood and even civil war. Many leaders in Congress had advised against it.

To the enormous relief and pride of America, the draft was carried out, as were subsequent ones, with perfect ease. Whatever the racial descent of our new citizens, they accepted their obligations to their

new country as paramount, and with an admirable spirit once the die was cast. The first draft included all men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one, of whom over nine and one-half million registered in the 4500 registration districts into which the country had been divided. Each was given a number, and as these were drawn in Washington, the man in every district whose number was so drawn was drafted into the army. About 1,300,000 were taken on the first draft in July, of whom about half were accepted. These were distributed into thirty-two training camps, which were quickly built and equipped.

General Pershing is selected to command American forces. The President had decided, perhaps with memories of the Civil War in his mind, that this should be a war in the hands of experts, wholly unhampered in its military aspects by civilian meddling. He prevented, on the one hand, the formation of a congressional committee to supervise the conduct of the war, such as had made so much trouble for Lincoln, and, on the other, he himself rigidly kept from meddling with his generals. He was, of course, technically commander-in-chief but he did not think that that gave him adequate military knowledge. Secretary of War Baker took the same attitude.

Theodore Roosevelt had asked to be allowed to start at once for France as commander of a division of 30,000 men, and was extremely resentful when not allowed to do so by Wilson. The command of all the American forces in Europe was given to General John J. Pershing, an officer of the regular army who had an admirable record in the Indian wars and later in the Spanish War and in the Philippines and Mexico. In response to the wish of the Allies, he sailed for France in early June and within a few weeks he was joined by several divisions. On July 6, he cabled to the War Department that there should be at least 1,000,000 troops sent to France by the following May. That proved impossible for lack of ships, but in June, 1918, we did have in France 700,000 of the 2,000,000 total of the army.

The United States sends 2,000,000 soldiers to Europe. The last great German offensive against the Allied lines was so threatening in June, 1918, that the prime ministers of England, France, and Italy cabled to Wilson that in the opinion of Foch the situation was of the utmost gravity. They said that as the British and French could do no more to keep up their numbers, the war would be lost unless we could rush troops with all speed, at the rate of not less than 300,000 a month, across the ocean. This we did. In June we had had 700,000 men in France, and in November, when the stream stopped early in the

month owing to the armistice, just under 2,000,000. Of the 1,200,000 troops carried overseas in less than five months, 49 per cent were transported in British vessels and 46 per cent in American. The American navy supplied 83 per cent of the convoying warships, and American cargo vessels carried 95 per cent of the supplies.

In August, to secure a greater reservoir of man-power, a new draft act had been passed by Congress, including, with the usual exemptions, all men between eighteen and forty-five. This immediately added 13,000,000 men to the list of registrants, and preparations were made to raise the army to 8,000,000 by 1919, of whom 5,000,000 were to be in France.

Our soldiers are mingled with the Allied troops. So vast, complex, and interwoven were the military operations of the western front, which stretched all the way from Italy to Belgium, that it is impossible to disentangle the specific operations of the Americans from the general maze to give an intelligent understanding of their contribution. All that can be done in brief compass is to point out some of the operations in which they were engaged.

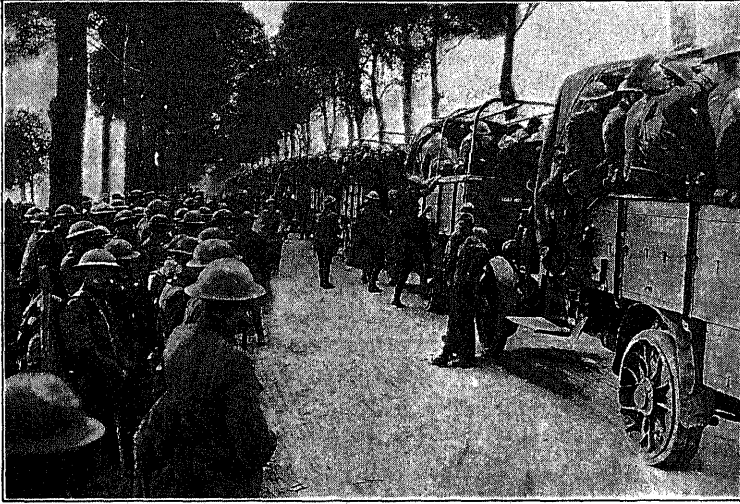
The hasty training which they received in America before being sent across had to be supplemented by a more intensive one in France. The assistance, other than psychological, which the American army rendered before the beginning of the great German drive in the spring of 1918 was slight. Pershing had believed and insisted that it would be best in the end to organize a distinct American army rather than merely to mingle our troops with the French, British, or Italians.

So desperate, however, was the need for men to resist the terrific onslaught of the Germans on the war-weary Allies, that from April to August, 1918, he consented to the use of our troops wherever needed to strengthen the lines. To this phase of our operations belong the fights at Château-Thierry and Belleau Wood, where the Americans had their first chance to show their mettle, and acquitted themselves to the great admiration of the French.

The American troops defeat the Germans. By midsummer, however, the distinct American army could be formed, and all the scattered troops were brought together from different sections. They were given the task of pushing back the Germans from the strongly protected indentation which they had made in the Allied lines in 1914 and held ever since, known as the St. Mihiel salient. The attacking force consisted of about 660,000 men, of whom 550,000 were Americans and 110,000 French, with some British aviators in addition.

By September 13 the victory at this point was complete, and the enemy was driven back, restoring 200 square miles of soil to France and freeing the Paris-Nancy railway and other lines of communications in such a way as greatly to assist the larger offensive against the Germans which was planned.

Our soldiers drive the Germans back. The Germans had held also the Meuse-Argonne sector since early in the war. This was



From a photograph by courtesy of the U. S. Navy Recruiting Bureau, N. Y.

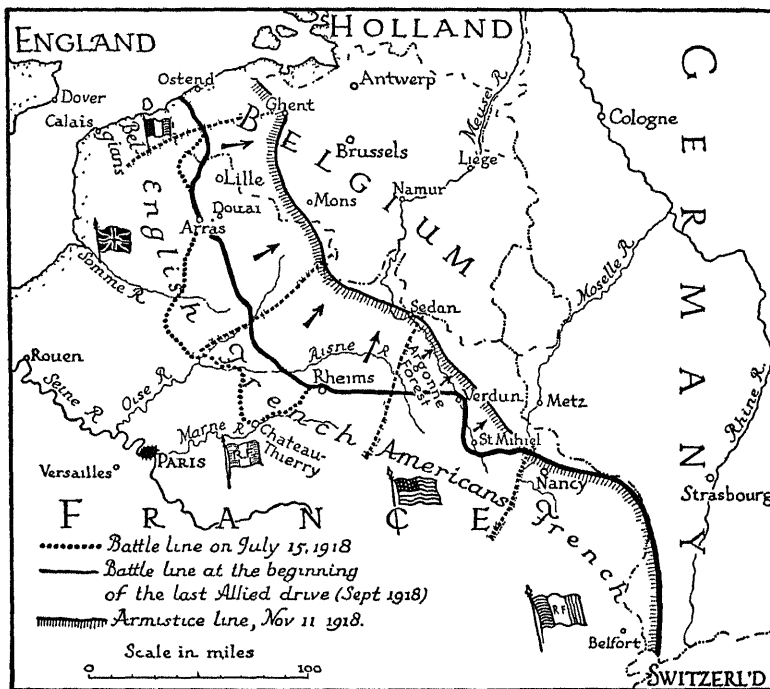
AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE ON THEIR WAY TO THE FRONT

strongly fortified and of great importance to them from the standpoint of all their co-ordinated operations. The number of Americans available had been rapidly increasing, as we have seen, and in the operation in this sector Pershing had to handle more than 1,200,000 men. The battle, which began on a front of twenty-four miles, and later extended to ninety miles, lasted for forty-seven days, and, as Pershing wrote, was the "greatest, the most prolonged in American history."

Steadily the Germans yielded to the pressure, retreating with heavy losses and with breaking morale. Similar pressure was being brought on them along the whole front to the north by the Allied forces, and by the second week of November the retreat had become general. With such huge forces, with corresponding needs for communication and supplies, a rapid retreat would certainly become a disastrous rout. It

was all over, and on November 11, 1918, an armistice was signed. The war had ended.

To what extent did we help to win the war? We must neither over-estimate nor under-rate our own part in it. There had been no reason for our entering it before we did, but we had been slow in many respects in getting started after we did so. Even to the end we



THE WESTERN FRONT

had to lean heavily on the Allies for such things as airplanes and the larger guns. It was a year after we declared war before we had a considerable army in Europe.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that we were working under exceptional difficulties. The European countries were small, highly centralized, with short distances to be covered, and for three years had been organized on a war basis. Our very size made for unwieldiness, and never before had any nation attempted to carry on such vast military operations 3000 to 6000 miles from the sources of

all its men and supplies. The 240,000 miles of railway which had to be taken over and co-ordinated was symbolic of the complexity and scale of all the problems. The whole fabric of one of the most populous and widely extended nations in the world had suddenly to be altered from its very foundations.

Without our fresh aid to the worn Allied countries it is quite evident from the despatches of both their military and civil authorities that they would have lost the war. At critical moments when all seemed over, we could throw in new supplies of financial credit, of material, and at last, in the final crisis, a supply of fighting men to overwhelm the enemy. Not having passed through the terrible ordeal of the earlier years, our troops were fresh and, as Foch exclaimed after the Argonne, "superb." But if, at the end, our added weight tipped the scales in favor of Allied victory, we must recall how heavy had been that heat and burden of the day which the other nations had borne year after year.

The World War is a war of 65,000,000 men. We can appraise our share, as well as the extent of the calamity which had overtaken mankind, by a glance at some of the figures. From all the nations, which had been engaged on both sides, over 65,000,000 men had been mobilized in the fighting services, 8,500,000 had been killed or died, over 21,000,000 had been wounded, and at the end 7,750,000 were prisoners or missing. The table below gives the numbers of those who were killed or died in the armies of the chief belligerents:

Germany	1,773,700
Russia	1,700,000
France	1,357,000
Austria-Hungary	1,200,000
British Empire.....	908,371
Italy	650,000
Roumania	335,706
Turkey	325,000
United States	126,000

Our soldiers are exceptionally well cared for. Never before had soldiers been treated as well as were the Americans in this war. The pay of a private was raised to thirty-three dollars a month, of which half could be held out for his family if he desired, and in addition allowances were made for certain classes of dependents. A man with a wife and two children, for example, received fifty dollars and fifty cents a month. Vocational training was promised after the war for all those who might have been disabled in such a way as to prevent their

taking up their former work. Each soldier was given the opportunity to insure himself for \$10,000 at the rate of six dollars and sixty cents a month.

Over 4,000,000 men took advantage of this offer. The average policy was for \$8,700 and the total amount of insurance underwritten by the government was over \$35,000,000,000, or \$5,000,000,000 more



SALVATION ARMY GIRLS SERVING MEN OF THE 26TH DIVISION, ANSAUVILLE, FRANCE, APRIL 9, 1918

From a photograph in the War Department.

than the total carried for civilians by all the insurance companies in the country. The soldiers' comforts, as far as might be, were also catered to by such voluntary organizations as the Salvation Army, Knights of Columbus, Y. M. C. A., and Red Cross. The amounts spent probably ran to well over \$1,000,000,000, the Red Cross alone expending \$400,000,000 in less than two years.

What is the psychological effect of the war on us? Considering the psychology of the situation, we may say that on the one hand, our fears and hatreds were fanned into fierce flames by nationally organized propaganda, while on the other hand, the emotions of our people as a whole did not have the outlets of fighting and sorrow. This

brought about, in a considerable degree, an abnormal psychology of the nation.

On June 15, 1917, Congress had passed the Espionage Act. This provided heavy penalties for any offenders who should be convicted of making false statements intended to interfere with the operation of our military forces or who should obstruct recruiting and in certain other ways interfere with the prosecution of the war. Freedom of speech and of the press was thus muzzled far more effectually than under Lincoln in the Civil War or than in any of the Allied countries. Public opinion, both during the war and for several years after, upheld the most drastic treatment of any one who, by the wildest stretch of the imagination, could be considered in the slightest degree unpatriotic or "radical." There was a veritable panic over the possible workings of German spies and later of the Russian Bolsheviki, which was part of the abnormal psychology of the times. About 2000 prosecutions were brought by the government, which imprisoned Eugene Debs. Others were treated as suspects who might merely hold unorthodox opinions.

The armistice is signed, November 11, 1918. But if America was abnormal and "jumpy," the morale of the German people was completely going to pieces in the late summer of 1918. Their losses and sufferings had been more than human beings could stand. Realizing that the whole structure of the state was fast crumbling, the German Government asked Wilson in October, to open negotiations for peace, based on his speech of January 8, in which he had made a complete statement of an acceptable peace settlement and on his subsequent utterances. This the President did only after changes in the internal affairs of Germany had made it appear possible to base peace upon the sincere wishes of the German people themselves.

Detailed terms for an armistice were drawn up by the supreme war council of the Allies and presented to the German representative, who had been brought, blindfolded, within the Allied lines. Although the terms of the armistice as presented by the military heads were extremely severe, there was nothing for the Germans to do but accept, which they did on November 11. The Kaiser had abdicated and fled to Holland two days before.

We have already indicated the views which Wilson held both as to the war and the possible peace. As far as America was concerned, the armistice had been asked for by Germany and granted to her on the understanding that a peace treaty would be drawn up in accordance

with Wilson's principles, notably as expressed in his speech of January 8 before Congress, laying down his famous "fourteen points."

4. *The Treaty of Versailles*

The secret treaties reveal imperialistic policies of the Allies. Wilson had, as we have seen, no trust in a peace negotiated on the basis of the old system of imperialistic diplomacy and national rivalries. The publication by the Bolsheviks, when they came into power in Russia, of some of the secret treaties made by England, France, Italy, Russia, and Japan, proved all too clearly that the Allies, in spite of their idealistic propaganda, had made bargains among themselves for a division of territorial spoils. All this was based on the old system rather than on the broader basis of preparing for friendliness and co-operation among the nations of the world.

The "fourteen points" reveal Wilson's idealism. In brief, the first five of the "fourteen points" had laid down certain broad principles as the foundations of the future policy of the world. These were, speaking generally, that there should be no more secret diplomacy but "open covenants" . . . "openly arrived at," and no more secret treaties; that the seas of the world should be free to all to navigate in war as in peace; the removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers between nations; the reduction of armed forces to the lowest point adequate for domestic safety; and an impartial adjustment of all colonial problems.

The next eight points dealt with specific territorial changes in Europe, such as the restitution to France of Alsace-Lorraine, the re-establishment of Belgium, and the erection of an independent state of Poland, with "secure access to the sea."

The final point, which in Wilson's mind could alone be counted on to assure the new order, demanded the formation of a "general association of nations."

It had been on the basis of a peace wrought out somewhat on the lines of these points that Germany had offered to end the war. Although they had never been formally accepted by either the Allies or the American Congress, there had certainly been a tacit, if somewhat vague, acceptance of the "fourteen points" by the Allies in granting the armistice asked on the basis of them.

Wilson is faced by a superhuman task. The task, however, which Wilson had set himself in proposing to alter the world order in

accordance with the "points" was a stupendous one. It may be admitted, especially in view of the conditions in Europe since 1918, that a peace which merely renewed the old pre-war system of nationalistic jealousies and ambitions, and of armed balance of powers, could not be lasting. Wilson was right about that.

But, on the one hand, to convert America to his views, he would have to alter our century-long desire for isolation. On the other, to convert Europe, convulsed as she was by the bitterest hatreds, with France especially burning for revenge and the desire of a new dominance, he would also have to alter human nature at a moment when it was not even sane. With regard to the freedom of the seas, unjust as it may be that any one nation should set up a claim to rule them, it was most unlikely that the great maritime empire of England would consent to give up her private power for the sake of the public good.

President Wilson angers the Republicans. Unfortunately, also, Wilson had made, and was to make, political blunders at home that rendered the defeat of his plans almost certain. To a very great extent, party politics had been laid aside during the war, and Republicans and Democrats had worked loyally for the sole purpose of helping the government to win. There was, as always, much dissatisfaction with the way the war had been managed. In addition the President had powerful enemies, such as Senator Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt, both within and without the government. A considerable part of public opinion was naturally ranged against him.

Since the Civil War, our mid-term elections have frequently gone against the administration, and, in any case, it was likely that in 1918 the congressional election would turn the Democrats out and put the Republicans in. Even so, however, they might have worked loyally with the President in international affairs, but Wilson appealed to the nation before election to vote only for Democrats so as to strengthen his hand. The result was a howl of rage from the Republicans, who won small majorities in both Houses of Congress. They now came in politically angered against the President instead of being ready to work with him, as they might have been.

Had an election gone against the government in England, France, or other countries with a parliamentary system, and had Wilson been a European prime minister instead of an American President, he would have lost office with his party. But under our presidential form of government the executive continues in office, and for the second half of his term has often to get along as best he can with a minority support in

the legislature. He still remains, however, to a great extent, particularly in foreign relations, responsible for the conduct of affairs.

President Wilson irritates the Senate. Many people now thought that Wilson made a second mistake, in view of the strong and open hostility to him now to be expected in the Senate, in not appointing a senator as a member of the delegation which set out for Paris on December 4, 1918, to negotiate peace. Nobody seems to know just what is meant by the clause in the Constitution which provides that the President "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate" to make treaties. But if the meaning of "advice" is uncertain, that of "consent" is not. It was clear that no treaty negotiated by the President could be ratified unless two-thirds of the senators present concurred when a vote was taken.

Wilson's decision to lead the peace commission at Paris in person was an innovation, arousing much criticism. The other members were Secretary of State Lansing, General Tasker H. Bliss, and Colonel House. The make-up of the commission seemed to many not to indicate the slightest effort to gain the support or confidence of the Senate. It was clear that the President, in Paris in person, intended to dominate the commission.

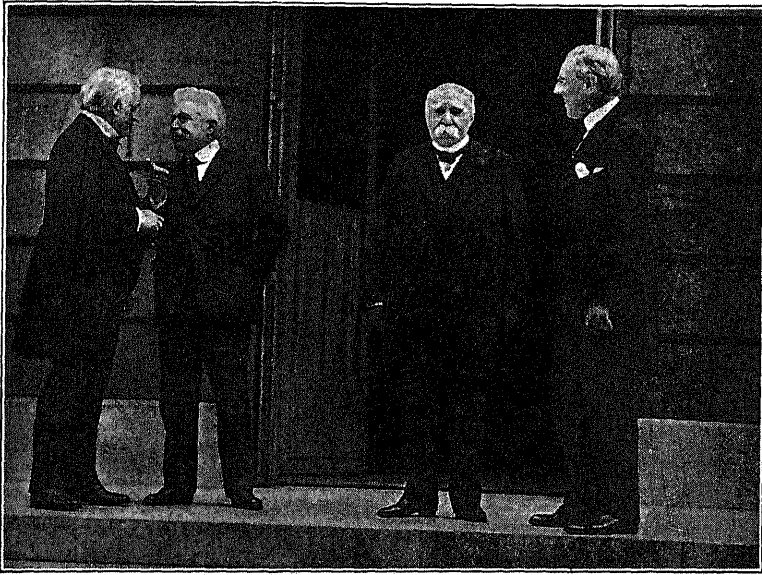
The European diplomats hold to the old order. It was also clear, from the December elections in both France and England, that the Peace Conference intended to have as little as possible to do with any healing peace or change in the political order. In France, Clemenceau, one of the most reactionary of French statesmen, was re-elected on a platform of keeping the old system of alliances and balance of power. In England, Lloyd George won with promises to "hang the Kaiser" and to make Germany pay the entire cost of the war, shilling for shilling.

Thus it was that, leaving hostility behind him and sailing straight into the seething hatreds ahead of him, Wilson landed at Brest on December 13. Whatever statesmen might think and promise, the peoples were heartily sick of war. In the few weeks in which Wilson visited Italy, France, and England, he was everywhere received with unparalleled enthusiasm as the savior of mankind from a recurrence of the overwhelming horrors of the past four years and as the herald of a new world. Then the Peace Conference got down to work.

The imperialism of the Allies runs afoul of Wilson's idealism. The problems had to deal with almost every quarter of the globe. Thirty-two nations, though none of the enemy ones, were nominally

represented. Even while the conference was sitting, minor wars were still going on, and famine and revolt were stalking over eastern Europe. It soon became evident that the real work would have to be carried on by the great powers alone. For the most part decisions were reached behind closed doors by the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy.

Little by little, Wilson, who had gone over with the hopes of nego-



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood

LLOYD GEORGE, ORLANDO, CLEMENCEAU, AND WILSON AT VERSAILLES, 1919

tiating a just and lasting peace, had to give way. He had trusted, like Lincoln, that he might bring healing as well as peace, but there was no healing, and many times it seemed as though there might be no peace. Paris in that winter was the scene of, perhaps, the most bitter hatreds the world has ever known, and statesmen, who had come to power by promising their peoples impossible spoils, felt themselves on the edge of the volcanoes of revolution. The desire of the French leaders was not healing but the ruin of the enemy. Japan held out for her promised plunder. Italy wanted her extension of territory, and at one time her delegates left the Conference and threatened to plunge Europe again into war. England wanted the German colonies and possessions.

Wilson himself, at one critical juncture, ordered the *George Washington* to be ready at Brest to take home the whole American delegation.

Much had to be surrendered of what he had hoped might redeem humanity from the curse of lasting hatreds and recurring wars, but he did save the League of Nations, which was written into the treaty. Many of the points for which the President fought would unquestionably have greatly helped the recuperation of the world had they been adopted. For example, he tried hard to have a definite sum named as that which Germany should pay in reparations, so that she and the world would know what had to be done. In the face, however, of the fantastic claims of France and England, Lloyd George demanding, in view of his election pledges, the incredible sum of \$120,000,000,000, that proved impossible.

The Allies make peace with Germany. In the midst of the conference, immediately after the league had been accepted, Wilson made a quick trip to the United States, in part to consult prominent leaders of opinion, such as Taft, Root, and Hughes. A number of suggestions made to him were later written into the treaty by him. Meanwhile, the opposition in the Senate was growing rapidly. Senators claimed that they were not being consulted or even kept informed as to what was going on, although such claims have subsequently been shown to have been exaggerated.

On the President's return to Paris, the work continued, and finally, on June 28, 1919, the treaty was signed at Versailles by Wilson, the Allies, and Germany. The last complained bitterly of the extreme injustice of the terms, and that the whole document was contrary to the "fourteen points" which they had accepted as a preliminary to the armistice. On July 10, the President submitted the treaty to the Senate for ratification.

Senatorial groups oppose the treaty. There it at once encountered a storm of opposition. Lodge fought bitterly to have the treaty rejected except with such reservations as Wilson would not accept. Besides the Republican opposition there were several strong Democratic senators who were equally opposed, as was the small but powerful group of "irreconcilables" led by Borah.

The President, who knew of the senatorial opposition, had counted on being able to offset it or to bring it to terms by appealing to the country and bringing to bear the pressure of public opinion. In the pursuance of this plan, he started on a nation-wide tour to explain the treaty directly to the people. The strain, however, of the last six years

had been too great. The tour was undertaken against the advice of his physician and, while speaking in Colorado, he suffered a paralytic stroke. He had staked all on his personal appeal to the nation and had lost. Borne back to Washington a broken man, he recovered only partly and was more or less shrouded in the mystery of a sickroom for the remainder of his term.

Meanwhile, the endless debate continued in the Senate, becoming more bitter. Much of the discussion centered about Article X, of the League Covenant, which, it was held by some, might force us to go to war merely to preserve the present boundaries of any of the countries in the league. Wilson denied this. He was reluctant to accept reservations. On November 19, a vote showed that the necessary two-thirds could not be won in favor of the treaty, either with or without reservations.

The Senate refuses to ratify the treaty. A group of Democrats drew up a set of reservations. In March another vote was taken, with failure to ratify. The presidential election was then less than eight months off, and political motives were becoming dominant. The groups became more stubborn, and in May, despairing of ratifying the treaty, the two Houses of Congress, in order to put a technical end to the war, passed a mere joint resolution declaring it at an end. This Wilson at once vetoed.

Thus the deadlock continued. In the Senate there was opposition which could not be overcome unless reservations were added to the original treaty. In the White House lay the sick President, whose precise physical condition was a matter of uncertainty, and who was unwilling that his supporters should accept any reservations he thought opposed to the purposes of the league.

Whether Wilson would have succeeded in winning the country if he had been able to continue his tour can never be known. Once in the war, the nation had worked wholeheartedly for it, but it had not gone into it wholeheartedly, and the entire affair had always been somewhat unreal. We had no interest in the Old World and were more or less resentful at having been dragged into what had started as purely a European quarrel of the old sort. Many of the 2,000,000 soldiers who had been overseas had come back with no love for the Allies and with a wish to be done with Europe. On the other hand, had it not been for the stroke suffered by the President, it may be conceived that Wilson might have accepted some reservations, and the deadlock have been broken in one way or another.

Our country desires to return to old accustomed ways. The whole current of American life had changed with amazing swiftness since the armistice. The people whom the retiring President in the autumn of 1920 asked to take a "great and solemn referendum" on the treaty, and on our future part in the world, was a people anxious above all to forget the war and Europe and to take up again their old accustomed life.

The whole question of accepting the Treaty of Versailles centered mainly about our entering the League of Nations, with or without reservations. Opinion cut across party lines, and leading Republicans such as Root, Taft, Hughes, and others were more favorable toward our joining with reservations than were some of the leading Democrats. The long discussion in the Senate and press had confused, rather than clarified, public opinion. It had given time for the sentiments of nationalism and the desire for isolation to become dominant again.

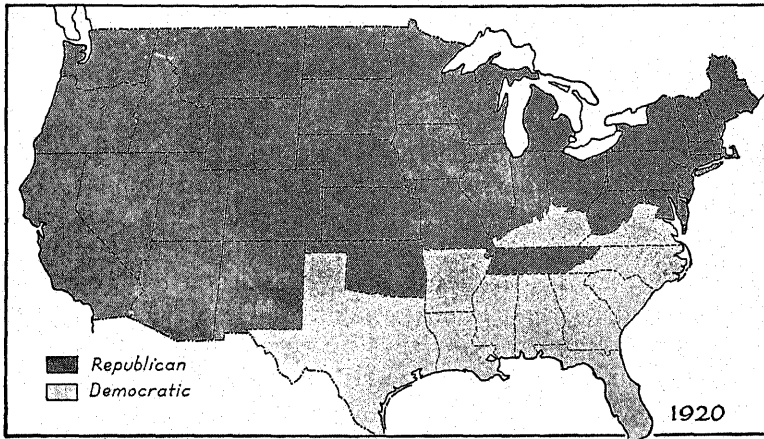
The treaty was one of the issues of the campaign of 1920. But the fight was really between those of our citizens who realized that as a result of the war both we and the world were entering upon a new era of international relations and those others who wanted a return to our pre-war conditions of life and policies. The chief issue of the campaign was whether we should go forward boldly into the unknown and untried or attempt to go back to the old and accustomed. The referendum on that was to prove overwhelmingly in favor of trying to go back, of returning to what the successful Republican candidate was to term "normalcy."

A great nation finds it impossible to remain isolated. The United States, as we have noted in the course of our story, had never been able to maintain its theory of complete isolation. Economically, however, we had appeared to ourselves to be self-sufficient to a large degree so long as we exported chiefly foodstuffs which other nations had to buy, and so long as we allowed them, to a considerable extent, to pay for these by lending us the money which was essential to the exploitation of our natural resources.

Of course, even economically, we had not been independent, but that fact had been more or less obscured until the years when the war, involving almost the entire world, dislocated all the accustomed exchange of commodities. Our moving-picture industry, for example, was dependent on a Japanese government monopoly—camphor—for its films. Our great motor-car industry was dependent on foreign countries for the rubber which we were not producing in any of our own

territory. In 1921 the United States Steel Corporation made up a list of forty commodities essential to manufacture which we had to import from fifty-seven foreign countries. The army discovered, if it did not know it before, that thirty commodities, necessary to the prosecution of modern warfare, could not be produced in the United States, or only in insignificant quantities.

Indeed, one of the underlying causes of the war itself had been the fact that for many years the political forces of nationalism had been



ELECTION MAP OF 1920

cutting across, and coming into conflict with, the economic forces of a commerce which had become world-wide. No nation was any longer self-sufficient in either raw materials or markets for products. To be nationally prosperous involved exchanges with other nations. But the desire of each nation to be as prosperous as possible itself at the expense of any or all others brought about the Great War.

Our prosperity is linked to that of other nations. In addition to this general situation, that war had wrought changes for the United States which made the dream of isolation more difficult than ever of realization. Our industrial development had been rapid before this war, but the demands of that struggle had resulted in a colossal increase in our capacity for production. We *had* to export manufactures on a huge scale or to write off the cost of much of our new plants as dead loss. Such great new twentieth-century industries as the automobile and moving-picture rested, as we have seen, on essential imported

articles. Like all our mass-production industries, they were dependent on ever-expanding markets.

Moreover, from a debtor nation we had suddenly become the world's largest single creditor. Besides the war debts of over ten billion dollars, we had invested in foreign countries by 1928 about fifteen and one-half billion more. Our great corporations, such as the Ford Company, Standard Oil, General Electric, and many others built plants in other lands. Our banks were opening branches in the principal cities of Europe and South America. In myriad ways our own prosperity was becoming linked to that of the world at large. This sudden elevation to a position of dominance in world economics found us almost wholly unprepared.

The presidential election of 1920 goes against Wilson. The one wish of the majority of our people was to avoid all responsibility and to get back to the days of 1913 before we had plunged into the whirlpool. There was little doubt about the result of the 1920 election. At their convention which met in Chicago in June, the Republicans nominated Warren Gamaliel Harding for President after it had become clear that none of the three leading candidates, General Leonard Wood, Senator Hiram Johnson, or Governor Lowden, could receive the necessary number of votes. Calvin Coolidge, governor of Massachusetts, was named as Vice-President. When the Democrats met in San Francisco, it was only on the forty-fourth ballot, after a long contest between the leading candidates, that Governor James M. Cox of Ohio received the nomination for President. Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York was named as his running-mate.

Although the question of the League of Nations was presumed to be one of those which divided the parties—the Democrats for and the Republicans against—Harding straddled the issue, and there were varying opinions of men in both camps. What was chiefly decided was merely that the electorate were tired of Wilson and his idealism; that they wanted a change in the direction of "practicality"; and that they wished to forget the war and all its problems. Harding's majority was staggering, approximately 16,000,000 votes to 9,000,000 for Cox.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Bullard, *Mobilizing America*; Daniels, *Our Navy at War*; Dillon, *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference*; Fay, *The Origins of the World War*; Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*; Harris, *What the League of Nations Is*; Hayes, *A Brief History of the Great War*;

Hobbs, *The World War and Its Consequences*; House and Seymour, *What Really Happened at Paris*; Houston, *Why We Went to War*; Lodge, *The Senate and the League of Nations*; Palmer, *America in France*; Tardieu, *The Truth about the Treaty*; Usher, *The Story of the Great War*; Van Every, *The A. E. F. in Battle*; Weyl, *The End of the War*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *American Year Book*, years 1917-1919; Hart, *Contemporaries*, V, 719-831; Hill, *Liberty Documents*, ch. 24; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, no. 202; Robinson and West, *Foreign Policies of Woodrow Wilson*; Wilson, *Selected Addresses and Public Papers*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Barbusse, *Under Fire*; Clarke, *A Treasury of War Poetry*; Davis, *With the Allies*; Foxcroft, *War Verse*; Ibañez, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*; Leonard, *Poems of the War and the Peace*; Remarque, *All Quiet on the Western Front*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 663-664; White, *Woodrow Wilson*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Show that the European nations are imperialistic. 2. Why did the European nations form ententes and alliances? 3. Why did President Wilson wish to maintain our neutrality? 4. What effect did the World War have upon our commerce? 5. What difficulties did we have in attempting to maintain the rights of neutrals? 6. What was the Declaration of London of 1909? 7. How did England violate international law? 8. Describe the German submarine warfare. 9. Was Germany justified in her submarine warfare? 10. What attitude did we take on the German submarine warfare? 11. Describe Wilson's idealism. 12. Why was Wilson interested in the formation of a League of Nations? 13. What did Wilson know to be the real cause of the war? 14. Why did Wilson advocate peace without victory? 15. Why did the United States enter the war against Germany? 16. Why were we an "Associated" Power rather than an "Allied" Power? 17. What services did our country render the Allies? 18. Describe our preparations for war. 19. To what extent did the United States help to win the war? 20. What has been the psychological effect of the war on us? 21. State the substance of Wilson's "fourteen points." 22. How did Wilson anger the Republicans? 23. How did European imperialism run afoul of Wilson's idealism? 24. What was the purpose of the League of Nations? 25. Why did certain senatorial groups oppose our entrance into the League of Nations? 26. How is our prosperity linked with that of other nations? 27. Describe the presidential election of 1920.

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

I. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The European ententes and alliances, increase of our commerce, the Declaration of London of 1909, the German submarine warfare, sinking of the *Lusitania*, re-election of President Wil-

son, Wilson's idealism, European economic imperialism, "armed neutrality," our declaration of war on Germany, our loans to the Allies, the part our soldiers played in the war, the effect of the war on us, the secret treaties, Wilson's "fourteen points," the Treaty of Versailles, senatorial opposition to the treaty, the presidential election of 1920.

2. PROJECT: Compare the claims that we made as to our neutral trade rights before the World War with those which we made prior to the War of 1812.

3. PROBLEM: In modern warfare can neutral nations insist on trade rights with belligerents and not become involved?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED, That the Treaty of Versailles was unfair and unjust.

5. ESSAY SUBJECT: Woodrow Wilson.

6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you lived in France for some time prior to the beginning of the World War. Write a letter to a friend in America setting forth the French view as to the cause of the war.

7. DIARY: You were a Y. M. C. A. worker in France during the World War. You kept a record of the work you did. Read to the class extracts from your diary showing your varied activities.

8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Charles E. Hughes, Balfour, John J. Pershing, Foch, Colonel House, Clemenceau, Lloyd George.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: August 4, 1914; April 6, 1917; November 11, 1918.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: European balance of power, international law, contraband, war zone, "peace without victory," victor's peace, "armed neutrality," "Associated" Power, armistice, Bolsheviks, "open covenants," presidential form of government, "irreconcilables," "great and solemn referendum."

11. MAP WORK: On an outline map of Europe put in the following places: London, Château-Thierry, Belleau Wood, Nancy, Versailles. Write a sentence showing the historical importance of each.

V. FLOOR TALKS .

1. FINANCING THE WORLD WAR: Bogart, *Financial Mobilization for War*; Bogart, *War Costs and Their Financing*; Hall, *War Borrowings*; Hepburn, *Financing the War*; Seligman, *Essays on Taxation*, 717-782.

2. MOBILIZING OUR FORCES: Bassett, *Our War with Germany*, ch. 7; McMaster, *The United States in the World War*, II, 51-64; Paxson, *Recent History of the United States*, 512-521; Seymour, *Woodrow Wilson and the World War*, ch. 7; Slosson, *The Great Crusade and After*, 52-71.

3. THE TREATY OF PEACE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: Adams, *History of the Foreign Policy of the United States*, 387-412; Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and the World Settlement*, I, 314-339; Dickinson, *The United States and the League*; Finch, *The Treaty and the Senate*.

TOPIC III

THE FALSE PROSPERITY OF THE 1920'S

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the conditions that made a false prosperity in the 1920's.
2. To see the significance of our belief in an era of perpetual prosperity.

1. *Harding and Normalcy*

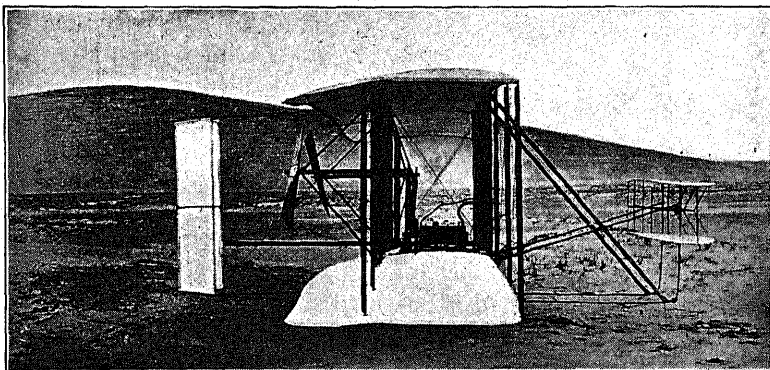
President Harding urges the return to normalcy. The new President had been a newspaper man in Marion, Ohio, a party regular always, and had been elected in 1914 to the United States Senate for the term of 1915-21. His Cabinet included some able men. Charles E. Hughes as Secretary of State, Andrew Mellon in the Treasury, and Herbert Hoover as Secretary of Commerce, were welcomed by the public as wise choices.

In his inaugural address, the new President stressed the policy of keeping out of European affairs and of our own return to normal conditions, which were interpreted as being those prevailing before the Wilson administrations. Although those had covered only eight years, to the America of the days of Taft seemed far back in time. This was due in part to the enormous acceleration which the war had given to various tendencies and movements, many of which had long been in progress.

Our country adopts prohibition and woman's suffrage. One of these movements had been the fight for prohibition which had a long history behind it. This Eighteenth Amendment had been ratified by thirty-six states by January 19, 1919, and was by its terms to go into effect a year from that date. By January 19, 1920, therefore, it had be-

come illegal to manufacture, sell, or transport intoxicating liquor within the United States for beverage purposes. The definition of what might be intoxicating was provided in the Volstead Act, which stated it to be one-half of one per cent of alcohol.

Another of these movements was the struggle for woman's suffrage, carried on since 1848, steadily gaining strength, but brought to a successful conclusion only by the war. The Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, proposed by Congress in 1919, had been approved by sufficient states to permit women to vote for the first time in a national presidential election in 1920. When Wilson had been elected in 1912, the possibility of women voting for President seemed to belong only



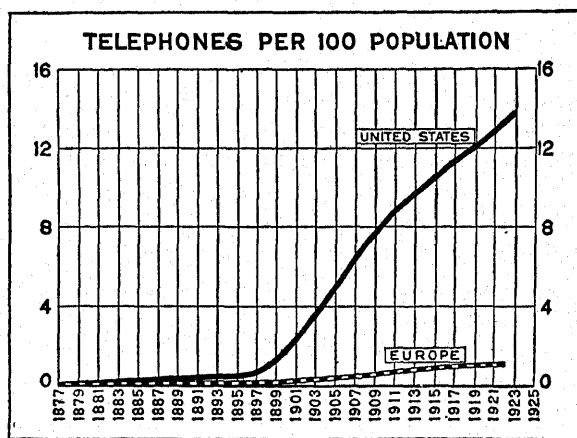
THE WRIGHT AIRPLANE THAT MADE THE FIRST FLIGHT IN HISTORY,
DECEMBER 17, 1903

to a quite indefinite future, while but few men would have dreamed of Federal prohibition.

Many new inventions affect our lives. Speed had also influenced the tempo of mind and life with the marvellous expansion of the motor-car industry. The development of the internal combustion engine had made the automobile practicable, and by the turn of the century there were some thousands in use. An industry of vast influence was that of moving pictures, which entered its real career in 1914. In 1920, perhaps about 30,000,000 persons were going to the movies once a week, and by 1930, 100,000,000. The radio, which had been used to some extent before the war for transmission of messages only, began

to revolutionize the lives of the people with the erection of the first broadcasting station in 1921. By the end of the decade perhaps 40,000,000 were daily "listening in" on the 10,000,000 receiving sets throughout the country. Other inventions came rapidly. For example, few families had telephones in 1905; a majority of homes had them in 1920.

The Wrights had made their first flight in an airplane in 1903. H. G. Wells had made what seemed the audacious prophecy that by 1950 airplanes would be used in warfare. By December 21, 1914, German



From "The Magazine of Wall Street"

GRAPH SHOWING THE PHENOMENAL GROWTH IN THE USE OF THE TELEPHONE IN THE UNITED STATES, AS COMPARED WITH EUROPE BETWEEN 1900 AND 1925

In the latter year, approximately two-thirds of all the world's telephones were in use within the borders of the United States.

planes were dropping bombs on English soil. So rapid was the development of aeronautics that in the first year of peace, 1919, two Englishmen, Captain Alcock and Lieutenant Brown, flew across the Atlantic without stop from Newfoundland to Ireland in sixteen hours, and another British plane had made the trip from England to Australia.

A fuller discussion of some of the new inventions is to be found on page 843.

Unrest and mistrust grip our people. The sudden end of the war and the many changes following put us under the nervous strain

of adjustment to a vastly quickened tempo of living and of a barrage of new sensations. The two or three years immediately after peace were years of almost morbid unrest and mental panic. One form which the panic took was a persecution of individuals suspected of being radical or "red" in their political or social views. Many foreigners were persecuted or deported from our country, often unjustly.

The immediate post-war period was also marked by labor unrest in the form of strikes, of which the strike in the Pittsburgh steel mills was the most bitter. A committee of the United States Senate sided with the men, and, although the strike failed in its immediate results, working conditions were remedied a few years later. Troubles were general in other cities and industries.

Combined with a desire to withdraw from world responsibilities and assume a policy of strict isolation there were felt also a dislike and a mistrust of idealism and of all that had been considered progressive before the war, under Roosevelt and Wilson. The people and the government seemed gripped by fear of what might take us farther on the road from the accustomed.

The Republicans pass a protective tariff measure. In the midst of these conditions Harding took office, pledged to lead the nation back to "normalcy," as he called it. The railroads had been turned back to their owners under Wilson in 1920 by the terms of the Esch-Cummins Act. But there remained much to be done in liquidating the various bureaus and other war organizations.

The complete change in our position because we had become a creditor and exporting industrial nation had been pointed out by Wilson the day before his retirement, in his message vetoing the tariff bill sent to him by Congress. The first month of his term, Harding sent a message urging the immediate necessity of higher rates. An emergency tariff and, in 1922, the Fordney-McCumber Bill, were passed by Congress, raising duties to the highest points yet attained.

Our people turn to money making. The attitude of the people at large toward the great corporations had completely changed since before the war. During the years from 1920 to the great crash of 1929 business was to reign supreme. Chief among the causes for the change was probably the increased participation in stock ownership by the public. Over 21,000,000 persons had subscribed to the last Liberty Loan, and during the war the great majority of them had for the first time become familiar with the ownership of a security. The fortunes made in stocks and the increasing newspaper publicity given

to stock-market excitements served to increase both the speculating and investing publics.

The government had not thought out any satisfactory plan for controlling corporations in the interest of the people, who had discovered that mere legal proceedings to break up a great combination brought no results to the ordinary citizen. The latter, tired of idealism, seemed sceptical of government regulation or interference, for the war idealism of Wilson had failed. The ordinary citizen was eager to make money for himself as he had seen others do, and was coming to care little about anything else. In that simple situation is the key to much of the history of the period from 1920 to 1930. Just as airplanes and automobiles had given us new figures of speed, so wartime industry and debts had given us new standards of financial magnitude.

In 1901 the United States Steel Corporation had seemed an evil giant with its billion-dollar capitalization. In 1916 the entire debt of the United States Government had been only about \$970,000,000. By the end of the war it was \$25,250,000,000. Such huge sums as this introduced a new standard of comparison and made the big corporation seem not so big after all.

A post-war depression comes to our country. Practically every great war of modern times has been followed by a business depression about two years later, and by a far more severe secondary depression about eight years or so after peace. The World War was to prove no exception. The general failure of business leaders to forecast the situation properly was to result in a total collapse of confidence in their ability as leaders.

By 1920 the primary depression had begun. It was brought on partly by general underlying conditions and partly by the "buyers' strike" entered upon by a public whose income had been deflated before the cost of living had been lowered. From being wildly extravagant during flush times, people suddenly held parades and formed organizations protesting against high prices. They pledged themselves to wear old clothes and even overalls for the sake of economy. Retail prices soon fell, and the wholesale prices of commodities crashed from an index figure of 231 in 1920 to 125 in April 1921. The great manufacturing companies had to take huge losses, while the agricultural population was nearly ruined.

The post-war depression seriously affects farmers. The corporations were to come back to a new and greater prosperity but the farmer was not. In 1921 he was getting only \$1.19 a bushel for his

wheat as compared with \$2.14 two years before, 12.3 cents for cotton as compared with 29.6, and much the same proportion for his other crops. It has been estimated that one-third of the farm income was taken for taxation. In the six years following 1920, the average value of his land fell from \$108 to \$76 an acre.

In 1921 the so-called "Farm Bloc" was formed in Congress by representatives of the middle Western states to secure relief specifically for the farmers. But what measures they were able to secure were unsatisfactory. During the wild period of stock speculation and inflation which was to follow the general business recovery after 1921, farming remained the unprosperous industry of the nation. The problem of markets and of the relation of agricultural prices to high wage scales and manufactured articles remains to be solved.

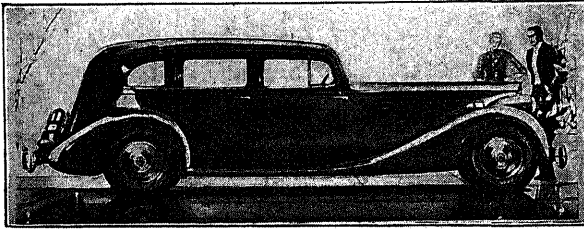
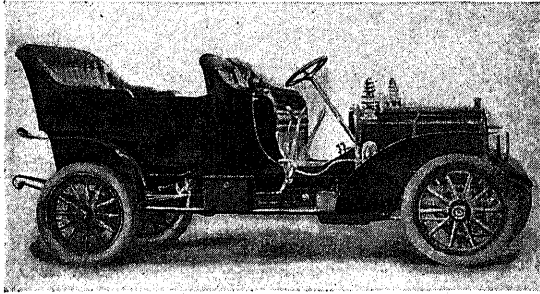
Gold imports seem to bring prosperity. In spite of continued strikes, such as that of 300,000 railway shopmen in 1923, prosperity began to return with the huge gold imports which started in 1922. The Federal Reserve system set up in 1914, after having stood the strain of war, helped to pull us through the slough of deflation. But in the years immediately to follow, the fire of American prosperity, and more particularly of American speculation, was to blaze so fiercely as to astonish the whole world. The imports of gold, which did not stop until we had more than half the world supply, were but one of the forced drafts which made the blaze.

Our business men turn to advertising. Another was the first trial on a gigantic scale of national advertising, which made its new and almost irresistible appeal to the potential buyer through his emotions skillfully played upon by experts. The willingness of business men suddenly to increase so remarkably the sums spent in this way was largely due to the income tax. If, for example, the net profit of a corporation was taxed 50 per cent it meant that the corporation could reduce its tax by some increased expense. If it did not expend a million dollars on advertising the government would take a half million dollars in taxes on earnings. If it did spend a million, it would not have to pay the half million to the government on that particular million, and so it got a million dollars worth of advertising for half that sum. The effect on the public of having their minds thus played upon with consummate skill was, at least for the time being, immense. What a decade before had been luxuries for a large part of the population came to be considered necessities.

We advance a new economic theory. The demand for goods

made business. The new economic theory that high wages increased markets seemed to open endless vistas of ever-rising purchasing power, broadening markets, and increasing production. Like the old legend of the fountain of youth, a new belief arose that we had discovered the way to eternal prosperity. If that was so, why wait until one had saved the money for anything one wanted?

The introduction on a great scale, and in new fields, of the instal-



THE GROWTH IN AUTOMOBILE ADVERTISING HAS
KEPT PACE WITH THE DEVELOPMENT IN MANUFACTURE

In 1909, slightly less than \$2,000,000 was spent in the advertising of automobiles. In 1929, 4,000,000 were engaged in making motor vehicles and an annual aggregate of \$60,000,000 was spent in advertising them.

ment-purchase idea became another forced draft under production and apparent prosperity. Mass-production methods, of which the full implications were not yet realized, also seemed to promise an indefinitely descending scale of prices for goods produced in ever-enlarging volume. The increasing market required would be created by increasing wages, and if wages were steadily to rise and prices to fall, the ordinary man saw a veritable New Jerusalem opening before him. If wise sceptics

hesitated to accept the theory of a "new era of economics," the actual increases in production, wages, and profits satisfied most persons, whether servants or captains of industry. America had got started on the wildest debauch economically that she has ever enjoyed or suffered from.

As the ordinary man became more and more anxious to make money, he cared less and less about the affairs of the world at large. Foreigners were to sell us raw materials, buy our mass-produced goods, and send us gold in payment, while we reserved our entire domestic market for our own manufactures.

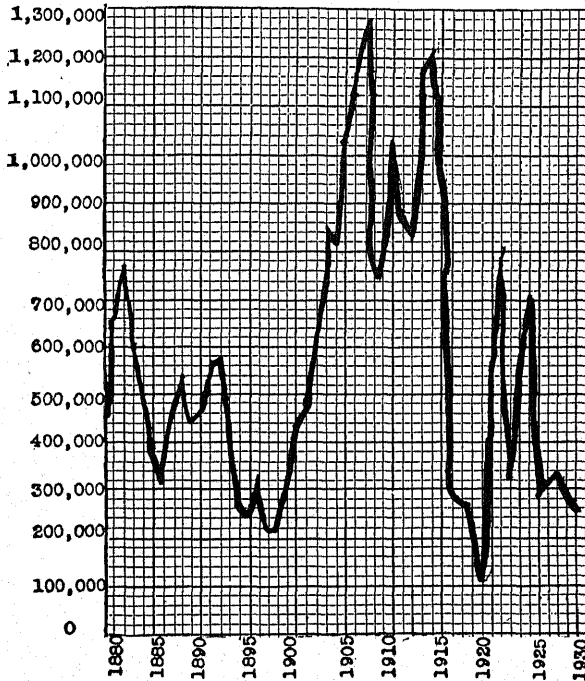
Harding opposes our entrance into the League of Nations. Although Harding, when a candidate for the presidency, had made contradictory statements as to his attitude towards the League of Nations, he became opposed to it after his inauguration. In 1921, the Senate passed the Knox resolution which ratified the treaty with Germany and which declared the war at an end. It inserted a clause in the resolution prohibiting the President from appointing any representative of the United States to serve on any body, commission, or agency set up by the Versailles Treaty without the consent of Congress. For many years after, in the absence of that consent, we have had to be represented on many European commissions by an "unofficial observer" only.

We make a beginning toward limitation of armaments. In 1921, although eager to take part in the movement for disarmament which had always been an American ideal, we felt unable to do so in connection with the League. President Harding invited nine powers, including Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, to meet in Washington to discuss reduction of naval power, and on November 12, the meeting was opened by Secretary Hughes.

A beginning toward reducing naval expense was made by the agreement on the 5-5-3 ratio. This allotted equal strength of capital ships to the United States and Great Britain, and gave to Japan three-fifths of the strength of each of the others. Italy and France agreed to smaller percentages. Although sixty-eight capital ships were scrapped by the treaty, no progress could be made when other forms of more modern and effective naval weapons were discussed. France, particularly, objected to limitation of her submarines. The use of submarines, however, was forbidden as commerce destroyers.

We come to an understanding with other powers. Perhaps more important than the naval treaty were the two which were made

at the same conference regarding affairs in the Far East. In place of a renewal of the British-Japanese alliance, the nine nations represented at the conference, including China, Holland, Belgium, and Portugal, as well as those named above, made a new treaty. It is called the "nine-



IMMIGRATION FROM 1880 TO 1930

power treaty" and mutually guarantees the integrity of Chinese sovereignty and the policy of the "open door" for trade.

In a "four-power treaty," Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States agreed to respect each other's possessions in the East, and to submit to a joint conference any question likely to cause trouble. Various minor matters were also adjusted in other treaties. The conference was the one outstanding feature of Harding's term, and brought great credit to Secretary of State Hughes.

Congress passes measures limiting immigration. For twenty years before the war, restriction of immigration had been discussed, and several measures had been passed by Congress for the purpose,

all of which had been vetoed. The unusual condition brought about by the war, however, gave added strength to the movement, and in 1917 a measure, based chiefly on a literacy test, was passed over Wilson's veto. The extreme nationalism aroused during the War and the danger after its close, that vast numbers of Europeans might rush to America to escape post-war poverty and unemployment in their native lands, led Congress to pass an act in 1921. It limited immigrants to three per cent of the number of their respective nationalities in the United States according to the census of 1910.

A stricter law was passed in 1924. It was provided that after 1927 the total immigration should not be more than 150,000 persons a year, and that each nation might send to us only as many in proportion to that figure as the total number of its nationals in the United States in 1920 bore to our total population.

This "national origin" system did not go into operation, owing to various difficulties, until 1929, but is now the basis of our immigration policy. Under it only 146 Japanese could enter the country each year as immigrants, but Congress specifically excluded all Japanese.

Congress passes bonus bill but President's veto is sustained. The principal financial measures undertaken during Harding's administration were the effort to give a bonus to the ex-soldiers, the lowering of taxes with the beginning of cutting down the national debt, and the first funding of the European war debts.

Our soldiers in the war, as we have said, had been treated more liberally than those of any other nation or period. High pay, insurance, vocational training, and pay for disability, had all been given to the soldiers. In March, Congress passed a bill granting extra compensation to ex-soldiers to an amount estimated at \$3,000,000,000. Harding vetoed the bill, but the House passed it over his veto by a majority of nearly five to one. The Senate narrowly defeated it.

Our government reduces its national debt. Mellon, the Secretary of the Treasury, began at once his program of tax reduction which he carried on for ten years, until the crash of American business in 1929. The prosperity which lasted from 1922 to 1929 enabled Mellon to lower the rates of taxation, and at the same time to reduce the total debt from twenty-five and one-half billion dollars in June 1919 to a little less than sixteen billion dollars in June, 1930. The steady reduction in taxation, however, begun under Harding and continued under Coolidge, gave the people at large a false sense of government finance. It led them to overlook the continued heavy government expense.

Another factor which gave a false sense of security was the belief that the European war debts could be funded and paid practically in their entirety. In 1922 Congress created a commission to study the refunding of the debts, almost nine-tenths of which were owed by Great Britain, France, and Italy. Great Britain, which owed much the largest sum, sent representatives to Washington in 1923. The promptness with which Great Britain agreed to pay \$4,600,000,000, over a period of sixty-two years, lulled the average man into the belief that the entire amount of approximately \$9,500,000,000 would be paid.

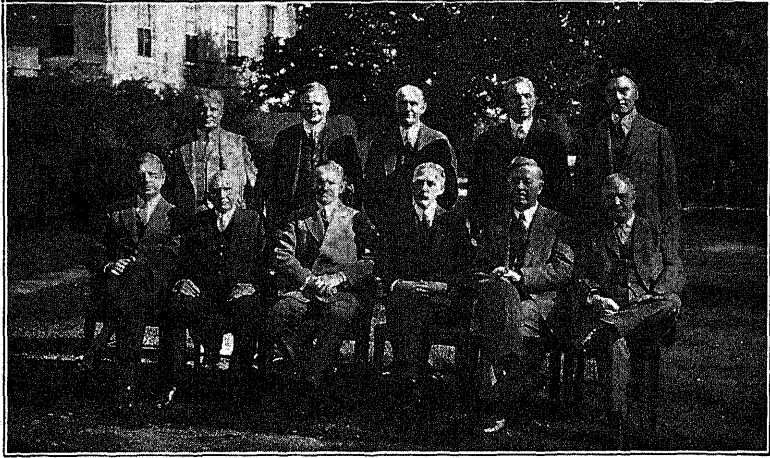
Harding is ill served by his intimate friends. There was, indeed, a lack of sound basis for the whole of the "mad decade" of 1920 to 1930. Unhappily by the end of his second year in office the results of Harding's placing responsibility in unworthy hands were beginning to involve him in a situation from which there appeared to be no escape. Of all our Presidents, except perhaps Grant, he was the worst served by his own intimate friends, whom he had appointed to office.

In February, 1923, the Senate appointed a committee to investigate alleged irregularities in the veterans' bureau. Three days later, Harding's friend, Forbes, resigned as its head. He was finally convicted of defrauding the government and sent to prison for two years. Thomas W. Miller, the custodian of alien property, was also caught in fraudulent transactions, and was sentenced to prison. Daugherty, the Attorney-General, was the center of intrigues which have never been cleared up. He was later to be forced out of office by President Coolidge, for obstructing the investigation of his own conduct.

Even a worse scandal involved two other members of the Cabinet. In 1921, at the request of Secretary of the Interior Fall, the President was induced to sign an order transferring the oil reserves of the navy from the custody of the Navy Department to the Interior Department. The scandal became known as "Tea-pot Dome," as it was that particular reserve which Secretary Fall, after having accepted a loan of \$100,000, leased to Harry F. Sinclair. The leases, which were of great value, were made secretly and without competitive bids. Harding's own order had been, as it was afterward discovered, without constitutional authority.

Under the lead of Senator La Follette, the Senate demanded an investigation. Senator Walsh of Montana conducted the investigation, which revealed a sad state of corruption. Secretary Fall was forced to resign. Secretary Denby also resigned, though no charges of dishonesty were made against him. All of these various scandals were to some ex-

tent known or suspected by the beginning of 1923, although it was to take longer to uncover the facts. Meanwhile the Republican leaders and newspapers were inclined to stamp the investigation as partisan, and to make light of it, though they joined later in deploring the conditions



From a photograph by Harris and Ewing

PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE AND HIS CABINET

that had been exposed. In the case of Secretary Fall it was not until October, 1929, that he was finally sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

2. The Coolidge Administration

Coolidge succeeds Harding as President. By the summer of 1923, Harding was becoming greatly worried over the situation of both his administration and himself and he started on a trip to Alaska in June. Returning from Alaska to San Francisco, he became ill from what was said to be ptomaine poison and on August 2 he died. At the time of his death the people at large realized little or nothing of the scandals and knew the President only as a handsome and rather likeable man.

The Vice-President was as yet but little known when he took office by an oil lamp in his father's home in a little hamlet in Vermont. Like Hughes and Hoover, Coolidge had been wholly unsmirched by the scandals of the Harding administration. He was to prove an extreme conservative, interested mainly, it seemed, in economies in the govern-

ment. With lavish Congresses, however, he did not make progress in that direction of economy.

A man of silence, Coolidge possessed that Yankee shrewdness and common sense which made him a popular leader. As prosperity returned in steadily increasing measure, he became a legend closely identified with national economic well-being. This was the aspect in which the President was to be constantly presented, and it fitted the trend of the times.

Dawes and Young aid in plans to help Germany pay debts.

By the latter part of 1923 it had become increasingly evident in Europe that the \$33,000,000,000 of reparations which had been laid upon Germany were impossibly large and would require readjusting. The Allies argued that their ability to pay their debts to us and to each other was closely linked with the payments from Germany. The United States had declined to take part in European conferences, but in Europe it was thought it might be well if influential men in America became better acquainted with the situation. The reparations commission thus asked General Dawes, a successful business man of the Middle West, who had served under Pershing in France and who had been the first director of the budget bureau under Harding, to head a committee to study the problem of Germany's capacity to pay and the methods of her payments. In April, 1924, the committee made public its findings and suggestions, which became known under the name of the "Dawes Plan," although in fact it was chiefly the work of Owen D. Young, another American member.

Coolidge is elected to the presidency. The plan brought Dawes, however, prominently into the international limelight, and at the Republican convention, which met at Cleveland, he was nominated for Vice-President on the ticket with Coolidge. The platform on which the candidates stood, called for rigid economy, further reduction of taxes, payment of the war debts, and a high protective tariff.

Fourteen days later the Democrats met in New York. The long-drawn-out battle between Governor Smith of New York and William G. McAdoo, which made it the longest convention in American history, created a bitter split in the party and destroyed what chances John W. Davis, the candidate finally chosen as a compromise, might have had. The scandals of the Harding régime figured little in the campaign, contrary to what might have been expected. This was largely because the public seemed, strangely enough, not much interested in them.

The Progressive party was led by La Follette. It emphasized the

troubles of the farmers and called for a wider sharing of prosperity. The minds of the people were concentrated on problems of money-making, and no radical program of readjustment found favor. A campaign slogan, "Coolidge or Chaos," was used to attract conservative voters of both parties, who were urged to vote for Coolidge to remove any chances of La Follette's election. The Republicans won a sweeping victory, polling over 15,700,000 votes to about 8,400,000 for Davis, and 4,800,000 for La Follette.

We make a treaty that aims to outlaw war. International affairs under Coolidge led the United States no further afield than under Harding. Our Caribbean policy, which had developed around our ownership of the Canal Zone, and our increasing interest in that whole region, including large American investments, induced us again to send troops to Nicaragua in 1926 to maintain order. President Coolidge in accord with the Republican platform advocated our joining the Court of International Settlement, but the Senate continued, successfully, to block such a participation.

Although the League of Nations was at work upon plans for disarmament of the nations, we declined to have anything to do with that organization. But in 1927 Coolidge issued invitations to Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan to join us in another conference to make further progress beyond what had been achieved at Washington in 1921. Italy and France rejected the suggestion. France noted in her reply that her loyalty to the League, which was then at work on the same problem, would prevent her from undertaking the task through other channels. Great Britain warned us that participation in any conference with us would require careful adjustment to the proceedings of the League. Although Japan and Great Britain did send representatives to confer with our own at Geneva, the conference broke down and was a complete failure.

Throughout the latter part of 1927 and the first half of 1928, negotiations proceeded with Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan, and France with a view to a treaty that would make world peace more secure. An agreement was finally reached. This is known in America as the Kellogg Pact, from the name of our Secretary of State, but it is known in Europe as the Pact of Paris. The many nations that signed the agreement pledged themselves to "outlaw war" except in necessary self-defense.

The Treasury is filled to overflowing. The President in his inaugural address had said that "the collection of any taxes which are

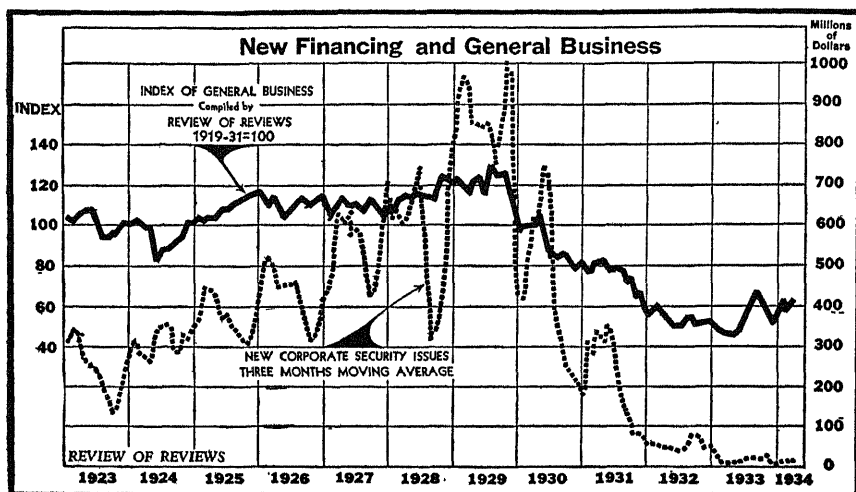
not absolutely required . . . is only a species of legalized larceny." Not a little of his popularity was to flow from his steady support of that doctrine. The war machinery had been scrapped, the war debt was being reduced, and no expensive government projects were being undertaken. General business had picked up rapidly about the date of Harding's death, and in 1924 left the United States Treasury with the greatest surplus on record, over \$500,000,000. Congress took advantage of the opportunity to pass a new bonus bill for the soldiers, over Coolidge's veto.

The European nations fund their debts to us. Within the three years after Great Britain had funded her debt with us, practically all the other nations had done the same, France delaying the longest of the great powers. After the acceptance of our terms by the British it became evident that the other nations either could not or would not honor their bond in the same degree. We had to find some formula for treating them on a different basis, both as to the amount of the original principal and accrued interest which should be refunded, and as to the terms of future payments.

This was found in what was called "capacity to pay." This was a matter of bargaining, however, and had little to do with the genuine capacity of the several nations concerned. Of the total amount funded of over \$11,500,000,000, Great Britain had promised to pay us \$4,600,000,000, France \$4,025,000,000, and Italy \$2,024,000,000.

Our country is on the threshold of business depression. The prosperity which returned to the United States followed a normal course up to about 1926 or 1927. The factors we have mentioned above did, indeed, supply forced drafts and to that extent emphasized the magnitude of the prosperity which might be expected. Many business leaders were now insisting, indeed, that all precedents should be scrapped and that American business had entered upon a "new era" in which the old economic laws no longer held sway.

The extraordinary earnings, especially of some of the new mass-production enterprises, and the generally excited condition of mind in the decade had greatly stimulated speculation. In the five years from 1921 to the close of 1926 the average price of twenty leading industrial stocks on the stock exchange had risen from \$67 to \$177. Brokers' loans had also steadily risen; that is, the amount of money borrowed by brokerage houses from banks and other sources to carry the trading of their customers, who were not required to put up more than a small margin of cash in buying stocks. The unprecedented size



of the loan account was seriously disturbing the minds of the more conservative students of business. Such wild speculation had always been followed by a depression. In January, 1928, a leading financial journal, *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, stated that "there could no longer be any doubt that a business reaction was well under way." During that year, indeed, there were to be 23,000 mercantile failures.

We believe we have entered a new economic era. Little attention, however, was paid to gloomy prophecies. The newspapers, intent on circulation and quick to play up every story, gave the possibilities of fortune-making first-page space month after month. There must have been few individuals in 1928 and 1929 who had money or could borrow it who did not indulge themselves in buying stocks at prices which bore no conceivable relation to values. The rest of the world might be poor, and struggling to work out of the financial débris of the war. America had defied economic law, to rise apparently to hitherto undreamed-of heights of wealth and prosperity. There seemed no end, no limit to possibilities of enhanced earnings and prices of securities. All one had to do was to buy and grow rich. Leading men of the nation assured the people that it was so. A "new era" had dawned in which all were to have money and poverty was to be abolished.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Adams, *Our Business Civilization*; Allen, *Only Yesterday*; Blakeslee, *The Recent Foreign Policy of the United States*;

Greenan and Meredith, *Everyday Problems of American Democracy*, ch. 12; Hill, *American World Policies*; Howard, *Survey of American Foreign Relations*; Hughes, *The Pathway to Peace*; Malin, *The United States After the World War*; Page, *An American Peace Policy*; Paxson, *Recent History of the United States*, 589-615; Potter and West, *International Civics*, chs. 11-12.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Greenan, *Readings in American Citizenship*, ch. 12; Hart, *Contemporaries*, V, no. 200.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Canfield, *The Home Maker*; Coolidge, *The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge*; Irwin, *Herbert Hoover*; Morgan, *Our Presidents*, 287-312; Payne, *The Money Captain*; Ravage, *Teapot Dome*; Reeves, *This Man Hoover*; Whiting, *President Coolidge, a Contemporary Estimate*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What did President Harding mean by a return to normalcy? 2. How do you account for the adoption of prohibition and woman's suffrage at this period in our history? 3. How do the automobile, the moving picture, and the radio affect our lives? 4. How do you account for the unrest that followed the World War? 5. How do you explain the fact that our people turned to money making? 6. What was the cause of the primary depression of 1920? 7. Why did the post-war depression seriously affect the farmers? 8. How did gold imports help to bring prosperity? 9. Why did our business men turn to advertising? 10. Explain our new economic theory of perpetual prosperity. 11. What was accomplished by the Washington Conference for the limitation of armaments? 12. Why did Congress limit immigration? 13. Why did Harding veto the soldiers' bonus bill? 14. How did the reduction of our national debt give our people a false sense of security? 15. Characterize Calvin Coolidge. 16. What is the "Dawes Plan"? 17. What is the purpose of the Kellogg Pact? 18. Describe the funding of the debts the European nations owe us. 19. What indicated we were on the threshold of a business depression at the close of the Coolidge administration? 20. Describe the belief of our people that we were in a new economic era that would make all rich.

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The prohibition and woman's suffrage amendments, the unrest during the period following the World War, the Esch-Cummins Act, the primary depression, Harding's opposition to the League of Nations, the Washington Conference for the limitation of armaments, the "nine-power treaty," the "four-power treaty," the restriction of immigration, the "Tea-Pot Dome" scandal, the "Dawes Plan," the Kellogg Pact, the funding of the debt of the European nations.

2. PROJECT: Compare our condition as a debtor nation before the World War with our condition as a creditor nation after the World War.
3. PROBLEM: How was it difficult for our country to return to the simpler life that prevailed before the World War?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the cancellation of the war debts would have been a wise policy.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The League of Nations and our traditional policy of isolation.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you were a reporter on one of our large daily newspapers and that you attended the Washington Conference for the limitation of armaments. Write a letter to a friend telling your disappointment over the results of the conference.
7. DIARY: Some of your friends speculated heavily in stocks and bonds in 1929 and often talked to you about the economic era that was going to abolish poverty and make everybody rich. You kept notes on their conversation with you. Read to the class some of the extracts from your notes.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Andrew Mellon, Charles G. Dawes, Owen D. Young, John W. Davis.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1921, 1922, 1924, 1927.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: "Normalcy," "buyers' strike," "Farm Bloc," "nine-power treaty," "four-power treaty," "national origins" system, "adjusted compensation," refunding of debts, "Yankee shrewdness," "Dawes Plan," "outlaw war," "capacity to pay," brokers' loans.
11. MAP WORK: Give a map talk pointing out the countries with which the United States had diplomatic relations from 1920 to 1930 and stating the nature of our relations with each.
12. GRAPH WORK: *a.* By means of bar graphs show the amount of debts that Great Britain, France, and Italy promised to pay to us. *b.* By means of bar graphs show the debt of our government in 1919 and 1930.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. REACTIONS AFTER THE WAR: Capper, *The Agricultural Bloc*; Ravage, *Teapot Dome*; Sullivan, *The Great Adventure at Washington*; White, *Calvin Coolidge*; Whiting, *President Coolidge, a Contemporary Estimate*.
2. OUR ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE: Hart, *Contemporaries*, V, nos. 71, 208; Magruder, *National Governments and International Relations*, ch. 27; Morley, *Aspects of the Depression*, 22-39, 103-119, 287-297; Redfield, *Dependent America*; Richardson, *Will They Pay?* chs. 1-2, 7.
3. OUR IMMIGRATION PROBLEM: Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, II, 469-490; Gavit, *Americans by Choice*; Hall, *Immigration*, 309-323; Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration*, 266-302; Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 95-119.

TOPIC IV

HOW THE GREAT DEPRESSION CAME TO THE COUNTRY

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the underlying causes of the depression in the United States.
2. To see the world-wide magnitude of the depression.

1. *The Crash*

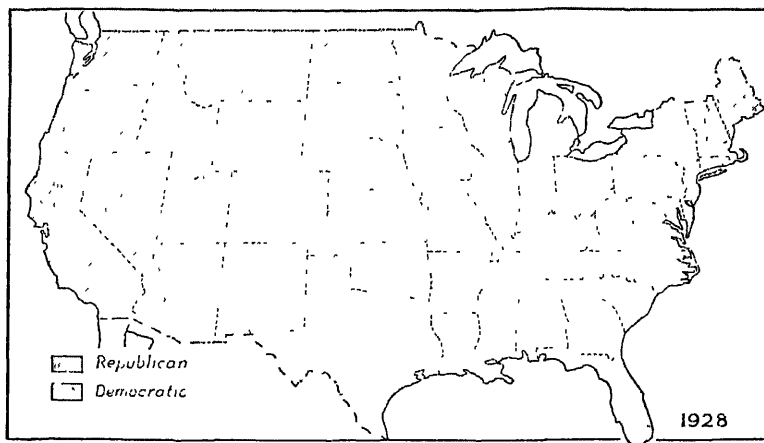
We are primarily interested in material things. In the mad decade, America was not wholly concerned with money-making, and the roll of accomplishment in the arts was a notable one. Eugene O'Neill in drama, Edwin Arlington Robinson and a host of others in poetry, Sinclair Lewis, Willa Cather, Sherwood Anderson, Thornton Wilder, Edna Ferber, and James Branch Cabell, to mention only a few, in prose, and Frank Lloyd Wright in architecture, clearly indicated the stirrings of artistic life below the materialism of the period.

In science, generally considered as rather peculiarly the province of America, our contributions were for the most part of a practical nature and in the first three decades of the new century, in proportion to population, we were far behind Europe. A rough indication of this may be found in the awards of the Nobel prize, which went six times to France, eight times to Germany, and eight times to England, as contrasted with three to the United States.

There was a leaven of noble and disinterested artistic and intellectual striving and achievement, but on the whole, as after the Civil War, and as in almost all post-war periods in all countries, life had become selfish and material. The real interest of the people at large lay in seeking prosperity. We seemed to assume that happiness, contentment, and spiritual good would somehow automatically and inevitably follow in the wake of high wages, stock-market profits, and big dividends. By 1928 the good life had become synonymous with the possession of ever greater amounts of money by the individual.

Hoover is elected to the presidency. In the early summer of 1928 the party conventions met for the nomination of presidential candidates. Months before, Coolidge had made his famous statement

that he did not "choose" to run, and the Republican convention, which met at Kansas City in June, nominated Herbert Hoover on the first ballot. Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas was named for Vice-President. At the Democratic convention at Houston in June, Governor Smith of New York was easily nominated for President on the first ballot, with Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas as his running mate.



ELECTION MAP OF 1928

In the campaign speeches both candidates declared for a tariff, and both promised relief to the farmers. Hoover stood for prohibition and private development of our water-power resources. Smith, although promising enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, counselled a modification of that experiment. He favored retaining in the hands of the Federal Government the great water powers already in its possession.

There was a much-increased popular interest in the election as contrasted with that of 1924, as evidenced by the fact that 36,500,000 votes were cast. Although Smith polled only about 1,000,000 less than Coolidge had in the former year in the great Republican victory, the 21,500,000 votes for Hoover as against Smith's 15,000,000 gave the former a plurality of about 6,500,000.

Our people continue to invest heavily in stocks. Hoover had been elected on the promise not only of continued prosperity but of

a prosperity which should be in part manufactured by the government itself. Almost as soon as he had been nominated in June, talk began about a "Hoover market" to commence in September. During the summer business improved and participation in the delirious speculation had become phenomenal by the time September came.

On the 13th, *The New York Times* noted that the public was so wild about stocks that it would believe any yarn. The next day Secretary Mellon gave out an interview about the great prosperity of the country, adding that he saw no indication of a possible depression. The violent advance continued until October 26, when the American Bankers Association again issued a warning against the danger of the situation. On the 31st, however, President Coolidge made a public statement that the foundations of business were very strong. Although most bankers lost their heads as completely as the politicians, it is only fair to recall that some warned the public of the approaching crash, but the public preferred not to heed them.

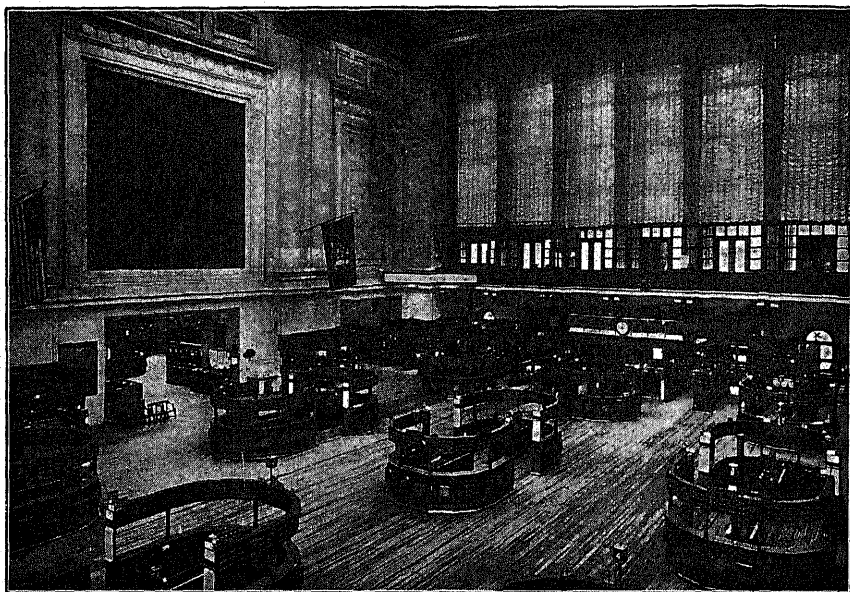
We are warned about our wild stock speculation. The dangerous and fantastic game went on in Wall Street. The entire nation was participating, and the United States was drawing money from wherever possible to aid it in carrying stocks. The whole world was becoming deranged by the process and in February, 1929, Governor Norman of the Bank of England found it necessary to come to Washington to consult with the Federal Reserve Board. Many responsible person were now warning the public against the danger of the speculative orgy. The Bank of England rate had to be put up and the strain on European money centers was beginning to tell.

On February 8, the Federal Reserve Board issued a statement warning the American public and threatening that the board would have to take measures if the brokers' loans were not reduced to a point which would no longer endanger the stability of the commercial and financial structure.

Hoover points to increased crime and lawlessness. The continuance of Mr. Mellon as Secretary of the Treasury in the new Cabinet pleased the country, although the rest of the President's appointments were somewhat unexpected. Henry L. Stimson became Secretary of State, and Charles Francis Adams, representative of a distinguished family which had given the nation three ministers to England and two Presidents, became Secretary of the Navy.

The President knew that lawlessness had been increasing to an extraordinary extent, and apparently with little or no recognition of

its seriousness by the ordinary citizen. Kidnapping, racketeering, and other violent crimes increased rapidly. From 1900 to 1930 the homicide record in thirty-one leading American cities had steadily mounted from 5.1 to 10.8 per one hundred thousand of population. The average for the fifty-three chief cities of the entire world was 3.5.



Photograph © by N. Y. Stock Exchange

THE TRADING POSTS WHERE SECURITIES ARE BOUGHT AND SOLD, ON THE FLOOR OF THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE

The public seemed to enjoy the show, much as they would a thrilling screen play, and to take no heed of the possibilities or to consider the situation as indicating a deep-seated disease in the body politic. The forces of municipal and state police appeared to be paralyzed, and our record of proportional captures and convictions was as small in comparison with European countries as our record of crimes was appallingly great.

Although the new President stressed the growing lawlessness of the nation, the parts of his inaugural address which struck the most responsive chord in the mind of the public were unquestionably those in which he discoursed of business and prosperity. Opposed to the League

of Nations, Hoover advocated our entering the Permanent Court of International Justice. But neither that suggestion nor his assertion that our increasing crime and lawlessness were the "most malign of the dangers" threatening the nation aroused much interest.

The crash comes to our country in 1929. In accordance with his pre-election pledge of a special session of Congress to do something for the farmers, Hoover called that body together on April 15. It appointed a farm board which was authorized to expend \$500,000,000 in the purchase of wheat and cotton in an effort to hold up prices. But this seemed all in vain. The smash came in the autumn of 1929. By that time the forces which had been at work for nearly two years to bring about general depression finally won. The crisis of one of the greatest stock-exchange panics in the history of the world came on October 29.

No individual or political party could have prevented the working out of the economic laws into a business depression of the first magnitude following the war. *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle* announced in January, 1928, that a depression was inevitably on its way. It was right. So were the various bankers, singly or in groups, who endeavored to stay the madness during the rest of that year. By the end of 1928, however, the spectacle of the wildly rising stock market had become too much for ordinary cool heads. Many bankers and business leaders, as well as the rank and file, lost their balance then who had hitherto maintained it.

The crash of the stock market wipes out fortunes. When in 1930, 1931, and later, the depression deepened, it became clear that the nation's incredible losses in the stock market in 1929 were as much responsible for the complete pessimism, loss of confidence, and slowness of recovery as was the business depression itself. Large sections of the public, indeed, should have been better off in 1931 than in 1928-29, as their salaries or wages had been little reduced, if at all, whereas the cost of living had gone down nearly 25 per cent. The trouble, to a considerable extent in countless cases, was that pay cuts were mild compared with the loss of a lifetime's savings.

Congress passes a tariff measure. The Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill, which raised duties to the highest point yet attained, was passed by both Houses and signed by the President, 1930. We had already drained the rest of the world of half its supply of gold. Then we insisted upon the payment of war debts, while maintaining tariff against imports, the sale of which to us constituted the only possible method of

debt payment. This alarmed all the debtor nations. It was clear that they could not pay us in more gold. Our debtors argued that if we did not allow them to pay us by selling us goods, there could be nothing left but bankruptcy, if we still insisted upon being paid at all. Our government pointed to the fact that a very large percentage of total imports still came in free. Our debtor nations replied that, as long as we levied prohibitive duties on the goods which they could ship to us, it did them no good if we allowed free entry to certain goods from other countries which did not owe us war debts. In the way of reprisal or self-defense many nations passed such a vast number of retaliatory tariffs as to bring the trade of the world almost to a standstill.

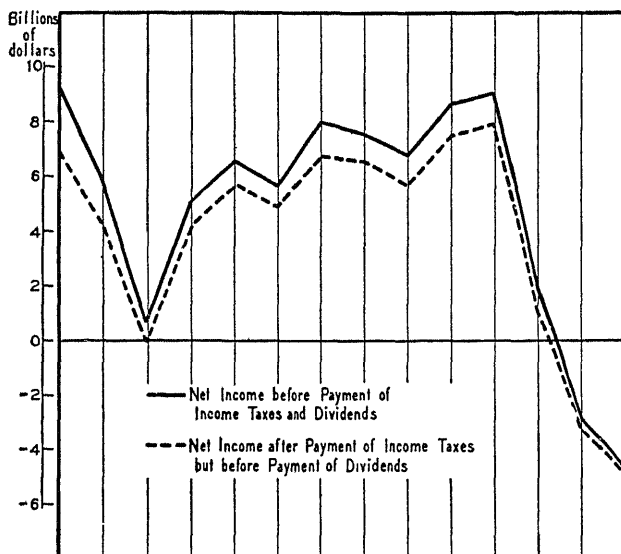
2. *Extent of Depression*

The depression becomes world-wide. The hopes, which had been expressed by both the administration and many economic experts and business leaders that business would improve, proved futile. The depression merely deepened as the months passed. The year 1931 was indeed to witness what may be considered as another financial panic added to the already existing commercial depression. The result was a new crash of American security prices which carried them by June, 1932, to depths undreamed of even in 1930.

From April, 1931, the commercial depression deepened throughout the world. The movement of gold was rapidly draining most nations of the metal, which flowed only to France and the United States. On May 11, the Austrian Government announced that the *Kredit Anstalt*, one of the great banking institutions of Europe, controlled by the Rothschilds, was in serious difficulties. The second phase of the world panic now set in. It is impossible to tell in any detail the spread of the trouble, but by this time it had become clear that the United States could no longer isolate herself. All the nations of central Europe were threatened with bankruptcy, including Germany, to whose government and private concerns Americans had lent about \$2,500,000,000.

Hoover declares a moratorium on war debts. In an effort to stave off complete disaster which might tear down the financial structure of the whole world, Hoover proclaimed a moratorium on all international war debts, so as to give the world a breathing spell. The good effect of the one-year postponement was largely lost by the delays and objections interposed by France, which had not been consulted and, as always, demanded the enforcement of the Versailles Treaty.

Business grows steadily worse. Meanwhile our own situation as well as that of the world was growing steadily worse. The earnings of practically all of our great business enterprises of all sorts seemed to be melting down to nothing. Banks throughout the entire country had been failing by hundreds, and many communities, even some of our larger cities, were left without any banking facilities at all. In their efforts to prepare for runs, institutions had been forced to sell their



Courtesy of the National Bureau of Economic Research

THE DROP IN EARNINGS

Aggregate net income of all corporations in the United States from 1919-1932.

holdings of bonds at any prices, and the drop in prices of first-class securities added to the growing mistrust, and caused more runs.

Europe drains gold from us. Mistrust in the ability of even the British Government to weather the storm had already caused that nation to go off the gold standard with resultant shock to the rest of the world. Our own situation became so alarming as to lead the President to summon a hasty meeting of the leaders of both Houses of Congress and other officials and advisers at the White House on October 6. Our federal deficit for the year had already reached \$600,000,000 as against a surplus, the Treasury's estimate at the beginning of the fiscal period, and fear for the safety of the banks had

led people to hoard \$600,000,000 for themselves. European nations, led by France, hastily rushed to draw gold against their balances with us, until \$588,000,000 was shipped in three weeks.

Reconstruction Finance Corporation is established. Fearing that we ourselves should be forced off the gold standard and that with continued runs and failures our entire banking structure might collapse, it was agreed at the White House conference to form a national corporation to help keep the banks solvent and to ask Congress, when it should meet, for further legislation. Pending the assembling of that body, the banks agreed among themselves to assist their weaker members.

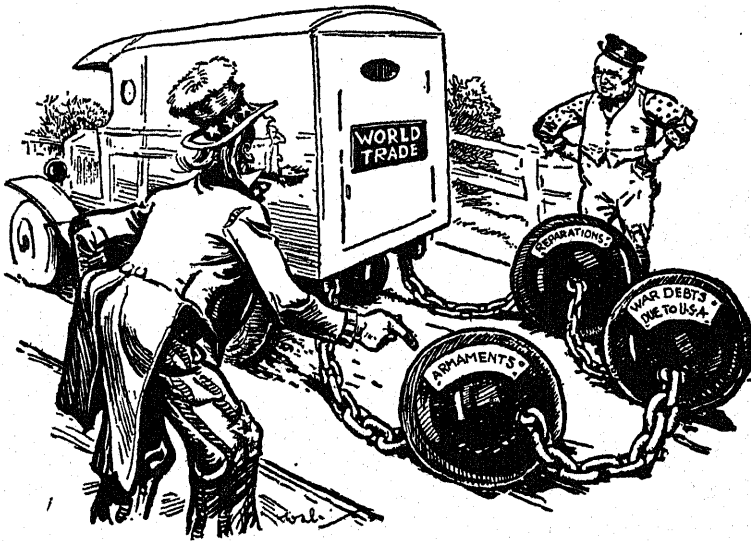
On the meeting of the new Congress, of which the Democrats had gained control in the elections of 1930, both Democrats and Republicans joined to pass the needed legislation, and on January 22, 1932, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Bill was signed by the President. The corporation, which was to some extent modelled on the lines of the War Finance Board, was provided with a capital of \$500,000,000, all to be subscribed by the government, and permitted to lend three times that amount if necessary. It was authorized to make loans to banks and other fiscal institutions and to aid in "financing agriculture, commerce, and industry." This included making loans to railroads, which it was hoped might thus be saved from going into bankruptcy. The management of the corporation's business was put in the hands of a board of seven members, Dawes resigning the post of ambassador to England, to become the head of the new agency.

Our federal and municipal debts increase rapidly. Although the runs on the banks stopped to some extent, hoarding was only slightly relieved and the general situation continued to be critical. The federal deficit between June 30, 1931, and the end of February, 1932, had risen to \$1,781,000,000 and was calculated to amount to nearly \$3,000,000,000 by the end of the fiscal year. Leading cities of the country, such as New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia, as well as numberless smaller municipalities, were on the verge of bankruptcy. In two years the inventory value of live stock alone on our farms had dropped nearly \$3,000,000,000. The farmers were worse off than ever, after the expenditure of about \$500,000,000 on their behalf by the Farm Board.

Congress passes the Glass-Steagall Bill. On February 10, a non-partisan meeting was again held at the White House to consider further measures. That week, in spite of the operations of the Re-

construction Finance Corporation, hoarding of currency had risen to \$1,300,000,000, with a consequent restriction of credit of five times that amount, or \$6,500,000,000.

As a result of the conference, Congress passed an act, signed by the President in February, known as the Glass-Steagall Bill. The



BALL AND CHAINS THAT DRAG

The hindrances to world recovery as viewed by *The News of the World* (London).

several objects of the bill were to assist banks in trouble by making the conditions of borrowing easier; to attract hoarded money back into the banks and circulation; to free more gold for foreign demands; and to help in financing the Treasury deficit. It was estimated that the possible additions to the currency under the terms of the act might run from two to two and a half billion dollars. Although many considered that this might bring about dangerous inflation of the currency, the bill met with little serious opposition. In the same month in which this act was passed, Secretary Mellon retired from the Treasury and was appointed ambassador to England at the unusual age, for that post, of seventy-seven.

Congress refuses to open up the European debt question for discussion. Many of our people believed that there could be no

recovery for the United States without a readjustment of the international exchanges and a reasonable improvement in economic conditions in the rest of the world. But Congress still felt there should be no further discussion of the war debts. The end of the period of the Hoover moratorium hung over the heads of business men everywhere as the possible occasion of more national bankruptcies and general financial chaos.

In June representatives of England, France, Italy, and Germany met at Lausanne and settled the reparations question by a practical cancellation of all future payments due to any of them from Germany. England, France, and Italy, however, felt that, as payment of their war debts to the United States would depend to some extent on payments from Germany to them, final ratification of the cancellation had to wait upon action by us on the debt problem.

Our country seems to be on the verge of bankruptcy. Both the industrial and agricultural sections of our nation were in despair. In 1928 we had been told that we were within sight of perpetual prosperity and the abolition of poverty. By 1932 we seemed to see nothing but poverty and to be faced by ruin. One of the causes, apart from the drop in the prices and lessened demand for farm produce, had been the enormous increase in taxation. Between 1913 and 1930, not only had the bonded debt of the Federal Government risen from about \$1,000,000,000 to over \$16,000,000,000, but that of the states had grown from \$300,000,000 to \$1,800,000,000, and that of smaller political divisions from \$3,500,000,000 to \$12,600,000,000. In other words, besides all the huge sums which had been raised in those seventeen years by annual taxation, we had increased our permanent governmental debts from \$4,800,000,000 to \$30,400,000,000.

The Republicans nominate Hoover and the Democrats, Roosevelt. The nominating conventions of the two greater parties met in the early summer of 1932 when panic and depression had reached the most alarming point yet attained. It was evident that the Republicans would renominate Hoover, although both the candidate and the party appeared to be doomed to certain defeat. In June he was given the nomination on the first ballot and the Vice-President, Curtis, was named again for the same post.

There was more excitement when the Democrats met in Chicago on June 27. Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York, a fifth cousin of former President Theodore Roosevelt, had been the leading candidate, with Alfred E. Smith as his only serious rival. In view of fac-

tional feeling within the party, however, it was thought that unless Roosevelt could secure the nomination by the fifth ballot many of the delegates pledged to him without enthusiasm would swing into some other column and a dark horse might receive the nomination.

Three ballots had been taken when the convention adjourned for the night. Before it reconvened in the morning John N. Garner of Texas, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and William G. McAdoo of California, decided to support the Roosevelt candidacy, and the governor was nominated on the fourth ballot, Garner receiving the nomination for Vice-President.

Little need be said about the platforms, which differed chiefly on the tariff, the Democrats standing for a revision downwards, whereas the Republicans upheld the standard of high duties. The Democrats also came out more clearly for a re-

peal of the Eighteenth Amendment than did the Republicans, and for non-cancellation of the war debts, though they said nothing about reduction.

The Democrats win an overwhelming victory. A slight slackening of the depression during the summer had no effect on the election in November, and, as was to be expected, the Democrats won an overwhelming victory at the polls. The Republicans lost the electoral vote of all but six states—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Delaware, and the rock-ribbed Republican stronghold of Pennsylvania. In the electoral college Roosevelt received 472 votes to Hoover's 59, and his popular majority was over seven million. His



PRESIDENT HOOVER'S OFFER TO CO-OPERATE WITH PRESIDENT-ELECT ROOSEVELT IN THE INTERVAL FOLLOWING THE ELECTION INSPIRED THIS CARTOON "NOW LET'S GET BACK TO WORK."

By Sykes in *The New York Evening Post*.

party also gained control of the Senate and a huge majority in the House.

Neither the new President nor the new Congress, however, could come into office until March 4, 1933. The clumsiness of this provision, which required such an interregnum between election and inauguration of a President, was again, as in 1860-61, clearly demonstrated. In 1932, especially, we felt to the full the effect of passing a vote of lack of confidence in one administration without having the power to install the new one except after months of delay. In 1933 the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution became effective by which the period between election and inauguration has been shortened.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Beck, *The Passing of the New Freedom*; Dunn, *American Foreign Investments*; Edie, *The Stabilization of Business*; Gibbons, *America's Place in the World*; Hansen, *Cycles of Prosperity and Depression in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany*; Haynes, *Social Politics in the United States*; Klein, *Frontiers of Trade*; Lanfear, *Business Fluctuations and the American Labor Movement*; Lightner, *Business Cycles and Unemployment*; Lightner, *The History of Business Depressions*; Lippincott, *Problems of Reconstruction*; McDougall, *Is America Safe for Democracy?* MacKaye, *Employment and Natural Resources*; Williams, *Economic Foreign Policy of the United States*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1909, XXXIII, no. 3; Bogart and Thompson, *Readings on the Economic History of the United States*; Douglas, Hitchcock, and Atkins, *The Worker in Modern Economic Society*; Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*; *Proceedings of the Conference of Governors*, 1909.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Ferber, *So Big*; Glasgow, *Barren Ground*; Irwin, *Herbert Hoover*; Kelland, *Gold*; Norris, *The Pit*; Reeves, *This Man Hoover*; Sullivan, *Our Times*, II, 236-253.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What were the principal issues in the presidential election of 1928?
2. What warnings were given to the American people about their wild speculation in stocks?
3. What did President Hoover say about the crime and lawlessness in our country?
4. Describe the crash of 1929.
5. How did the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill cause other nations to pass retaliatory measures against us?
6. Show that the depression was world-wide.
7. What was the purpose of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation?
8. What was the purpose of the Glass-Steagall Bill?
9. Why would Congress not open

up the European debt question for discussion? 10. Describe the presidential election of 1932.

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Presidential election of 1928, the wild speculation in stocks, crime and lawlessness in our country, the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill, the world-wide nature of the depression, the debt moratorium, the hoarding of gold, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the increase of the national deficit, the campaign of 1932.

2. PROJECT: Compare the causes of the depression of 1929 with those of the panics of 1837, 1857, 1873, and 1893.

3. PROBLEM: How do you account for the great depression?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That our government was right in refusing to reopen the European debt question to further discussion.

5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The presidential campaign of 1932.

6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you visited the New York stock exchange in the summer of 1929 and witnessed the frenzied activities there. Write a letter to a friend describing the scene.

7. DIARY: Your family was seriously affected by the depression. Daily you heard your father discuss the situation and you kept notes on what he said. Read to the class some of your notes.

8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Stimson, Garner, Curtis.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1928, 1929, 1930, 1932.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Racketeering, sound securities, retaliatory tariffs, moratorium, off the gold standard, inflation of the currency.

11. MAP WORK: Give a map talk pointing out the cities, states, and countries mentioned in this topic that were affected by the depression.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE QUESTION OF INFLATION: Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, 360-364; Bye and Hewett, *Applied Economics*, 310-323; Dewey, *National Problems*, 76-82; Lingley, *Since the Civil War*, 308-328; Lippincott and Tucker, *Economic and Social History of the United States*, 558-562.

2. THE FARMERS' PROBLEMS: Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, 512-545; Hart, *Contemporaries*, V, 332-347; Seligman, *The Economics of Farm Relief*; Slichter, *Modern Economic Society*, 428-448; Slosson, *The Great Crusade and After*, 190-218.

3. THE GREAT DEPRESSION: Chase, *A New Deal*, chs. 1, 3; Chase, *The Nemesis of American Business*, chs. 1, 4; Chase, *The Tragedy of Waste*, chs. 3, 8, 10; Ernst, *America's Primer*, 75-127; Morley, *Aspects of the Depression*, 120-146, 166-196.

TOPIC V

ECONOMICS OF THE NEW DEAL

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the economics of the New Deal.
2. To set forth the methods employed to fight the depression.
3. To understand the activities of the NRA.
4. To understand the causes of World War II.

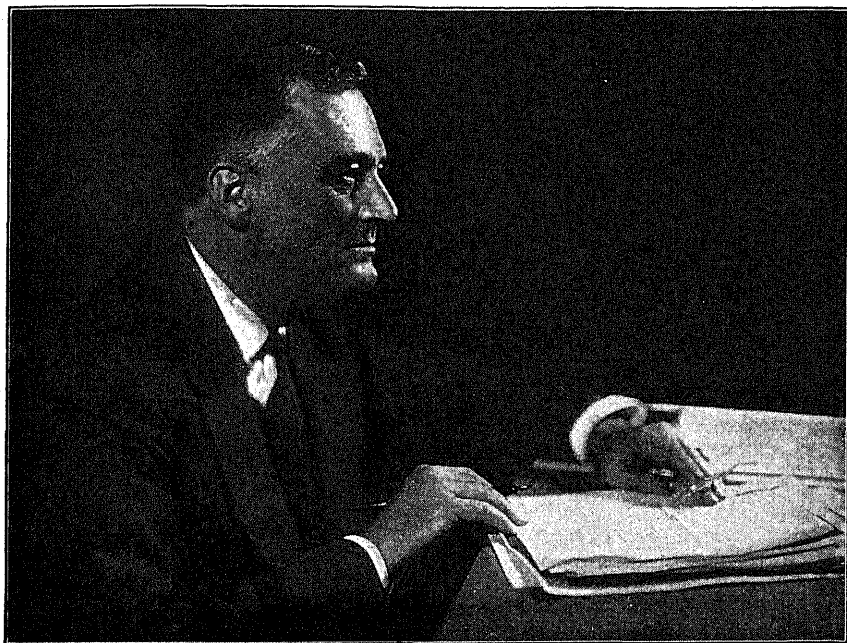
1. *Franklin D. Roosevelt*

Roosevelt declares a bank holiday. When Roosevelt was inaugurated President on March 4, 1933, the nation was in the midst of a country-wide banking panic. During the days preceding his inauguration, not only had banks been closing wholesale, but gold had been steadily withdrawn. The day before the inauguration the New York banks alone had paid out to depositors over \$116,000,000. On the day the new President took office all the banks of New York and Pennsylvania were added to the closed list, as were also all the principal stock and commodity exchanges. In his inaugural address, Roosevelt lashed out at the "money changers," promised "action and action now," and stated that if no other way was feasible, he would ask war-time powers from Congress.

By six o'clock in the afternoon he had secured from the Senate confirmation of all his Cabinet appointments without even the usual reference to a committee. At the Cabinet meeting next day, Sunday, the immediate problem was what to do about the banks. Attorney-General Cummings assured the President that the Trading with the Enemy Act of the World War had not been repealed in full and that he could use it. Roosevelt had already considered this and immediately issued a proclamation closing all the banks in the country for four days, placing an embargo on gold and silver for either export or domestic use, and imposing a penalty of \$10,000 fine or ten years' imprisonment for violation. Monday morning the American people woke up to find themselves limited for the time being to the cash which they had in their pockets on Saturday. The spell of panic, however, was broken. The psychology of the nation was changed in an instant

After three years' gloom and fear, the American spirit, responding to new leadership, suddenly found itself again.

Congress grants many powers to the President. The new Congress had been called in special session for March 9. Meanwhile the President had been at work on measures to reopen sound banks



To the people and leaders of the United States
Franklin D. Roosevelt

as quickly as possible—money to be advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; to confirm the President's right of action under the doubtful Trading with the Enemy Act; and to grant him war-time powers over gold. On the evening of the 8th he called together the leaders of the new Congress and received their consent.

The following day Congress met and was organized in three hours. Less than forty minutes after the House had begun consideration of the President's banking measure, it was passed by acclamation. The Senate passed it by a vote of 73 to 7 after three hours' debate. Roosevelt signed it that evening. No such speed in peace-time legislation had been known before. An hour later, the same night, the President

announced to a meeting of the leaders that he wanted authority to cut \$100,000,000 off government salaries and \$400,000,000 off veterans' pensions and compensations, about two and one-half million persons being involved. The next day he sent a special message to Congress showing that passage of the bill was necessary or the deficit would be \$5,000,000,000 by June 30, 1934.

Roosevelt's "New Deal" has several objectives. Two days later, March 12, he gave his first presidential talk to the people over the radio on the subject of the banking situation. Explaining the problem in the simplest terms, as well as what he was trying to do, the talk made a tremendous popular hit. The succession of short, sharp, and most incisive messages indicated to the public that the President had a well-defined policy which he was unfolding step by step, and public confidence rose rapidly, reflected in rising prices on the stock and commodity exchanges.

Roosevelt's policy aimed at two objects at once. One was business recovery, and the other was social reorganization. This latter, which he called the "New Deal," also embraced several objectives, among them the prevention of recurrent business crises in the future; a better distribution of the profits of business as between capital and labor; national planning; and a redistribution to some extent of the national wealth.

Roosevelt seeks the aid of specialists. The best brains in every country in the world were trying, without much success, to find some means of restoring prosperity. To combine that with a complete readjustment of the national life was the greatest task of its sort which any President had ever attempted. It was probably an impossible one. Roosevelt made no pretense that he had a sure method of accomplishing it. He was opposed to socialism, communism, and fascism, and wished to bring about his far-reaching social changes within the framework of our present form of government. He admitted frankly that he was experimenting.

To help him in devising methods he had gathered around him a group of specialists, mostly college professors of economics and sociology. The personnel of this group, known as the "Brain Trust," was a shifting one, among the more prominent ones from time to time being Professors Raymond Moley, R. G. Tugwell, A. A. Berle, Jr., and G. F. Warren. There was nothing new in the employment of experts for consulting purposes. What was new was that such a group should have such prominence as practically to replace the Cabinet, some

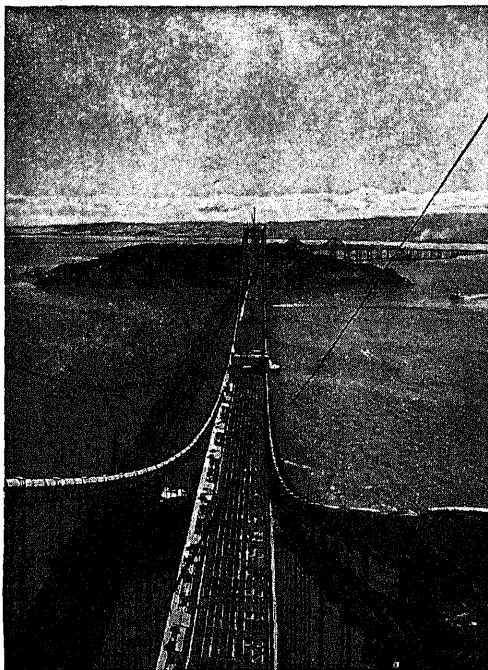
members of which appeared to have become mere routine heads of departments.

Elements of unrest and disorder appear. On April 19 Roosevelt, acting under the Emergency Banking Act of March 9, put a definite embargo on exports of gold. This took the United States off the gold standard. In May, in spite of somewhat improving conditions, the forces of disorder appeared to be gathering strength. A new bonus expeditionary force marched on Washington to demand work or money, and the farmers were also preparing to resist forcibly the decisions of the courts. The Civilian Conservation Corps enlisted some of the bonus marchers, but the farm problem was more serious. The farms of the nation were burdened with a mortgage debt alone of between \$8,000,000,000 and \$9,000,000,000, largely incurred when farm products had been at extremely high prices. The farmers, unable to pay their interest and other debts, had united here and there, as they had done a century earlier, in attempting to prevent foreclosure and the loss of their homes, but the country was suddenly shocked into a more acute awareness of the situation when a farmer mob in Iowa carried a judge out of the court room, abused him, put a rope around his neck and threatened to lynch him unless he would agree not to sign any more orders for foreclosures.

The farmers are in a sad plight. One of the chief features of the depression throughout the world has been the maladjustment between the prices of raw products, such as wheat, corn, and cotton, and of finished goods. The former fell much lower than the latter. Moreover, the farmer in general for the past few decades had been allowing himself to become less and less self-supporting. The old-fashioned farm, with not only its chief crop but also its pigs, chickens, and cows, had been, even in bad times, a fairly self-sustaining unit. The modern farmer, with his tractor instead of his horses, often having to buy practically all he uses, has in innumerable instances become almost as dependent on a constant inflow of money as a city dweller. Caught with heavy debts and to a great extent unable to sell his crops for even the cost of production, his plight had become pitiable. The war had brought him high prices and a much extended market for a few years, and he had joined in the general American delirium of believing in the permanence of the "new era."

Cheap money is demanded when prices fall. At such times of stress the debtor has always insisted upon an inflation of the currency, "cheap money," so that he may pay his debts more readily. It

is an interesting point, which should have a strong bearing on the possibility of managing currency in America, that the demand for a changed dollar never occurs except when prices are falling. When prices are rising, and therefore it is easier for a debtor to pay, it never



Courtesy of California Toll Bridge Authority.

SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND BAY BRIDGE

This project was financed by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, under a loan authorized in October, 1932.

occurs to him that he should offer his creditor a larger sum than called for in principal or interest to offset the creditor's loss, but always—in the 1830's, 1850's, 1870's, 1890's—when prices fall, then comes the inevitable demand for a cheap dollar.

The lesson would seem to be that with our temperament we shall never make a dollar dearer though we may from time to time make it cheaper. But a stable dollar, which shall always have the same purchasing power, requires changing of its content or value so as to halt rising prices as well as falling ones. On the other hand the psychology of the American people will have to be completely altered if we are to witness them deliberately trying at any

time to halt rapidly rising prices for farm produce, stocks, real estate, or other things. Sound money, in the sense of money that has even buying power, is a very human problem.

2. *Fighting the Depression*

The President strives to increase commodity prices. The old dispute as to inflation was one of the marked features of the year's history. The Farm Relief Bill sent to Congress by Roosevelt, and finally accepted by him with what was known as the Thomas amend-

ment, gave the President varied and enormous powers of inflating the currency. He was permitted to reduce the gold content of the dollar up to 50 per cent; to issue \$3,000,000,000 in paper money; to provide for the unlimited coinage of silver at the Bryan ratio of sixteen to one; and in other ways to cheapen both credit and money. Without going into details, the President's own part of the bill had provided for lowering the interest rates on farm mortgages, for a government guarantee of the interest on \$2,000,000,000 of mortgage debts, and for paying the farmer for reducing his planted acreage in the hope of reducing output and so raising prices.

Roosevelt creates many agencies to fight the depression. It is unnecessary to describe all the measures taken by the administration or to describe all the agencies set up to carry them into effect. These became known by the initials of their names, as is seen in the following list of new agencies created:

AAA	Agricultural Adjustment Administration.
CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps.
CCB	Commodity Credits Bureau.
CSB	Central Statistical Bureau.
CWA	Civil Works Administration.
ECNR	Executive Council for National Recovery.
ECPC	Executive Commercial Policy Committee.
FACA	Federal Alcohol Control Administration.
FCA	Farm Credit Administration.
FCT	Federal Coördinator of Transportation.
FDIC	Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.
FESB	Federal Employment Stabilization Board.
FERA	Federal Emergency Relief Administration.
FHC	Federal Housing Corporation.
FHOLC	Federal Home Owners' Loan Corporation.
FSHC	Federal Subsistence Homestead Corporation.
FSRC	Federal Surplus Relief Corporation.
NEC	National Emergency Council.
NIRA	National Industrial Recovery Act.
NLB	National Labor Board.
NRA	National Recovery Administration.
PAB	Petroleum Administrative Board.
PRA	Presidential Re-employment Agreements.
PWA	Public Works Administration.
RFC	Reconstruction Finance Corporation.
SAB	Science Advisory Board.
TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority.

President Roosevelt plans world economic conference. When Roosevelt took America off gold, the British Prime Minister, MacDonald, and the representative of France, M. Herriot, were on the ocean on their way to Washington. They had been invited by Roosevelt to consult on means of world co-operation in re-establishing stability and trade. They were stunned by the news which they received at sea that America had abandoned the gold standard. Reassured as to the American domestic necessity of the action when they reached the Capital, plans were made for the assembling in London in June of representatives of sixty-five nations in a world economic conference.

Perhaps the most disastrous feature of the depression had been, as we have said, the enormous drop in the prices of raw materials in every country producing them, whether farm produce and metals in America, copper and nitrates in Chile, coffee in Brazil, or rubber in the Far East.

At existing prices, the producers of commodities, as raw materials are often called, could no longer exchange their depreciated products for the manufactured goods they desired. Added to this was the complete demoralization of the foreign exchange markets in money and the impossibility for persons engaged in international business of figuring costs or profits. Moreover, the growing international deadlock was made worse by the increasing economic nationalism—the effort of each nation to save itself regardless of the international situation. This was one of the root causes of the internal troubles of each.

Our President declines to resort to international stabilization of the currency. Roosevelt had had from the beginning, as one of his chief aims, the raising of commodity prices. He appears to have wavered between national and international action until after the Economic Conference had actually started on its work in London. It is certain that after the Washington meeting both MacDonald and Herriot expected that he would assist in the effort to stabilize the foreign exchanges and thus render easier the international flow of goods and services. It is also certain that when the American delegation sailed, they understood that one of their most important duties would be to stabilize the dollar with other currencies, even though only partially and tentatively.

There was a choice of two methods in trying to raise prices. Each country might try to raise its internal level of prices by currency manipulation regardless of other countries and of international trade; or the assembled nations of the world might try to raise world prices

by some common agreement which would involve some more stable relation of the currency of each to all the others. The two methods were obviously mutually exclusive, for if each country tried to raise its internal prices by lowering the value of its currency regardless of others, the international chaos could only grow worse.

Roosevelt made up his mind to keep a free hand and to decline any resort to international stabilization. His cable of July surprised the conference. Secretary of State Hull labored manfully to save America from resentment of the other nations who had assembled with us for joint action, which many of them doubtless desired, and to secure at least some results from the meeting. In this he was eminently successful, and the fact that the conference did not at once break up with extremely bad feeling was due largely to him. As time went on Secretary Hull proved himself one of the most able men in the Cabinet.

Our confidence is somewhat shaken and business slumps again. When the United States had gone off the gold standard in April, it had been confronted by a problem which, in its immensity, was peculiar to itself. Not only was the government honor pledged to pay the interest and principal of the national debt in gold coin but, largely dating from the fear of inflation in the Bryan campaign of 1896, the greater part of all municipal, railroad, and other bonds and mortgages were also so payable. In most foreign countries such contracts were payable merely in "sterling," "francs," "marks," and so on, so that no question arose when one country or another had gone off gold, except in a few cases which called specifically for gold payments.

The almost universal insertion of the gold clause in the United States undoubtedly constituted a grave danger, and it may have been against public policy. It was claimed, however, that the debtors had perhaps been getting better terms for their loans because of it, and now when at last the creditors found themselves in the position against which they had been insuring themselves, many people felt it was a distinct blow to public confidence to have Congress pass an act abrogating all these contracts and cancelling the obligation to pay in gold or its equivalent. In view of the rising price of gold and the vast mass of debt in the country, the measure was probably necessary but the fact that it marked a breach of good business faith on a hitherto unprecedented scale could not be concealed.

Our going off the gold standard and the failure of the economic conference made men realize even more fully the far-reaching possibilities of the depression. In his cable to London the President had

spoken of a "commodity dollar," and business was getting more and more at sea as to the monetary policy of the government, and as to what all contracts and property might be worth in the future. The first burst of optimism was over, and during the summer both the markets and the volume of many lines of business dropped somewhat alarmingly again.

The Supreme Court passes on the gold clause (1935). In February, 1935, the Supreme Court decided that the action of Congress in abrogating the gold clause in private contracts was valid but that it had no constitutional right to declare that the interest and principal of the public debt should be paid in dollars whose gold value was about fifty-nine cents instead of the hundred cents promised. Nevertheless it also decided that the citizen had no remedy against the illegal action.

Our government develops Muscle Shoals. New measures had come throughout the spring of 1933 with a rapidity and on a scale which had taken people's breaths away. Since the World War the government had owned the immense power resources of Muscle Shoals, for which it had paid about \$165,000,000 as part of the public works program. This program was now to be developed. The President got a bill passed not only for the development of the power of the shoals but for a corporation which, under the name of the Tennessee Valley Authority, was to develop a whole area of 640,000 square miles and lead, as he said, to "national planning for a complete river watershed involving many states and the future lives and welfare of millions."

If the project should prove successful, he indicated that he had it in mind to recommend that it be duplicated in other parts of the country. Naturally this threatened competition of the government with private enterprise on a colossal scale alarmed many, particularly the holders of public-utility securities which, next to governments and railroads, had once been considered the safest in the country.

Early in 1935 decisions by federal judges declared that in some respects the acts of the TVA were unconstitutional, although the cases were still to be heard by the Supreme Court.

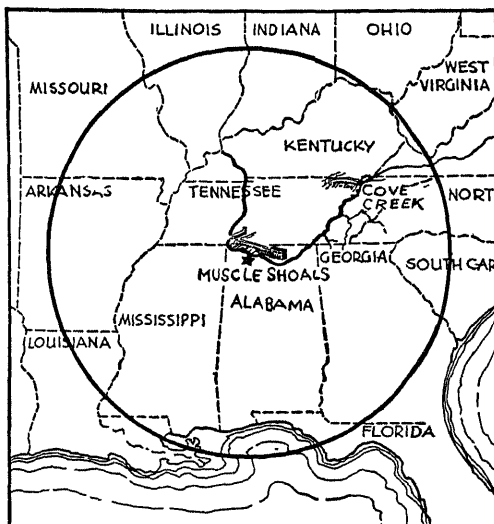
3. *The NRA*

The government attempts to control cut-throat competition. Of the various new government agencies set up, that which became known as the NRA evoked the most public interest. The National Industrial Recovery Act, passed in June, 1933, was made up of two distinct parts. The second granted the President control of \$3,300,000,000

for public works, which he might use at his discretion, interpreting the words in their broadest meaning. Although this was the greatest effort made by any nation to try the experiment of recovering from a depression by use of public money, it was the first part of the act which was the most interesting.

The American has always been an individualist, but as the wealth and opportunity of the individual grew on a national scale, and the great corporations arose, we have seen how the ordinary American felt it necessary, in order to preserve his own opportunity as an individual, to curb that of the trusts and great wealth. Hence came the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and other efforts which we have already noted. It was evident, however, with 12,000,000 unemployed, that the evils of uncontrolled competition could be as great as those of combination in restraint of trade. Employers might try to keep their employees and to maintain wages, but with cut-throat competition for the little business there was in every trade, at least a minority would stop at nothing to cheapen costs and thus take business away unfairly from the better employers. The first section of the Recovery Act aimed to correct this situation.

Industries are asked to draft fair codes of competition. The act declared a "state of emergency" to exist, which the President could declare terminated at any time. According to the terms of the act any representative trade could draft a code of fair competition, which could be altered or amended by the President and which, when he had signed it, would become binding law on *every one* engaged in the trade. The President could force the drafting of a code even if an industry preferred not to do so. The right of both employers and



From "A Primer of the New Deal," courtesy of the American Education Press

THE 700-MILE CIRCLE TO BE REACHED BY THE TENNESSEE PROJECT

employees to organize was recognized and the codes had to contain agreements as to maximum hours, minimum wages, and other details. The act was, in most of its features, to remain in force for two years,

unless the President terminated the "emergency" sooner. It became evident, however, from his statements that he considered the new framework of industry would in many of its features be a permanent change from the old.

General Hugh Johnson is placed in charge of the NRA. The first code to be submitted and accepted was that of the textile industry, which abolished child labor. It soon became evident that the drafting of codes would be slow work, and, on July 20, Roosevelt asked industry and business to accept a blanket code to shorten hours and raise wages, pending the formulation of codes for in-



From a Wide World photograph

THE NRA WAS INAUGURATED WITH PARADES IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY

In New York City 250,000 marchers, representing numerous branches of business, took more than ten hours to pass the reviewing stand.

dividual industries. Gradually the permanent codes were submitted and signed, those for oil, steel, and lumber on August 19, and for the automobile trade a week later. General Hugh Johnson, placed in charge of the NRA, swung into a campaign like that for the Liberty Loans in the war. The "Blue Eagle" was to be displayed by all

joining and it was clearly indicated that employers or shops which did not display it were to be boycotted. Such great enthusiasm was worked up that Johnson predicted the return of 6,000,000 workers to employment by September, though, in fact, only about 2,000,000 additional were then employed.

Supreme Court invalidates NRA. By an unanimous vote, the Supreme Court on May 27, 1935, invalidated the entire code structure of the NRA. The Court held that the code-making provisions of the Act constituted an invalid delegation of power by Congress of its authority to legislate to persons wholly disconnected with the legislative functions of the government.

Exercise of Congressional powers over commerce was definitely restricted to interstate commerce, or to such activities as had a provable direct connection with interstate commerce. The Court held that no economic emergency could justify the breaking down of the limitations on Federal authority as prescribed by the Constitution or of those powers reserved to the States through the failure of the Constitution to place them elsewhere.

The dollar is devalued. Toward the end of the year confidence was growing somewhat greater, and this was in one way evidenced by a freer discussion of the policies of the "New Deal," and especially of the President's attitude on the currency question. The effort to raise prices by buying gold, which is supposed to have been the idea of Pro-



ISN'T THE BLAMED THING EVER GOING TO TAKE
OFF?

A cartoon by Carlisle in *The Des Moines Register*
in the summer of 1934.

fessor Warren, proved somewhat of a failure. Late in November, the resignation of Dr. O. M. W. Sprague as adviser to the Treasury became the signal for more general criticism of the government's course on money.

On January 31, 1934, the President issued a proclamation devaluing the dollar by close to 40 per cent in gold, agreeing to purchase all gold offered at thirty-five dollars an ounce, and also to sell gold to foreign central banks whenever it reached the export point. The government had taken possession of all the gold in the banking system, and the Treasury figured that by reducing the gold content of the dollar from twenty-five and eight-tenths grains to fifteen and five-twenty-firsts, it would make a "profit" of approximately \$2,670,000,000.

What the ultimate effects of the depreciation of the dollar will be yet remain to be seen. It should benefit exporters and hurt importers, and as domestic prices gradually rise some classes will gain and others lose. There would seem to be little doubt, however, that far-seeing investors became less inclined to place their money in fixed or long-term investments, and that recovery was to that extent retarded. On the other hand, the belief that the President considered a return to a gold basis and that the depreciation would be held within the limits of the present laws helped the growth of confidence. Few people could see any difference between the former gold value of the dollar and the dollar of the new gold value since it did the same work.

Our government debt is increasing enormously. Meanwhile Roosevelt had met Congress on January 3, delivering his message in person, and the nation was stunned when told the bill it would have to meet. The deficit for the current fiscal year was given as approximately \$7,000,000,000, and the budget for the year as over \$10,500,000,000. The President estimated that the government would have to borrow \$10,000,000,000 in the next six months, and that by June 30, 1935, the total debt would be nearly \$31,000,000,000 when he hoped the budget might become balanced.

Later, however, partly on account of the great disaster of the drought of 1934 in the West, it began to be doubted whether the budget could be balanced even in another two years. Business slowed down again. There were indications that the scope of the NRA might be considerably narrowed and limited more to the great industries mostly composed of large units. The effort to make it cover practically all types of business including the very smallest shops in unorganized trades had brought about much discontent.

Congress passes the Wagner Labor Disputes Act. The National

Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, which was invalidated by the Supreme Court in 1935, had given special consideration to the protection of labor. Section 7A of this Act had also given to employees the right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers through representatives of their own choosing.

Shortly after the Supreme Court declared the NRA void, Congress passed the Wagner Labor Disputes Act, 1935. The purpose of the Act is to continue the provision of Section 7A of the NRA to workers in industries related to interstate commerce. The Wagner Act likewise states that employees have a right to organize and bargain collectively as they had under NRA. The Act also attempts to outlaw company unions—unions organized under the direction of the employers. The Act created the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to investigate and hear complaints concerning unfair practices among employers.

Opposition soon arose to the Wagner Labor Act and its validity was tested in the Supreme Court. The Court held, early in 1937, by a vote of five to four, that the Act was constitutional.

Congress passes the Social Security Act. For the first time in our history, Congress gave serious attention to old-age pensions and unemployment insurance when it enacted into law the Social Security Act, in 1935. The Act provides old-age benefits for employees, upon their reaching the age of sixty-five, to be paid out of funds secured by a tax upon both employers and employees. The Act also provides for old-age assistance to needy persons who are sixty-five years of age or older; for this assistance, Federal funds appropriated from the general taxes are turned over, under certain restrictions, to those States that match the Federal grant. The State receiving the grant administers the Act, with Federal co-operation. Practically all of our States now have old-age pension laws enabling them to receive grants from the Federal Government.

A second part of the Act imposes a Federal tax upon employers to create a fund from which money can be drawn in the future to care for people who are temporarily unable to secure employment.

Other parts of the Act provide Federal grants of money to States that meet the requirements, for use in the care of dependent children and crippled children, and for maternal and child welfare.

As in the case of many of the other laws passed by the New Deal, the validity of the Social Security Act was questioned. But, as in the Wagner Act, the Supreme Court declared the Act constitutional, in May, 1937.

President Roosevelt is re-elected. In 1936, the Democrats selected President Roosevelt and Vice-President Garner; the Republicans, Alfred M. Landon, Governor of Kansas, and Frank Knox of Illinois.

The outcome of the election was an overwhelming victory for the Democrats. In round numbers they received 27,000,000 votes while the Republicans received 16,000,000. The Democrats carried every state except Maine and Vermont.

President Roosevelt addresses the new Congress. On January 6, 1937, President Roosevelt addressed the new Seventy-fifth Congress which was overwhelmingly Democratic in both Houses. Two days later, he sent a special message to Congress. In these messages, the President dealt in the main with three topics—the Supreme Court, neutrality, and the budget. After reviewing the work of the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government during the past four years, President Roosevelt said: "The judicial branch also is asked by the people to do its part in making democracy successful. We do not ask the courts to call non-existent powers into being, but we have a right to expect that conceded powers or those legitimately implied shall be made effective instruments for the common good."

The President asked for wider powers on neutrality and urged that immediate action be taken to prevent our country from selling war supplies to Spain. Immediate action was taken and Congress voted to give the President power to apply the present law to the civil war in Spain.

In his budget message the President said that in the fiscal year 1938 he expected the government to take in \$7,293,607,000 and to spend—not including recovery and relief expenditures—\$6,157,990,000. It was his hope that recovery and relief expenditures could be held down to \$1,500,000,000. This would make the budget practically balanced. In the fiscal year 1939 the budget could be balanced and a start could be made to reduce the public debt. But the President made it clear that if these goals were to be attained business would have to help.

4. *Roosevelt's Second Term*

President Roosevelt is inaugurated. The second inaugural of President Roosevelt took place January 20, 1937. In his address, the shortest ever delivered by a President, he painted the picture of our nation as he saw it—a powerful nation blessed with a great wealth of natural resources; a nation of 130,000,000 people at peace among them-

selves and with the world. But he also saw millions of Americans denied the necessities of life, millions of families with meager incomes, millions of citizens whose living conditions are indecent, millions of people who have no buying power because they have no work, one-third of the nation ill-housed, ill-clad, and ill-nourished.

The President promised "to make every American citizen the subject of his country's interest and concern," stating that "the test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

President Roosevelt seeks to reorganize the Supreme Court.

The statements that President Roosevelt made in his messages to the Seventy-fifth Congress in January, 1937, concerning the Supreme Court, took on added meaning when on February 5, 1937, he startled the country with his plan to reorganize that body. He asked for power to appoint a new Supreme Court judge for each judge on the Supreme Bench who did not retire upon reaching the age of seventy. At that time there were six Supreme Court judges who were over that age. This would have enabled the President to appoint six new judges.

President Roosevelt's critics accused him of wanting to "pack" the Court, but his defenders claimed that he wished merely to put younger men at the helm. The controversy became heated throughout the country, and much ill feeling was caused. When in July, 1937, the President's plan was defeated in the Senate, it was by a vote of 70 to 20, the President's own Party furnishing 53 votes in opposition. This division in the Party is believed to have had an important influence upon the fate of legislation desired by the administration during the following year.

Earlier in 1937 the Supreme Court had, in April, upheld the Wagner Labor Relations Act, and also, in May, the Social Security Act. Both of these measures had been enacted into law in 1935.

In June, 1937, Justice Van Devanter retired from the Supreme Court. Two months later President Roosevelt filled the vacancy by the appointment of Senator Hugo L. Black of Alabama, an ardent supporter of New Deal policies. A short time later Justice Sutherland also resigned from the Court, and the President filled that vacancy by the appointment of Stanley Reed of Kentucky, who had been Solicitor General in the Department of Justice.

Labor lives in a divided house. At the same time that the President's court fight was going on, many labor troubles arose to vex the country. In 1935, John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers and

seven other labor leaders organized the Committee for Industrial Organization (C. I. O.). Mr. Lewis pointed out that eighty-five per cent of the wage-earners were not unionized, so the purpose of the C. I. O. was to organize the masses of the laboring men into a great industrial union.

The American Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.), under the leadership of William Green, opposed the idea of an industrial union and clung to its idea of craft unions. A quarrel soon arose between these two rival labor organizations. In September, 1936, the American Federation of Labor suspended the C. I. O. unions from the Federation. Efforts have since been made at different times to bring the two labor factions together, but so far they have been in vain. Throughout 1937 the C. I. O. intensified its efforts to organize the workers in the automobile industry, the rubber industry, the steel industry, and others. In the organization of these industries, the "sit-down" strike was introduced and soon spread throughout the country.

An economic "recession" comes to our country. At the beginning of President Roosevelt's second term, our country was well on its way to prosperous times. But early in 1937 labor disputes arose and strikes ensued, closing many mills and factories. In April, stock, commodity, and farm prices began to fall. During September and October, the stock market took a tail-spin. Consumption of goods fell. This situation brought a curtailment of production which led to even greater unemployment.

Business men sought to put the blame for the "recession" upon the policies of President Roosevelt and urged him to restore confidence by balancing the budget and to encourage the expansion of business by repealing such taxes as those on capital gains and surplus profits. On the other hand, Government officials replied that our economic difficulty arose from the fact that capital "had gone on a strike."

In November, 1937, the National Government took a census of the unemployed. This census, taken by post cards sent to all citizens, showed that over 10,000,000 of our people were partially or totally unemployed.

Hoping to establish a better understanding and to secure more cooperation between the Government, business, and labor, and to find a way out of the "recession," President Roosevelt held, early in 1938, a series of conferences with the business men—both "big" and "little"—with labor leaders, and with noted economists.

President Roosevelt addresses the Congress in 1938. In his message to the regular session of Congress in January, 1938, President

Roosevelt urged that industrial wages be not allowed to fall and working hours be not allowed to rise beyond certain points. He said, that the proposed budget for 1939 could not be balanced and that the expenditures of the National Government "cannot be cut much below \$7,000,000,000 a year without destroying essential functions or letting people starve." And he further said no American would be allowed to starve who is willing to work but cannot find work to do. Soon the President asked Congress for \$250,000,000 for relief purposes. In speaking of crop control, the President said that he "hoped for a sound, consistent" measure. By the middle of February, 1938, Congress passed the crop-control bill, praised by the administration members but called by its opponents more "harness" for the farmers.

On the question of foreign affairs, the President said that the United States was determined "to respect the rights of others and to command respect for the rights of ourselves. We must keep ourselves adequately strong in national defense." A month before those words were spoken the Japanese, engaged in a war against China, had bombed and destroyed the U.S.S. *Panay* in the Yangtze River in China. Angry feelings arose in our country against Japan, but in a short time the Japanese made an apology, which our Government accepted, and agreed to pay over \$2,000,000 in damages.

Congress passes the Neutrality Act. Unsettled conditions throughout the world and the desire of the American people to avoid being drawn into any possible war led Congress to consider measures for preserving our peace.

In the spring of 1937, Congress passed the Neutrality Act which provided, among other things, that the President of the United States, upon finding "that war exists between or among two or more foreign states," should proclaim such fact. It would then become unlawful, according to the terms of the act, for our country to export arms, ammunition, or implements of war to any belligerent state or to any neutral state for transshipment to a warring nation. This embargo on arms also applied to any foreign state in which there was civil strife being conducted in such a manner that export of war materials to that state would endanger our peace. This latter provision was applied to Spain, where a civil war was being waged between the republican government then in power and the forces of the fascist general, Francisco Franco.

Aggression in Europe causes concern. Shortly after this, Europe experienced one political crisis after another, growing out of the demands of the "have-not" nations, Italy and Germany, upon those

states possessing colonies and other resources which they themselves lacked. These two totalitarian countries backed each other's demands in an alliance commonly referred to as the Rome-Berlin axis. Claiming that the Versailles Treaty had shorn Germany of territories rightly hers and in which German minorities were being "intolerably oppressed," Adolf Hitler announced his intention of re-annexing these lost areas to the Reich and repatriating the German minorities. This he proceeded to do in the case of Austria and a portion of Czechoslovakia known as the Sudetenland. In a conference held at Munich, representatives of four powers—England, France, Germany, Italy—agreed to these seizures upon Hitler's promise to respect the political integrity of Czechoslovakia and to make no more demands for territory in Europe. He soon broke this promise, first, by taking complete control of all Czechoslovakia and later, by demanding the free city of Danzig, an important seaport on the Baltic, together with a strip of territory across the Polish Corridor, which separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany. Suggestions for compromise and offers of negotiation were rejected by Germany. Aroused by Hitler's violations of the Munich agreement and determined now to prevent further aggression, England and France offered to help Poland maintain her independence. Hitler acted quickly. In a "lightning war" (*blitzkrieg*), his powerful mechanized armies and superior air force overwhelmed Poland before England and France, who had now declared war, could render any effective aid to the doomed nation.

Congress repeals the arms embargo. These various acts of aggression and the fear of our possible involvement in a European war brought our Neutrality Act up for reconsideration. Although President Roosevelt signed the Neutrality Act of 1937, he soon regretted having done so and in a special session of Congress in September, 1939, urged repeal of the arms embargo provision of the act. The debates in Congress revealed that the question of repeal had transcended party lines. Both those who favored repeal and those who did not presented strong arguments to prove that their stand was the proper one to keep the United States out of war. After a bitter struggle, Congress passed a new Neutrality Act some five weeks later.

The new act repealed the arms embargo of the former Neutrality Act and substituted a provision allowing the sale of munitions to a belligerent, but only after title to them had been acquired by that foreign state—that is, the arms would have to be paid for by the purchasing nation and then transported in its own ships. This cash-and-carry plan relieved our government of all responsibility for the goods should they

be destroyed in transit; it also reduced the chances of American ships becoming involved in incidents which might lead to war. The new act included a number of other restrictions: American vessels might not carry passengers or goods to belligerent states, though our ships could carry passengers and materials to countries and ports not within the combat area; no American vessel nor American citizen might travel, except under certain conditions, through a combat zone; no American citizen might travel on any vessel of any belligerent state, except under certain regulations; none of our citizens might buy or sell any bonds or securities of belligerent states.

All of these provisions of the Neutrality Act were designed to prevent, as far as possible, foreign complications which might draw us into the war. Some of the restrictions caused inconvenience and financial loss to many of our citizens; but though a number protested, the great majority accepted the restrictions uncomplainingly.

Enforcement of neutrality proves a difficult task. It is one thing for a nation to pass a neutrality act but quite another thing to keep the nation neutral. After the passage of the Neutrality Act we found that the path of a neutral was strewn with difficulties.

In October, 1939, the twenty-one American Republics, including the United States, hoping to keep the European war out of the Western Hemisphere, issued the Declaration of Panama. In this declaration they set up a safety zone, three hundred miles wide, instead of the internationally legal three miles, around the coasts of the Republics and requested the belligerent nations of Europe to refrain from combat in those waters. The warring nations, however, paid no attention to the declaration. Germany sent her famous pocket battleship, *Admiral Graf Spee*, into the waters of the western world to hunt down and destroy the merchant ships of England and France, and the Allies sent their cruisers to do the same thing to the merchant ships of Germany. The belligerents were soon at work taking toll against each other's commerce. The *Admiral Graf Spee*, which had sunk several enemy vessels, was herself forced to give battle to three British cruisers off the coast of Uruguay and was driven into the harbor of Montevideo where she was destroyed by her commander rather than face certain destruction by the British ships. This incident was followed by two others: first, the scuttling of the German liner, *Columbus*, off our New Jersey coast, to prevent capture by a British cruiser, and second, by the German merchantman, *Arauca*, seeking protection of the neutral port of Fort Lauderdale, Florida, when it was about to be taken by a British vessel. And

the French, too, were active in the American waters, their cruiser, *Jeanne d'Arc*, halting the American liner, *Santa Rosa*.

Alarmed by the actions of the European belligerents, the twenty-one American Republics sent, during the closing days of 1939, a note of protest to England, France, and Germany against the naval engagements within the neutrality zone. They pointed out to the warring nations that future violations would be met with penalties, perhaps by the application of a rule which would prevent belligerent vessels from supplying themselves or repairing damages in American ports "when the said vessels have committed warlike acts within the zone of security."

At the very beginning of the year 1940 our government found it necessary to protest to Great Britain over seizure of mail from the United States destined to Germany. Our government cited four specific cases in which British authorities took several hundred sacks of mail and parcel post packages from American or neutral ships. In the note of protest we said that we "cannot admit the right of British authorities to interfere with American mails on American or other neutral ships on the high seas nor can we admit the right of the British Government to censor mail on ships which have involuntarily entered British ports." Shortly after this our government warned Great Britain that it would hold London responsible for damages resulting from "losses and injuries" that might come to American ships if forced into British control ports within the area in which American ships were forbidden to go by the provisions of the Neutrality Act.

President Roosevelt uses his influence for peace. President Roosevelt had urged Hitler, when the European situation became tense, to guarantee peace. He also made a personal appeal to King Victor Emmanuel of Italy to stop the war and tried to dissuade Russia, which, having become an ally of Germany, had seized a large part of Poland, from invading Finland. At the close of 1939, just at the time when the Christian peoples of the world, in peace or in war, were celebrating Christmas, the President announced the appointment of a representative to the Vatican and urged the churches of the world to use their influence for peace. He selected Myron C. Taylor, head of the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee, as his special envoy. Government officials stated that Mr. Taylor would have the full social, but not the official, rank of an ambassador but made haste to explain that he would in no wise represent our government but would be merely a personal representative of the President. Mr. Roosevelt, at the same time, invited

George A. Buttrick, President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, as a Protestant leader, and Rabbi Cyrus Adler, President of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, to confer with him from time to time on the question of peace.

During the closing days of 1939 and the early ones of 1940 many forces in Europe were urging our government to take the initiative and to try to bring about peace. Many Americans, too, took the same position, hoping that we might be able to do something to end the struggle. After Russia's invasion of Finland, many of our citizens openly expressed their sympathy for that little republic and their fears that a continuation of the war might enable Russia to destroy it. However, the President felt that he should take no steps as a mediator until both sides of the warring nations made it clear that mediation was desired by them.

Our government gives serious concern to foreign affairs. During his second term President Roosevelt gave much attention to foreign affairs. Aside from his efforts to keep our nation neutral in the European war he was concerned with the undeclared war between China and Japan. During 1938 our government sent several notes to the Japanese Government protesting against its curtailment of our trade rights in China. We finally warned Japan against closing the "Open Door" which provides for equal trade rights in China. Near the close of the year Japan replied to us that she was "establishing a new order throughout East Asia," implying that she would no longer pay attention to our traditional Chinese policy.

Despite the fact that a real war had been waged for some time between China and Japan, neither the President nor Congress had so recognized it nor so proclaimed it and as a result our neutrality acts did not apply to those belligerent nations. Our nation traded freely with both China and Japan, but the friends of the former had long pointed out that this situation was entirely favorable to the latter, as that nation, on account of its powerful navy and merchant marine, was able to secure our goods while China was not. A neutral nation, indeed, always finds it difficult to be neutral.

Throughout these years President Roosevelt had maintained his "Good Neighbor" policy with the Latin-American nations. In December, 1938, the eighth Pan-American Conference was held at Lima, Peru, our delegation including such notable men as Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, and Alfred M. Landon, the Republican candidate for President in 1936. Out of this conference great good came and steps were taken

to unite the Americas against aggression. Just a year later the twenty-one American Republics issued the Declaration of Panama asking warring nations to refrain from carrying their warfare to the Western Hemisphere.

President Roosevelt carried the principles of the "Good Neighbor" policy to our northern neighbor, Canada. While traveling in that country in August, 1938, he declared that the United States would not stand idly by if Canada should be attacked.

Business slumps but picks up again. During the time that our government was busy with foreign affairs it was none the less busy with affairs at home. The economic "recession" which began in 1937 continued into 1938 and began to take on the aspects of a real depression. The production of steel which had reached over 90 per cent of normal early in 1937 had dropped to about 19 per cent at the beginning of 1938. The production of motor cars and vehicles fell off more than a third as did the output of cotton mills. Car loadings dropped off considerably. Spending and lending seemed to have failed and men with money hesitated to expand their old businesses or to establish new ones. A survey of many of the leading corporations of the country showed a marked decrease in their earnings for the first three months of 1938 as compared with the same period of 1937. The cash surpluses or reserves of the corporations, which had been built up as a protection to both the employers and the employees to tide them over during a period of hard times, had been steadily dwindling away ever since the beginning of the depression in 1929 and by the close of 1938 they were almost gone. In the early summer of 1938 business picked up considerably and continued to do so until December when again downward trends began to set in.

Throughout 1939 business showed a decided gain. Not long after the outbreak of the European war, which started in the fall of that year, our mills and factories generally were turning out vast volumes of goods, although the war itself had little influence on production. On the other hand, many leading big business men expressed the hope that there would be no "war boom," which could be only disastrous in the long run. Better business was especially notable in the steel industry, in automobiles, and in the cotton, woolen, and rayon industries. In some industries production reached that of the boom year of 1929. The year 1940 was ushered in with many of our factories having orders for goods which they were not able to fill for some time to come.

The unemployment problem remains unsolved. Despite the

fact that our industrial production reached high levels in the closing months of 1939 and the opening months of 1940, the problem of unemployment remained. It has been estimated that there were at this time about 9,000,000 unemployed workers, a reduction of only some 2,000,000 from the highest peak in the darkest days of the depression. No satisfactory answer was found for this condition but two suggestions were made that merited much thought and consideration. It was estimated that our net annual gain in the labor supply for the ten years preceding 1939 was between 500,000 and 600,000 persons, thus making in 1939, 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 more workers than we had in 1929. It was found, too, that the depression itself had caused those who employed labor to install in their mills, shops, and factories the very latest and best labor-saving machines and to demand greater speed and efficiency of their operatives.

If we were to solve successfully the unemployment problem it was necessary not only to find ways to secure work for those who were unemployed but also to provide means for expanding industry so as to care for the annual surplus of laborers. But industry would not expand without the confidence of investors.

The New Deal meets reverses in the 1938 election. In the congressional elections of 1938 the Republicans made heavy gains throughout the nation, securing eight additional seats in the Senate, eighty in the House, eleven governorships, and numerous state and local officers. This was the first setback that the New Dealers had suffered since they came into power with Roosevelt in 1932, but the gain made by the Republicans does not tell the whole story, as the congressional elections had returned to power many conservative Democrats, or Anti-New Dealers as they came to be called. The year before, the Democratic Party had been rent asunder by the fight on the Supreme Court Bill. The President attempted to prevent the nomination of several Democratic Senators who had voted against him in the Court fight. In spite of his efforts all of them were renominated and re-elected. The result of the 1938 elections left the Democrats nominally in control of both the House and the Senate but with many conservative Democrats who did not after that support the President on all his measures.

President Roosevelt informs Congress on "the state of the Union." On January 3, 1940, President Roosevelt addressed the Congress of the United States not only on "the state of the Union" but on the state of the world as well. The President said that no American expected our country to send our boys to the battlefields of Europe; but

this did not mean that we should adopt a policy of isolation, rather that we should co-operate with the nations of the world for peace—and such sort of peace as would benefit all mankind. The President reviewed the attitude of our country and stated that the nations of the world looked to us as “a potent and active factor in seeking the re-establishment of peace.” He stated that the governments of the twenty-one American Republics had united for the maintenance of peace in the Western Hemisphere and that what we had accomplished here by means of the “Good Neighbor” policy could be accomplished elsewhere in the world.

President Roosevelt was firm in his belief that the old method of trade rivalries and economic selfishness among the nations had helped to cause wars in the past and that those methods should be set aside by reciprocal trade pacts that would make possible trade co-operation. He wished to see our trade agreements extended. He also stated his earnest desire for peace, yet he added that our nation must be adequately prepared in case of need and asked for increased appropriations for the army and navy to strengthen our national defenses. Referring to the unemployment situation in our country he stated that the number of jobless workers had been reduced, but ways and means had not yet been found “to employ the surplus of our labor which the efficiency of our industrial processes has created.” He asked that continued efforts be made to find work for all. The President urged upon our people a deep and profound spirit of national unity which he proclaimed to be “the fundamental safeguard of all democracy.” He said that “we must as a united people keep ablaze on this continent the flames of human liberty, of reason, of democracy, and of fair play as living things to be preserved for the better world that is to come.”

The next day the President gave to Congress his message on the budget. He estimated that the expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, would be \$9,099,253,641 and that for the year ending June 30, 1941, they would be \$8,424,191,750. The revenue he estimated at \$5,166,440,000 for 1940 and \$5,547,960,000 for 1941. He estimated the deficit of 1940 at \$3,932,813,641 and that of 1941 at \$1,716,231,000, provided Congress levied new taxes to the amount of \$460,000,000 to pay the costs of emergency defense and provided approximately \$700,000,000 could be recovered from government corporations and added to the revenue. Should Congress fail to provide for the \$460,000,000 in taxes, then the deficit would be \$2,176,231,000 and our total debt would be almost \$400,000,000 above the statutory limit of

\$45,000,000,000. President Roosevelt said the national debt on June 30, 1940, would be \$43,222,346,052 and on June 30, 1941, it would be \$44,938,577,622, which was only \$61,422,378 less than the statutory limit. But the President went on to point out that the national income in four years rose 69 per cent, from \$42,000,000,000 in 1933 to \$72,000,000,000 in 1937, the largest rise for any four-year period in our history. However, the President's critics replied at once that Mr. Roosevelt had not brought the budget into balance.

Congress examines the President's budget. Just as soon as President Roosevelt had finished his speech on "the state of the Union" and his budget estimate, Congress began to give earnest consideration to his message. Controversies at once arose over the question of voting taxes to meet the cost of national defense. Congress, as a rule, is never very anxious to vote taxes during a presidential election year. However, if the amount asked for by the President for defense purposes was not met by taxes, the national debt would exceed the statutory limit and Congress did not want to be compelled to raise the debt limit. Senator Harrison of Mississippi, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, proposed that a joint committee of the House and Senate make its own investigation as to the needs of the country and as to the size that the national budget should be. Many leading Democrats joined with him, and the Republicans of the Senate under the leadership of McNary of Oregon and those of the House under the leadership of Martin of Massachusetts gave their endorsement. President Roosevelt also gave his approval to the plan for budget study, saying that it was a "step in the right direction."

The question of the reciprocal trade treaties was also given immediate attention. Some Democrats at once joined the Republicans in demanding that the State Department cease making such treaties and that they be made only with the approval of the Senate like other treaties. However, Congress later gave to the executive department the right to continue to make trade agreements with foreign nations.

President Roosevelt is elected for a third term. One of the most spirited presidential campaigns of recent years got off to an early start in the summer of 1940. The Democrats in their convention in Chicago renominated President Roosevelt and named Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture in the President's Cabinet, as his running mate. The Republicans, holding their convention in Philadelphia, selected as their standard bearer Wendell L. Willkie of New York, and for Vice-President, Senator Charles McNary of Oregon.

Mr. Willkie made an aggressive campaign, touring the country, speaking to vast audiences. He attacked the Democrats for attempting to break the century-and-a-half-old tradition against a third term for a President. The Republicans promised reforms and economy and took the New Deal administration to task for its spending policies and for the great increase in the national debt. President Roosevelt made only a few speeches during the campaign, staying close to the Capital so that he could remain in touch with the affairs of the world. The Democrats conducted a defensive campaign, upholding the President in both his foreign and domestic policies.

The European war played an important role in the campaign. Both the Democratic and the Republican platforms contained planks opposing American participation in it; but both favored aid to Britain and to the democracies fighting against the Axis Powers, and advocated adequate preparedness for national defense.

Each party, realizing that the election might depend upon the electoral votes of the populous states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, California, Michigan, and Indiana, put forth special effort to carry them, the Democrats being the more successful as the Republicans carried only Michigan and Indiana. Almost 50,000,000 voters went to the polls on election day, casting their ballots as follows: Roosevelt (Democrat) 27,241,939; Willkie (Republican) 22,327,226; Thomas (Socialist) 116,796; Babson (Prohibitionist) 58,600. In the electoral college, Roosevelt received 449 votes and Willkie 82.

President Roosevelt addresses the nation. The presidential election was scarcely over when the attention of our people became fixed upon foreign affairs, and two days before the close of the year President Roosevelt addressed the citizens over a nation-wide hookup in one of his "fireside chats."

The President said that the formation of the Triple Alliance—Germany, Italy, and Japan—was a threat and peril to our civilization and to that of all other nations, for the Axis Powers meant to enslave Europe and then use the resources of that continent to become the masters of the world. Time and again, he warned, the Nazis had proclaimed other races to be their inferiors and therefore subject to their orders. Under such a situation the United States should not "encourage any talk of peace until the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world." It would be nonsense for Americans to talk about a negotiated peace, for past experience had proved that

"no nation can appease the Nazis" and that a nation could have peace with them "only at the price of total surrender."

He stated that there was danger ahead for us if Britain fell as the Axis Powers would then be in control of all the continents of the Eastern Hemisphere and also the high seas, and pointed out that the widths of the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans are no guarantee of safety in these days of the fast and far-flying bomber planes. Indeed, our own security would depend on the outcome of Britain's struggle against the totalitarian powers—the "unholy alliance of power and pelf to dominate the human race"—and there would be far less chance of our getting into the war if we gave all possible help to the democracies rather than stand by and see them defeated and "wait our turn to be the object of attack in another war later on."

He assured the nation that "our national policy is not directed toward war," but rather "its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people." The democracies of Europe, he said, were not asking for soldiers to do their fighting but for materials of war so that they could continue to fight, and there was "no demand for sending an American expeditionary force outside our own boundaries, and no intention by any member of your government to send such a force."

He pointed out the need for national defense, not only of our own lands but of the Western Hemisphere, stating that "we are planning our own defense with the utmost urgency; and in its vast scale we must integrate the war needs of Britain and the other free nations resisting aggression." He urged that "we must be the great arsenal of democracy," saying that "we have furnished Britain great material support and we will furnish far more in the future. . . ."

The President presents his budget to Congress. On January 8, 1941—in less than two weeks after he had addressed the nation in his "fireside chat"—President Roosevelt transmitted to Congress his budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942. In his message he informed the Congress that he was carrying out the mandate of the people and the government was embarking on a program for the total defense of our democracy. Such a policy, he stated, called for "warships, freighters, tanks, and guns to protect us against aggression; and jobs, health, and security to strengthen the bulwarks of democracy." He added that the world situation compelled us to build up our military forces so that we could meet and master any contingency. It was not enough for America to defend its national existence only, since democracy, as a way of life, was at stake.

To carry out these objectives, President Roosevelt asked Congress for \$17,500,000,000, stating, however, that additional appropriations would be needed to assure the continuation of the flow of munitions and supplies to the democracies. The cost of national defense would be tremendous, the President stated, and the appropriations for this purpose for 1940-42 called for a program of about \$28,500,000,000.

While much of his budget message dealt with the necessity for adequate national defense and war, the President did not overlook the equally important phases of civilian life and peace. He recommended the continuation, in full measure, of the programs pertaining to social security—the payment of old age benefits; aids to youth, to children, and to the physically handicapped. He promised that the government would continue to aid the farmer by “maintaining the principles of parity and soil conservation” and work opportunities would be provided for those persons who could not be “adjusted to our industrial life.”

The President stated that the revenue for the fiscal year of 1942 was estimated to be about \$8,275,000,000; thus leaving a deficit for that year of about \$9,200,000,000. He suggested that Congress use discretion in the method employed to raise the money to meet the expenses of the defense program, stating that he doubted the wisdom of attempting to use the pay-as-you-go basis, for such a plan would curtail consumption and interfere with our productive capacities. He thought that it would be better to adopt a financial policy “aimed at collecting progressive taxes out of a higher level of national income,” but that “a start should be made this year (1941) to meet a larger percentage of defense payments from current tax receipts.”

The President assured those citizens who were disturbed by the rise of the national debt that our country was in no serious danger as long as a high level of national income could be maintained, for, after all, it was not a question of the size of the deficit alone but the size of it in relation to the nation's income.

On January 10, 1941—two days after he had delivered his budget message to Congress—the President asked that body for power to enable him to carry out his plan for aid to the democracies of the world that were resisting the Axis Powers. He urged almost immediate action—without a week's delay—and administration leaders expected to secure approval for his plan before the beginning of the third term, but opposition arose and it was several weeks before Congress took action upon the President's request.

5. *Roosevelt's Third Term*

The President in his third inaugural address calls upon our people to defend their faith in democracy. In a short and simple address of only twelve hundred words, delivered January 20, 1941, Franklin D. Roosevelt assured the world that Americans do not believe that freedom is an ebbing tide or that democracy is dying. "The preservation of the spirit and faith of the nation does, and will, furnish the highest justification for every sacrifice that we may make in the cause of national defense"; our purpose "is to protect and to perpetuate the integrity of democracy" and to save our country and its institutions from "disruption from without."

The "lend-lease" bill places great power in the President's hands. The first few weeks of President Roosevelt's third term saw a bitter struggle in Congress over the enactment of the measure that the chief executive desired to enable him to carry out his plan of aid to the democracies—Britain, Greece, and China—in their struggle against the dictator nations—Germany, Italy, and Japan. The bill, known as "an act to promote the defense of the United States," gave to the President power, when he thought it necessary for our national defense, to authorize from time to time, the proper officials of our government to manufacture in our factories, arsenals, and shipyards, or otherwise procure, to the extent to which funds were available, any defense article such as weapons, munitions, aircraft, and vessels, for the government of any country whose defense the President deemed vital to the defense of the United States. The act also gave the chief executive the power to sell, transfer title to, exchange, lend, lease, or otherwise dispose of, any defense article to any such government.

The proponents of the "lend-lease" bill freely admitted that its provisions gave vast powers to the President but argued that if his "all-out aid" policy was to be made effective he must be given unlimited power to act. They dwelt upon the statement that Britain was fighting for the preservation of democracy and the right of free peoples to live their lives in their own way—principles dear to us—and that we should give all the aid in our power to prevent the dictators from crushing freedom from the earth.

The opponents of the "lend-lease" bill said that it gave to the President extraordinary powers such as had never before been granted to any chief executive in all our history, and, in fact, made the President a

dictator with the war-making powers transferred from Congress to him. They feared it would plunge us into the hatreds and wars of Europe in which, they said, we should not become embroiled.

Proponents and opponents of the "lend-lease" bill appeal to the country. The passage of the "lend-lease" bill by Congress by no means ended the struggle over it, nor brought about a united opinion. Both sides made ready to appeal to the electorate. Firmly convinced that the bill was meant as a war measure and would put America into the war, its opponents organized societies of various kinds to urge our people to take a stand against our entrance into the war and to unite and send telegrams to the President and to their Senators and Representatives urging them to avoid any acts that might lead to armed conflict. The leaders of these societies opposed the convoying of our ships because convoying, they said, meant shooting and shooting meant war.

Equally convinced that the best possible stand for our country to take was to carry out the provisions of the bill and take the necessary steps to see that the supplies we were to give Britain should reach her shores, its proponents organized societies to carry their principles to the people. The leaders of these societies asserted that it would be of little value for us to go to the expense of building equipment for Britain and then have it destroyed in transit, and that some way must be found to get the materials to her safely and quickly.

President Roosevelt sets up a patrol system. The President had described at one of his press conferences a system of naval patrols by American vessels which were guarding shipments from the Nazi raiders and bombers and which were putting our munitions and supplies "within reach" of the British navy. This patrol system worked somewhat as follows: American warships and airplanes patrolled the Atlantic Ocean to watch for German and Italian surface, submarine, and aircraft raiders, and to report their whereabouts in "plain English" to the President. Of course, these reports would be picked up by the British, who would rush their fast ships and planes to the scene and protect the vessel attacked or about to be attacked. The President said that patrols were operating 1000 miles off the Atlantic coast and would be extended as far as necessary to defend the Western Hemisphere.

On May 1, 1941, Germany and Italy described President Roosevelt's patrol system as "a hypocritical attempt to provoke war," and took the position that there was nothing left for them to do but to view the United States as an open enemy. They further announced that they would sink, if possible, "any ship loaded with arms or raw materials for

Britain . . . whatever the nationality of the naval or air escort which is convoying it." Three weeks later these threats became realities when a German submarine sank an American merchant vessel, the *Robin Moor*, soon to be followed by other sinkings both in and outside the war zone. Against all such sinkings, we protested vigorously.

Our government urges industry to speed up production. Knowing the seriousness of the situation, the chief executive called for a 24-hour-a-day production schedule for the machine tool industry and urged all industrial plants to increase their output of war materials. However, the speed of production that he wished was slowed down by a number of strikes. Laborers, in some of the defense industries, realizing that the employers were making increased profits out of the government contracts and that the cost of living was increasing, asked for a raise in wages, and when it was denied to them, went out on strike. Men in other plants struck to force the employers to recognize their unions. By March, 1941, the number of strikes in the defense industries numbered some forty but a month later had dropped to half that number. Serious strikes occurred at the Allis-Chalmers plant near Milwaukee, Wisconsin; the Ford Motor plant at Dearborn, Michigan; the International Harvester plant at Chicago, Illinois; and in the California shipyards. Perhaps the most damaging of the strikes was that of 400,000 miners of bituminous coal, which started April 1, 1941, and continued for a month. Another serious strike occurred near Los Angeles, California, in the plant of the North American Aviation Company, one of the nation's largest producers of war planes. After all other means of ending the strike had failed, the United States army was ordered to take over control of the plant temporarily in order to avoid the slowing down of our defense production.

Our country swings away from neutrality. During the year 1941 our government felt that the international situation was of such a nature that our best interests would be conserved by our nation no longer remaining in a neutral position but in taking a firm stand by the side of the democracies. To this end (1) the "lend-lease" bill was passed; (2) embargoes were placed upon the export of essential war materials, which worked to the detriment of the Axis Powers, especially Japan; (3) foreign merchant ships, belonging to Germany, Italy, and Denmark, were seized; (4) President Roosevelt extended the combat zone, which he had previously proclaimed at the mouth of the Red Sea, so that American ships could carry munitions and supplies to Egypt, where they could be received by the British; (5) the patrol system was

extended to insure protection of the Western Hemisphere, and in order to help secure the safe delivery of munitions to Britain; United States troops occupied Iceland. Still further measures were taken. These were, (6) the proclamations by the President declaring an unlimited national emergency which required that our "military, naval, air, and civilian defenses be put on the basis of readiness to repel any and all acts or threats of aggression directed toward any part of the Western Hemisphere"; (7) the freezing of the assets of Germany and Italy in the



Photograph by Walter B. Love. Courtesy Life Magazine.

AMERICAN INFANTRYMEN IN ICELAND

United States because such assets were being used to finance subversive acts (in retaliation Germany and Italy froze our assets in those countries); (8) the ordering of all German and Italian consulates in this country closed because they were the directing centers of fifth-column activities (as was expected, our consulates in Germany and Italy and in the countries which they occupied were ordered closed by the Axis Powers); (9) the ordering of the first registration for military service, which took place in October, 1940, and in which some 16,000,000 men were registered. This was supplemented by a second draft in the following July for those men who had become twenty-one since the first draft. In this second draft an additional 1,100,000 men were registered. In 1942, after our declaration of war, the entire man power of our country was registered, including all men who had not reached sixty-five years of

age. After our entrance into the war, we increased the flow of war materials to our Allies, and began to send our armed forces to all part of the world—wherever they were most needed.

The United States enters World War II. During the closing weeks of 1941, the Japanese, through their envoys, Saburo Kuruu and Admiral Nomura, sought to placate our government by making certain minor concessions, such as to withdraw from French Indo-China and not to invade Siberia. President Roosevelt knew, however, all too well that he must never consent to Japan's conquest of China and other Far Eastern countries, for it would give her control of the greatest potential man power in the world and untold riches in raw supplies—rubber, oil, coal, cotton. The United States could no more consent to Japan's New Order in Asia than it could to Germany's New Order in Europe. So our President asked Japan to withdraw from the Axis Powers, to remove her military forces from China and Indo-China, to renounce aggression, and to observe the principle of equal trade opportunities in the Pacific.

However, these were just the things that Japan did not intend to do; her answer to the President's demands was a sudden attack, without a declaration of war, upon our forces at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, December 7, 1941. Here we suffered, perhaps, a greater naval loss than we sustained during our entire participation in World War I. Our loss included three battleships, *Arizona*, *Utah*, and *Oklahoma*, and three destroyers. Grave damage was done to our airfields, and there were many military and civilian casualties.

The next day President Roosevelt appeared before Congress and after speaking of the treachery of the Japanese at Pearl Harbor, he asked for a declaration of war. This was voted in a few minutes by both Houses, unanimously by the Senate and with only one dissenting vote in the House. Soon the President's "Good Neighbor" policy with Latin America, which he had carefully nurtured for years, began to bear fruit; many of those nations broke with the Axis Powers and those that did not expressed a friendly attitude toward our nation and our cause.

We carry on war throughout the world. *In the Pacific.* By her attack upon Pearl Harbor, Japan hoped to destroy our naval force there and thus prevent it from joining the forces of the United Nations in the Far East. The Japanese also attacked Wake and Guam, our island possessions lying west of Hawaii, and were soon in possession of them. However, they met with stiff resistance in the Philippines, defended by Lieutenant General Douglas MacArthur, one of the ablest

of our military men. MacArthur's forces were a mere handful compared with the hordes of the on-rushing Japanese. Manila soon fell, but Bataan and Corregidor held fast. As the importance of preventing Australia from falling to the Japanese was realized, General MacArthur was sent there and placed in command of the Allied forces. To Lieutenant General Jonathan Wainwright fell the almost impossible task of holding Bataan and Corregidor. His soldiers fought as bravely as men could, but by early spring these strongholds were in the hands of the Japanese.

At the same time that Japan was taking possession of our Pacific islands, she was pushing on southward against the Dutch and British possessions. The land and air forces of the United Nations—America, Britain, China, Holland—the ABCD Powers (D standing for "Dutch")—fought them doggedly at every step. But Japan had mastery of the air and with her superior naval and land forces was soon in possession of Malaya and Burma, and by mid-summer was seriously threatening India. Early in 1942, she took over the Dutch East Indies, rich in rubber and oil. This was a hard blow for us because the Dutch East Indies had been the main source of our supply of crude rubber.

The Japanese pushed on southward to Australia, but there they had MacArthur to face and were not successful in making important landings. During the first part of May the American and the Japanese fleets fought a fateful battle in the Coral Sea off Australia, in which the Japanese were defeated, with the loss of a score of ships sunk or damaged; our losses were considerably less.

In the Atlantic. The Atlantic, as well as the Pacific, was a scene of war activity. From the beginning of the war in 1939, German and Italian submarines kept destroying the merchant ships of the Allied Nations. After our entrance into the war, Nazi undersea craft carried the war to our very shores—along our Atlantic coast, in the Caribbean Sea, in the Gulf of Mexico, and even at the mouth of the Mississippi River—destroying since Pearl Harbor, on the average, more than a ship a day. At the same time Japanese submarines made raids upon Allied shipping along our Pacific coast. In the Mediterranean, an important commercial highway, hundreds of Allied and Nazi naval and merchant ships were destroyed.

In Europe. In the early stages of the war, Hitler was successful in overrunning practically the whole continent of Europe except Russia, and soon began to take steps to put into effect his New Order. Unfortunately for him, he broke with his former friend Stalin of Russia and invaded that country. At first the Germans drove the Russian

back, taking vast sections of their territory. However, Hitler found, as did Napoleon, that the Russian winter was a foe that could not be conquered and also that the Red Army was much stronger than he had believed. During the cold months of the winter 1941-42 the Russians not only stopped the Germans but pushed them back in many sectors. In the spring, the Russians continued their determined and effective resistance, and even made some gains.

France, crushed by Hitler, saw portions of her country occupied by German soldiers. The French government, under Petain and Laval, was subservient to the wishes of its German master, but a vast number



Charles W. Miller Studio from Life Magazine.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

of the French people remained hostile to Germany. Under the leadership of DeGaulle and under the banner of Free France many Frenchmen bid defiance to the conqueror. Our government urged France to continue

to oppose Hitler and to join the United Nations in the fight for the freedom of the world.

With Winston Churchill at the helm as Prime Minister, Britain stood adamant against the Nazis, but for many months suffered terrible blows from German air raids. By the beginning of 1942, however, she had so strengthened her air forces, thanks in part to our "lend-lease" aid, that she was able to take the offensive. Berlin and other German cities then experienced the same awful destruction that the Nazis had inflicted on London.

Realizing that Nazism must not be allowed to spread over the world and wipe out democracy from the face of the earth, President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill drew up, in 1941, at personal meetings on battle-ships at sea, the famous Atlantic Charter—America and Britain would fight to preserve freedom and carry it to oppressed peoples. They stated the Allied war aims in terms of President Roosevelt's famous freedoms—political, religious, and economic—the right of peoples to live their lives in their own way, free from want and fear and oppression.

In Africa. Germany hoped to move eastward through northern Africa, take possession of Egypt, and thus cut Britain's sea route to India. To accomplish this, General Erwin Rommel was sent to Africa, where his German and Italian forces met those of the British, under Generals Sir Archibald Wavell and Sir Claude Auchinleck and fought desperate seesaw battles over the sands of Libya. While the Nazi forces were generally successful, they were not able to obtain their objective, and British commerce continued to move through the Red Sea.

Our people make adjustments to war needs. Not many weeks after we entered the war our people began to realize that numerous adjustments would have to be made in our democratic way of life. Shops and factories that had been engaged in the manufacture of peacetime goods—automobiles, electric refrigerators, typewriters, bathtubs, washing machines, electrical appliances, agricultural tools and machinery—began to turn out ammunition, guns, tanks, planes. In order to secure needed supplies of war materials, the government began to prohibit the manufacture of hundreds of commonplace articles, to limit the sale of others, and to ration still others, such as automobile tires, sugar, and gasoline.

To prevent inflation, ceilings were placed on the price of manufactured goods and farm products. To raise the huge sums of money necessary to finance the war, old taxes were increased and new and different ones imposed. Our citizens were urged to buy and keep on buy-

ing United States War Savings Bonds and Stamps to the limit of their ability. The amount of money that the government was compelled to spend for war purposes was staggering, having reached, by the middle of 1942, the stupendous sum of \$1,000,000,000 a week.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Adams, *Our Business Civilization*; Beard and Smith, *The Future Comes: A Study of the New Deal*; Beck, *Our Wonderland of Bureaucracy*; Chase, *The Tragedy of Waste*; Crowther, *America Self-contained*; Ernst, *America's Primer*; Landis, *The Third American Revolution*, MacDonald, *The Menace of Recovery: What the New Deal Means*; Moley, *Aspects of the Depression*; Redfield, *Dependent America*; Roosevelt, *Looking Forward*; Seligman, *The Economics of Farm Relief*; Simonds, *Can America Stay at Home?*; Warren, *The Agricultural Situation*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Greenan, *Readings in American Citizenship*, ch. 22; Hart, *Contemporaries*, V, nos. 71, 208; Johnson, *The Blue Eagle, from Egg to Earth*; Lapp, *The First Chapter of the New Deal*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why did President Roosevelt declare a bank holiday? 2. Why did Congress grant the President so many powers? 3. What did the "New Deal" hope to achieve? 4. Why did Roosevelt seek the aid of specialists? 5. How do you account for the unrest and disorder throughout the country? 6. Why were the farmers in such a sad plight? 7. Why did the debtor class demand "cheap money"? 8. Why did Roosevelt wish to increase commodity prices? 9. What was the purpose of the world economic conference? 10. What were Roosevelt's views on the international stabilization of the currency? 11. Why did we go off the gold standard? 12. Tell of our development of Muscle Shoals. 13. How did the NRA attempt to control cut-throat competition? 14. Why were industries asked to draft fair codes of competition? 15. Describe the activities of General Hugh Johnson as head of the NRA. 16. What are the effects of the devaluation of the dollar? 17. What was the Supreme Court's decision on the gold clause?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

I. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The bank holiday, powers granted to the President by Congress, the demand for "cheap money," the world economic conference, the attempts to stabilize the currency, going off the gold standard, development of Muscle Shoals, drafting of the codes, devaluation of the dollar, increase of government debts.

2. PROJECT: In this topic is given a list of twenty-seven agencies created for the purpose of fighting the depression. Make a brief statement of the particular work of the most important of these agencies.
3. PROBLEM: How do you account for the present condition of the farmers of our country?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the NRA was beneficial in bringing about recovery.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The objectives of the New Deal.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you were the president of one of our large banking institutions during 1933. You watched closely the heavy drain of the bank's money by the depositors. Write a letter to your senator describing the situation.
7. DIARY: You were the head of a large business concern and watched daily with great alarm the cut-throat methods of your competitors. You kept notes on the situation. Read some of your notes to your classmates.
8. DATES TO IDENTIFY: March 4, 1933; January 31, 1934; February, 1935.
9. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: "Money changers," bank holiday, "New Deal," "Brain Trust," stable dollar, economic nationalism, commodity prices, "commodity dollar," the NRA, cut-throat competition, code of fair competition, blanket code, "Blue Eagle," devaluing the dollar.
10. MAP WORK: Give a map talk showing how the drop in the prices of raw materials in the various countries of the world seriously affected those countries.
11. GRAPH WORK: In some graphic way show the effect on wages and prices when the currency is inflated or deflated.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE NEW DEAL: Adams, *Our Economic Revolution*; Ayers, *The Economics of Recovery*; Barnes, *Money Changers versus the New Deal*; Frederick, *A Primer of "New Deal" Economics*; Soule, *New American Revolution*.

UNIT VI

UNIT VI tells the story of the West. It portrays the life of the early pioneer—his love of freedom, his individualism, his democracy. In the story of the westward movement you see how expansion brought conflict—conflict with the Indians, with Mexico, with England. You are told how Texas became one of our states and how the admission of Texas brought on a war with Mexico. As a result of this war we add a mighty domain of territory to our Union, but at the same time we bring forth the slavery question which is to rend the Union. Not only will you see our expansion southwestwardly but you will know how the question of the Northwest was settled.

You will follow with interest the development of this great West and see the influence it has had on our life, character, and attitudes.



From a photograph by Arthur Griffin from Pictures, Inc.

TO COMMEMORATE THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE JOURNEY MADE BY SOME MASSACHUSETTS PIONEERS IN 1787 TO THE NORTHWEST COUNTRY, THIS GROUP MADE THE SAME TRIP BY COVERED WAGON, DRESSED AS WERE THE ORIGINAL SETTLERS

UNIT VI

HOW THE DEVELOPING WEST HAS INFLUENCED OUR LIFE, CHARACTER, AND ATTITUDE

TOPIC I

EARLY PIONEER LIFE

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the influence the frontier has had on American life.
2. To set forth the significance of the westward movement.

1. The Frontier and the Frontier Spirit

Many Americans are influenced by frontier life. When the first settlers left England, they left behind them an old country. Generations upon generations had there added their bits to the comfort and culture of the nation. There were well-tilled fields, homes, inns, churches, roads, towns, an ordered society into which each had fitted. When they reached America, there was nothing of all this—only the forest with occasional openings, the Indians, wild animals, and the small supplies of food and other things they had brought. We call the place where such a start all over again, far from civilization, has to be made, a “frontier.” If the settlement grows and prospers, it soon becomes a settled community and loses its frontier quality.

The reason why the frontier has been such an important influence in American life is that for nearly 300 years, as we spread over the continent, there was always an important frontier, or many frontiers. So we did not soon pass from the frontier stage but were kept subject to its influence for all that time.

Many kinds of people are found on the frontier. As the frontier receded farther from the coast, it was usually settled by three successive waves of people. First would go out the adventurers, the hunters, Indian traders, the men of all sorts who wanted the freedom of a wild life. Then came a more substantial sort who wanted more

permanent homes and farms. Third came, in much larger numbers, those who brought churches, schools, built towns, and turned the "frontier" into "old settlement." The pioneers were of all sorts. Some were shiftless and lazy, and merely wanted to get away from a society into which they did not fit. Vast numbers were courageous men and women



© Bryant Baker

THE PIONEER WOMAN, BY BRYANT BAKER
IN PONCA CITY, OKLAHOMA

who went through heart-breaking hardships to build homes and improve their position.

The frontiersman is independent and democratic. These hardships brought about what we call the frontier spirit, which is made of many different qualities. It is, for one thing, essentially democratic. Wealth and pedigree count for nothing when the chief job may be getting land ready for farming, building shelter, finding food in a wilderness, or fighting Indians. Independence is another quality. The man and wife who have won a home with infinite hardship are not going to be interfered with too much by distant governments or capitalists. Optimism and faith are other qualities. To a great extent frontiers are

peopled by the young, strong, and hopeful. It takes courage to face the toil and danger, and, though many turn back, those who stay dream of the future. Self-confidence is another quality, bred of having to depend on yourself or a neighbor much like yourself.

*** The frontier makes for localism.** On the other hand, the frontier is apt to develop a narrow life. Success largely depends on physical courage, dogged perseverance, a knack of doing things with the hands rather than higher intellectual abilities. A man on the frontier who does not devote himself wholly to the pressing needs of the moment

is likely to be a failure. We admire success and condemn failure, and so the frontier tends to breed, in spite of its frequent idealism, a mistrust of the cultured man as contrasted with the ready Jack-of-all-trades. The daily problems are small and local but utterly absorbing. Among persons who live narrow lives in small communities or anywhere else, the one who by local standards does so successfully is apt to believe he is equally able to solve all problems of any sort.

The frontier makes for sociability. The frontier has left deep traces on our character and outlook. We may mention one or two examples. Of all races none loves privacy more than the English. An Englishman prefers not to talk to strangers and likes to live his own life behind drawn curtains or a walled garden. The American, even of English descent, has developed just the opposite traits. The reason is to be found in the almost killing loneliness of the frontier. This loneliness of the isolated farm or the maddening monotony of the ranch on the bosom of a large prairie has made the American on every frontier for three centuries welcome the stranger and look for anything rather than privacy.

As another example we may take the American phrase "bigger and better." Though it is clearly no longer true, on the frontier bigger *was* usually better. As the clearing grew to a village and then a town it meant a better life for all—society instead of utter loneliness, a school, a church, perhaps a doctor, better homes, shops, and a wider market. There comes a point when bigger is no longer better, but for the millions of Americans who went through the frontier experience the mere fact of growth came to hold out promise of all good things in the future.

2. *The Westward Movement*

The westward movement begins. The War for Independence from England wrought one immense change more momentous than any other save the fact of independence itself. That was the opening of what was then "the West." The old Proclamation Line of 1763, which the British had hoped would keep us from too rapid expansion and Indian complications, had vanished. Even before the war its uselessness had become partially manifest. It could cause irritation but it could not prevent all emigration any more than the imaginary line of the equator affects the waves that flow across it.

In 1769 pioneers had founded a small settlement on the Watauga in Tennessee. The picturesque Daniel Boone had been several times

across the mountains when, with a group of settlers, he built a fort and established Boonesboro, Kentucky, in 1775. The following year Kentucky was made a county of Virginia. Gradually both Kentucky and Tennessee saw the pouring in of what may be considered our first great western movement, hordes of settlers tramping over the mountains through Cumberland Gap and other passes from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas.

At the same time to the North other pioneers were advancing along the easier route, where no mountains intervened, into Western New York, Northern Pennsylvania, and Northern Ohio. This migration was extensive right after the Revolution. These settlers, many from New England, were able to keep closer touch with the East and made a sort of link between East and West.

A great new West lies "over the mountains." The boundaries and claims of the old colonies were vague, and the words "over the mountains" had deep significance from the earliest days of colonization. Restless, discontented, poor, and ambitious spirits had always been moving from older to new settlements farther out. There had been, as we have seen, jealousies and grievances on the part of new settlements against old. But this new frontier, "over the mountains," was isolated from the Eastern states as none of the old "frontiers" had been. The old frontiers had been merely rougher and rougher fringes on the advancing edges of a society that was based on the seaboard settlement.

The new frontier "over the mountains," with the enormous difficulties of transport, no longer looked to the eastward ocean ports but westward to the Mississippi. As the pioneers came through the passes or gaps in the mountains, the magnificent valley 1000 miles wide of the Father of Waters lay before them. Here was a vast empire to be conquered, the outlet of which was not by way of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or Charleston, but by way of the great river, Spanish New Orleans, and the Gulf. The interminable forests, infested with Indians, covered "the dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky and stretched away to where Spanish America lay across the river, or down to the swamps and bayous of Louisiana.

The pioneers who had crossed the mountains before the war had been but the vanguard of the masses to follow. By 1790 there were probably about 150,000 people living in the land that looked westward. There had been land companies formed, and men like Richard Henderson, one of the greatest of our land speculators, had tried to

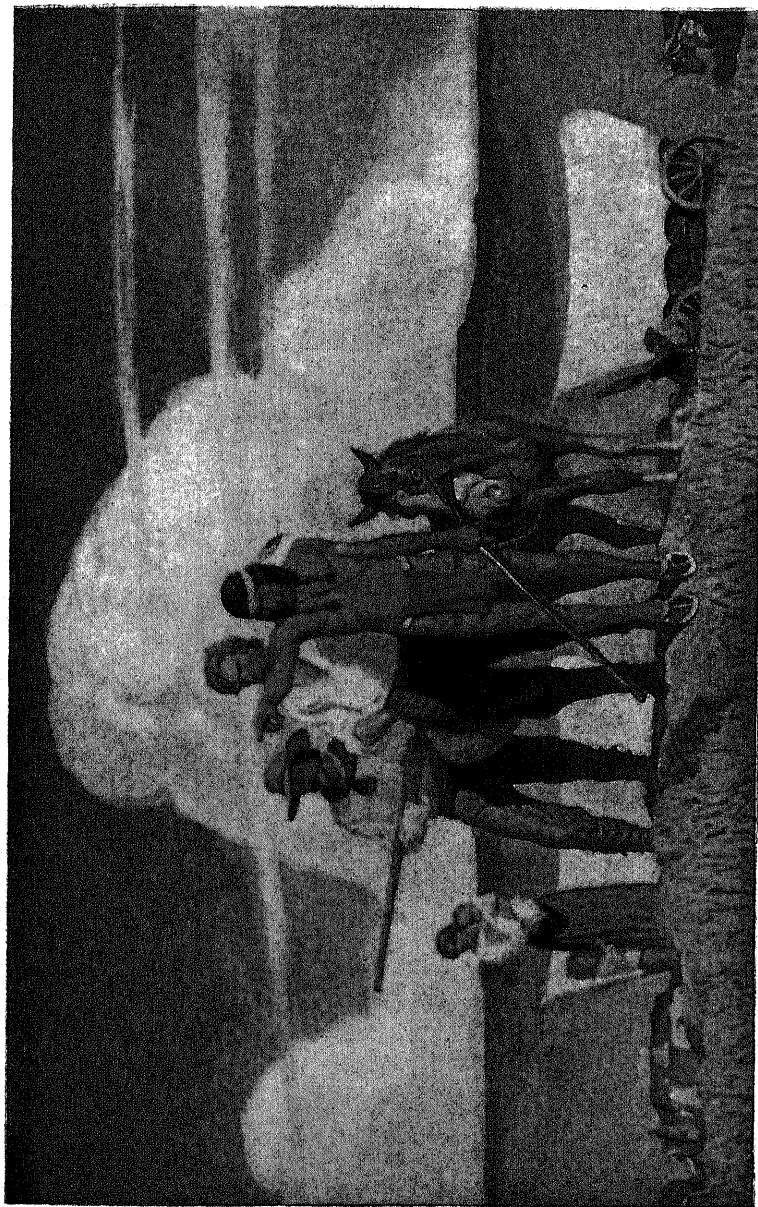
build new states. But for the most part the movement was one of individuals and families, who governed and defended themselves.

All the original thirteen states have an interest in the West. In one year, 1788, over 18,000 men, women, and children went down



LAND CLAIMS OF THE THIRTEEN STATES

the Ohio on rafts, and perhaps an equal number tramped over the southern passes. Various state organizations were proposed,—Transylvania, Westsylvania, Franklin—but these came to nought in the uncertainty as to ownership of the territory under the conflicting claims of the older Eastern states which they derived from their colonial charters. These claims on the part of some states also made for jealousy among the others. Maryland, fearing Virginia's enormous western domain, refused



THE PIONEERS—THE OPENING OF THE PRAIRIES

From a painting by N. C. Wyeth

to sign the Articles of Confederation which aimed at a closer and more effective union, unless the states with western claims should cede them to the Confederation for the common good. In 1780 and 1781, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and, in part, Virginia consented to do so.

So when the treaty of peace was signed in 1783, it was the *United* States and not the *several* ones that became the sovereign of the West north of the Ohio. The new states later to be created there thus had a national origin and never looked to colonial charters as the basis of their liberties. The southern section of the West also passed to the Federal Government a few years later.

The West is both national and sectional. The West was to be national in another sense. The immigrants who so rapidly poured into it came from all the colonies, and commingled as did none of the populations "back East." A Connecticut Yankee and a South Carolinian clearing the forest in adjoining patches felt themselves closely united as Americans and Westerners, and the old provincial jealousies of the East were largely sloughed off. On the other hand, the mountain barrier and the geographical unity of the great valley and river tended toward a new sectionalism. The Westerners came to feel a corresponding unity in their interests as contrasted or even conflicting with those of both northern and southern sections in the East.

3. How Organized Government Began in the West

Congress surveys and sells the western lands. Meanwhile, the old Congress under the Articles of Confederation had been engaged in momentous legislation, ending what was to prove its final session with one of the most statesmanlike measures which has ever been enacted. The members had been struggling with the problem of the western lands for many years.

In 1785 they had passed an ordinance providing for a survey and the division of the territory into townships six miles square, made up of 36 sections of 640 acres each. One section in each township was reserved for a school fund and four for the Federal Government. Believing that the land should be made a source of revenue, it was arranged that it should be sold at not less than one dollar an acre. This had proved too costly for most pioneers but speculators, such as those forming the Ohio Company, had purchased tracts as large as one and one-half million acres. The price for such wholesale transactions was reduced by the government, and the companies had undertaken to plant settlers.

Rapid development, however, called for administration. In July, 1787, while the Federal Convention was sweltering in Philadelphia over a new organic law for the nation, the old Congress was also drafting one for the Northwest Territory, which included the lands north of the Ohio River.

The Ordinance of 1787 governs the Northwest Territory. This "Ordinance of 1787," passed in New York on the 13th, organized the Northwest into a district to be administered by a governor and judges appointed by Congress. But it provided that, when it should have 5000 free male inhabitants over twenty years of age, they could elect a legislature of their own, and send a delegate, without vote, to Congress.

The territorial government thus provided for followed somewhat closely the old colonial governments as devised by England. It was to have a popularly elected assembly as the lower House of the legislature. But the governor was to be appointed by Congress, which body also made selection of the councillors, or members of the upper House, from names submitted by the lower.

The whole territory was eventually to be cut into not less than three or more than five states. When any one had a population of 60,000 it was to be admitted to the Union, "on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever," except that slavery was forever forbidden. The way was thus wisely opened for an expansion of our own people westward with no permanent loss of political rights. There was soon to be partial, then full, self-government. Thus the easy transition from wilderness through territorial government to full statehood was made possible by the old Confederation, which had otherwise been growing weaker and less competent each year. The plan solved our continental problem extremely well as we moved westward, until the original states became forty-eight and their citizens had come to share the benefits and responsibilities of the Federal Government from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

We have not yet solved our colonial problems. The wisdom of the measure has deserved all the praise bestowed upon it, but it is only fair to point out that it was not a general solution of the "colonial problem." So long as any portion of our national domain has remained in a territorial or dependent status, as Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippines, or Porto Rico, we have found ourselves forced to govern it much as England governed her colonies in the eighteenth century.

We have declined, as England did, to accord complete self-govern-

ment, have appointed officials, legislated for and even taxed the inhabitants without their consent, and done many if not most of the things for which we so heavily blamed England. The fact is that the colonial problem, like that of racial or other minorities, has not yet found a theoretically perfect solution at the hands of any government. As in many situations in life when seemingly legitimate interests of different groups conflict, the best that can be hoped for is a moderately satisfactory working compromise.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Bogart, *Economic History*, ch. 14; Bruce, *Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Road*, chs. 4-9; Bruce, *The Romance of American Expansion*, ch. 1; Coman, *Industrial History*, 156-174; Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, ch. 2; Faris, *On the Trail of the Pioneers*, ch. 1; Forbes-Lindsay, *Daniel Boone, Backwoodsman*, chs. 2-5; Hackett, *Political and Social History of the United States*; Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies*; Laut, *Pathfinder of the West*, ch. 11; Laut, *The Blazed Trail of the Old Frontier*; Ogg, *The Old Northwest*; Schafer, *History of the Pacific Northwest*, ch. 6; Skinner, *Adventures of Oregon*; Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest*; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, chs. 8-14.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, nos. 31-36; Hill, *Liberty Documents*, ch. 20.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Butterworth, *In the Boyhood of Lincoln*; Churchill, *The Crossing*; Cooper, *Pioneers*; Roberts, *The Great Meadow*; Vannest, *Lincoln, the Hoosier: Lincoln's Life in Indiana*; Wallington, *American History by American Poets*, I, 289, 293-294.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How has it been possible for the frontier to influence the lives of so many Americans? 2. What kinds of people were found on the frontier? 3. How did the frontier make for independence and democracy? For localism? For simplicity? 4. Describe the beginning of the westward movement. 5. What was meant by the phrase "over the mountains"? 6. How did all the original thirteen states have an interest in the West? 7. How was the West both sectional and national? 8. What was the Ordinance of 1787? 9. Show that we have not yet solved our colonial problems.

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

I. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The influence of the frontier, beginning of the westward movement, The Proclamation Line of 1763, survey of the western lands, the Ordinance of 1787.

2. PROJECT: Dramatize some exciting scene that occurred in the western movement "over the mountains."
3. PROBLEM: How do you account for the marked influence that the frontier has had on American life, character, and attitudes?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the early frontier was more sectional than national.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The Ordinance of 1787.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you were one of the early pioneers of the West. Write a letter to a relative "back East" of your daily life in your new home.
7. DIARY: You were one of the pioneers with Daniel Boone and helped to establish Boonesboro. You kept a record of many of the exciting scenes that you witnessed on the frontier. Read to your class some of the extracts of your diary.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Daniel Boone, Richard Henderson.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1763, 1775, 1783, 1787.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: "Frontier," "old settlement," Jack-of-all-trades, the new West "over the mountains," "back East."
11. MAP WORK: *a.* Draw an outline map of the eastern part of our country and locate on it the following: the Proclamation Line of 1763, the Watauga, Boonesboro, Cumberland Gap, the Ohio. *b.* Give a map talk pointing out how it is that we have had many "frontiers" and many "Wests."
12. GRAPH WORK: Show in some graphic way the influence of the West on American life.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS UNDER THE CONFEDERATION: Hill, *Liberty Documents*, ch. 16; Hinsdale, *Old Northwest*, chs. 9-14; McLaughlin, *Confederation and Constitution*, chs. 7-8; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, III ch. 6; Winsor, *Westward Movement*, 198-200, 257-270, 280-290.
2. WESTERN LAND POLICY: *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 16, 40; Semple, *American History and Its Geographic Conditions*, ch. 5; Sparks, *United States*, I, ch. 3; Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, chs. 10-13; Winsor, *Westward Movement*, chs. 8-16.
3. SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST, 1789-1820: Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, IV, chs. 3, 5; Semple, *American History and Its Geographic Conditions*, ch. 9; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*; Turner, *New West*, chs. 5-7; Winsor, *Westward Movement*, chs. 18, 22.

TOPIC II

WE ROUND OUT OUR TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES TO THE PACIFIC

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the real significance of the Louisiana Purchase.
2. To see how the annexation of Texas helped to bring on a war with Mexico.
3. To know the causes and outcomes of the Mexican War.
4. To understand how our northwestern boundary was determined.
5. To see how expansion brought conflict.

1. *The Louisiana Purchase*

We lose our right of deposit at New Orleans. In our westward movement the first territory acquired was Louisiana.

This territory, roughly between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, and between the Rio Grande and the Canadian boundary, had been ceded by France to Spain in 1763. The southeastern part included both banks of the river and a strip of the Gulf coast. By our treaty with Spain in 1795 we had been granted, for three years, the right of navigation and of deposit at New Orleans, that is of landing goods at that port without payment of any charges while being transhipped. Commerce increased rapidly in the West after the river had thus definitely been opened to us. The Westerners took it for granted that the rights would not be revoked, and in fact after the treaty expired Spain did nothing to alter the situation until 1802

In the summer of that year the Spanish governor at New Orleans received orders to withdraw the right of deposit. The West felt that a hand had suddenly grasped its throat and was about to throttle it. There was a wave of indignation in the whole section, none too tightly bound to the East in any case

Our country does not want Napoleon to hold Louisiana. Jefferson fully realized the need for action and for making the West believe its rights and interests would be defended by the Federal Government, but declined to be hurried. The Federalists, who never had much love for the West but who were anxious to cause Jefferson

trouble, immediately clamored for war with France. For, though the Mississippi had been closed by Spain, that nation had secretly ceded Louisiana back to France two years before.

Napoleon was dreaming of re-establishing France both in the Far East and in America. He had secured Louisiana by offering the king and queen of Spain an Italian kingdom to be carved out of Tuscany. Some months after the deal was consummated, Jefferson heard of it. The sailing of Napoleon's brother-in-law with troops for the conquest of Santo Domingo in November, 1801, threw a lurid light on the possibilities if Napoleon were to try to extend his power to North America, come into possession of both banks of the Mississippi at its mouth, and secure a territory, which would block us on our entire western boundary. Spain was a comparatively peaceful neighbor and a declining power. To substitute for her the power that under an ambitious dictator was setting civilization ablaze was a very serious danger.

Jefferson sets to work to prevent Napoleon from keeping Louisiana. While the Federalists were doing their best to force a war, Jefferson went quietly to work. He faced the possibility of war as a last resort, and more than hinted at it to the French minister. He also wrote his famous despatch to our minister, Livingston, in Paris. In that he announced that the day on which France should take possession of New Orleans we would have "to marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation," and in concert with them hold all of the two American continents for the common purposes of Britain and the United States.

Jefferson's message to Congress in December, 1802, however, was peaceful in tenor, though the news of the withdrawal by Spain of the right of deposit had reached us only a few weeks earlier. The President contented himself with mildly suggesting that if the rumored transfer to France should take place it would cause a change in our foreign relations.

The next month, January, 1803, he secured the appropriation by Congress of \$2,000,000 to be used "in relation to the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations." The same day he nominated James Monroe to be minister extraordinary to France, explaining in a letter to him that the Federalists were trying to force the nation into war and, failing that, to win the votes of the West for the election of the next year. In April Monroe reached Paris.

Napoleon changes his mind about a colonial empire in America. Meanwhile much had been happening in Europe. War between Eng-

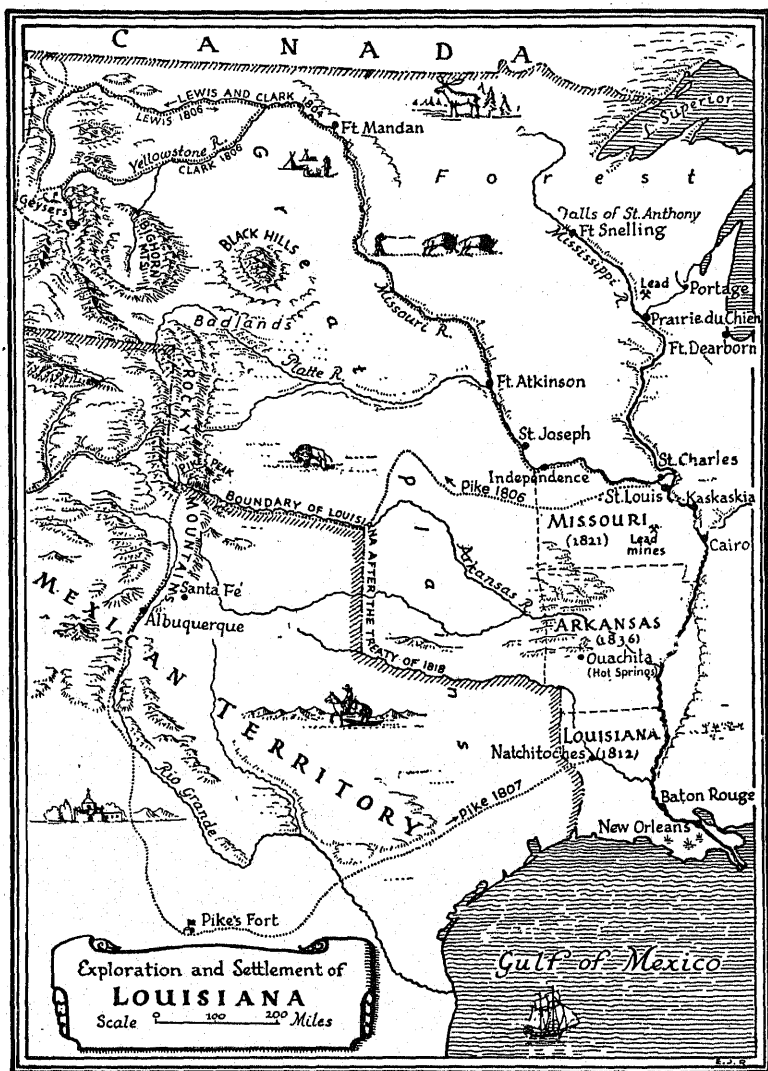
land and France had come to a temporary end with the Treaty of Amiens in March, 1802, and Napoleon's attempt to conquer Santo Domingo had ended in disaster. War and, more especially, yellow fever had reduced the number of French troops from 28,000 to 4000 and General Leclerc himself had died. The negro patriot, Toussaint l'Ouverture, was successfully defying Napoleon, who was also chafing from loss of prestige from the state of peace in Europe. In 1803, England and France were again at war. The emperor, sick of his plan of colonial expansion, made one of his sudden changes in policy, and decided to seek new laurels on battlefields nearer home. He now had no wish to send more troops to Santo Domingo or to have the United States throw its weight on the side of the enemy and seize Louisiana as a spoil of war.

Jefferson gives instructions to our representatives to France.

Jefferson had instructed Monroe and Livingston to negotiate for the purchase, for not more than 50,000,000 francs, of New Orleans and the two Floridas. This would give us the Gulf coast along our South, and the control of the outlet of the great river. If they could not make this deal they were to offer about 37,000,000 francs for New Orleans alone. If they could make no purchase they were to insist upon a perpetual guarantee of right of navigation and deposit. If even that could not be obtained, they were at once to negotiate with England with a view to joining her in war on France.

Livingston had begun negotiations before Monroe arrived but Napoleon had not matured his policy. Suddenly he did so. He needed money for war. He no longer wanted Louisiana, then, of course, not merely the present state of that name, but a huge extent of territory west of the Mississippi. He decided to sell the whole thing if he could, and raise cash. When Livingston suggested again that we buy New Orleans, he was startled to have Napoleon's foreign minister, Talleyrand, ask him suddenly what the United States would pay for the whole of Louisiana. Monroe arrived in a day or two and although the envoys had no instructions to make any such stupendous bargain, they did not hesitate. After a week or two of haggling over terms, they signed the papers on April 30, 1803, which gave us the whole of the territory for approximately \$15,000,000.

We double the size of our country. We thus came into possession of the Mississippi from source to mouth. The area of the United States at a stroke of the pen increased from less than 900,000 square miles to over 1,800,000. So well had Gallatin handled the



national finances that when called upon to make payment he could do so without asking Congress for a cent. Napoleon did not have a shadow of right to sell Louisiana and broke faith to do so for he had given a pledge to Spain that he would not do so. However, Spain, having no other course to pursue against him, acknowledged the transfer, and at New Orleans in November handed over the province to the French, who, in turn, transferred it to us in December.

Its boundaries were vague. Even Texas was thought to be included. Various interpretations of old records and treaties could make it include west Florida also. Its northern limit was equally indefinite. But there was no question of the magnitude of the step America had taken.

Jefferson "does a little wrong to do a great right." Jefferson, however, was staggered and put in an extremely awkward situation. The purchase of New Orleans or of a bit of the Gulf coast might be considered as a mere rectification of our boundaries under the Constitution. But to double the size of the nation, to create a domain from which enough new states could be carved to upset completely the balance of the old, could not by any stretch of logic be made to fit the strict-construction theory of the Constitution which Jefferson and the Republicans had insisted upon.

On the other hand, apart from the immense addition to our territory, the advantages of securing the whole of the Mississippi, of being forever relieved from the danger of a foreign nation to the west of us, and of freeing ourselves from innumerable possibilities of being entangled with Europe in all its conflicts were so great as to admit no denial.

All this Jefferson realized, and submitted the treaty with France to the Senate which confirmed it. He believed the nation would sustain him and later pass an amendment to the Constitution legalizing what had been done. It cannot be claimed that he was inconsistent, and he frankly declared that if, as was suggested to him, he could consummate the deal under the "general welfare" clause there was then no Constitution at all.

The nation, however, was less bothered with scruples, and the amendments Jefferson wished were never passed. With negligible exceptions the people acquiesced and hurrahed, although the New England Federalists grumbled furiously at such a complete shift in the balance of sectional power as they foresaw in the future.

We explore our new possessions. Jefferson had always been interested in the vast territory west of the Mississippi River. Upon his

election to the Presidency he planned to send an expedition to secure more accurate accounts of this vast area and, if possible, to establish friendly relations with the Indians. After our purchase of Louisiana, Jefferson was more anxious than ever to have this land explored. He chose one of his secretaries, Meriwether Lewis, to head the expedition and Lewis selected William Clark as his associate. The expedition of about forty men started from St. Louis in the spring of 1804. It ascended the Missouri River and wintered near Bismarck, North Dakota, where Lewis met Sacajawea, the Indian "Bird Woman" who agreed to act as guide. In the early spring of 1805 Lewis and Clark renewed their journey. They followed the Missouri and Snake Rivers and in November of that year reached the mouth of the Columbia River which Captain Gray had discovered thirteen years before. The expedition returned the next spring. The discoveries made by Lewis and Clark gave us important claims to the Oregon country.

At the time that Lewis and Clark were exploring the far Northwest, Zebulon Pike explored the headwaters of the Mississippi, 1805, and the next year the vast territory of the Southwest. He reached the Rocky Mountains as is attested by a famous peak that bears his name. The exploits of Lewis and Clark and Pike appealed to the Americans and turned their attention to the ownership and occupancy of the West.

2. The Annexation of Texas

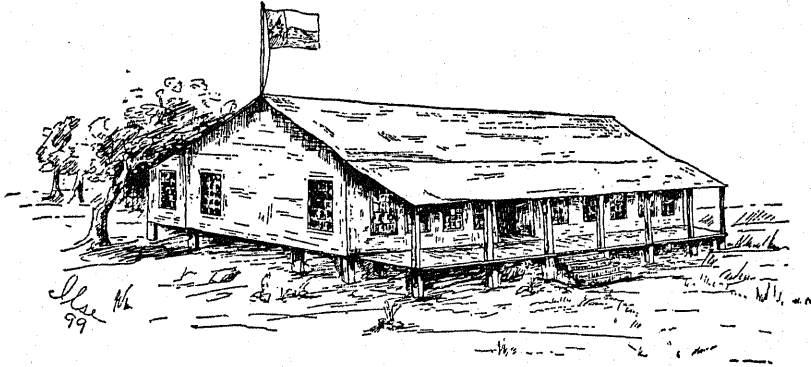
The question of the annexation of Texas brings up slavery issue. After the purchase of Louisiana, our next acquisition of territory was the purchase of Florida from Spain in 1819, followed a generation later by the acquisition of Texas.

Upon the death of William Henry Harrison, Vice-President John Tyler became President. Tyler had never really been a Whig and was soon at odds with the Whig leaders, especially with Henry Clay. As a result of this quarrel there was little prospect of accomplishing much by legislation and Tyler's administration was unimpressive.

As far as political matters are concerned, the chief claims to remembrance of the Tyler presidency were in foreign relations, which throughout the entire decade from 1840 to 1850 were to loom large. On Tyler's accession to office, relations with England were already delicate at several points, and within the next year or two were to become dangerously involved. In the South, the new nation of Texas,

whose independence had never been acknowledged by its parent state, Mexico, had been endeavoring to have itself annexed to the United States. Thus far, this had been prevented mainly by the fact that if Texas came into the Union it would have to be as a slave state.

Many of the Northerners were already beginning to believe that the whole Texas revolution and subsequent request for annexation had been merely a scheme on the part of the South to extend the slave section of the country. With the increasing tension between North



THE FIRST CAPITOL BUILT BY THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS

and South the question of annexation was involved with that of slavery and the balance of power between free and slave sections.

We begin to fear England's influence in Texas. On the other hand, some of the European nations, notably England, had, like ourselves, recognized the independence of the "Lone Star" Republic. Early in Tyler's administration suspicions were aroused that England was trying to gain a stronger hold over our new neighbor than we could sanction. It would obviously have been to England's advantage to have a great cotton-producing country independent of us which she could to some extent play off against the considerable monopoly of our South.

England, however, was pledged to human freedom, and it was rumored by 1843 that she was negotiating with Texas to make a sufficient loan to her to indemnify the slave owners if the slaves should be freed, and trying to influence Mexico to acknowledge the independence of the "Lone Star" state.

England had not gone as far as rumor had credited her with having

gone. But there were clearly dangers in having any European nation gain such a control over the policies of so vast a state on our south-western border. The mounting American optimism of the times, our irresistible desire for expansion, and the growing belief in the future greatness of the nation, all made us refuse to accept the permanent blocking of our road to the Pacific, directly westward from any part of our domain. The sectional forces for the time being were preventing annexation. But the expansive forces equally prevented our permitting the development of a European influence in Texas which might become predominant. The problem was not to be solved until the very last month of Tyler's term. But during all of it, it formed part of the background of our relations with England.

We have serious misunderstandings with England over the McLeod affair. In that background was a situation that involved the peculiar federal relations of our sovereign states and nearly involved us in war with England in Tyler's first year. During the revolt in Canada in 1837, its leader, Mackenzie, had won recruits and received aid from Americans across the New York border, just as Texas had on a larger scale when rebelling against Mexico, and as Cuba did on several occasions. There was no doubt that we were lax in enforcing neutrality and in preventing our citizens from embroiling us in situations with which we had nothing to do. Late in the year 1837, under cover of the night, a force of loyal Canadians crossed the Niagara River in a rowboat, and burned a small vessel, the *Caroline*, which was used by the Americans to ferry supplies and aid across to the rebels.

The question at once arose as to whether these Canadians had been merely private persons or had been acting under official orders of the British or Canadian Governments. Unfortunately, Lord Palmerston, an extremely difficult Englishman to deal with, was head of the foreign office. We had made no progress in our diplomatic negotiations over the incident when it was suddenly complicated. In 1840, a Canadian named McLeod boasted that he had been one of the party which had burned the *Caroline*, and that he had himself killed one of her crew.

McLeod was arrested on a charge of murder, whereupon Palmerston at once admitted that the party had been acting under official orders when the *Caroline* was destroyed. In his usual blustering fashion, he stated that if McLeod were found guilty and hanged, the execution would be followed by immediate war with England. Tyler and Webster tried to adjust the matter with Governor Seward of New York,

who, as touchy and assertive as Palmerston himself, declined to allow the course of justice in his state to be dictated by a British foreign minister. Fortunately McLeod, who appears to have been only boastfully lying when intoxicated, was acquitted on trial, and peace was preserved between the two nations.

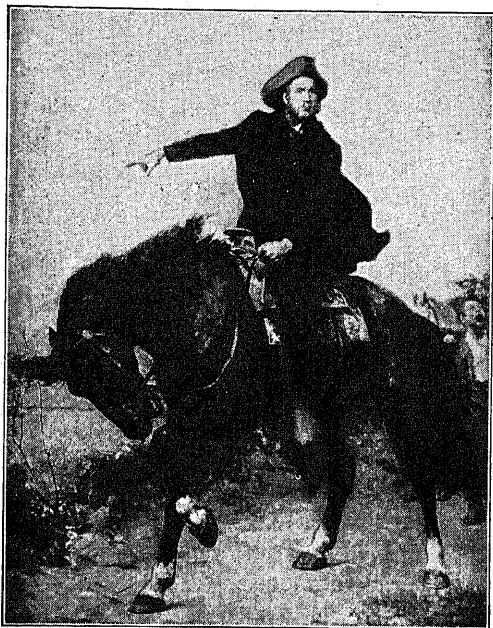
We settle the northeastern boundary line question with England. There was yet more, however, in the background of our relations, which it was high time should be cleared up. The Oregon boundary was still unsettled, but both parties were willing to allow that question to lie a bit longer. The boundary between Maine and Canada was also unsettled. It was a much more serious source of danger, owing to clashes between those living in or near the disputed strip.

In 1841 the cactus-like Palmerston had been succeeded, on a change of ministry, by Lord Aberdeen, who was anxious to adjust matters in dispute. Lord Ashburton was despatched to Washington to negotiate with Webster who was then Secretary of State, and as both sides were conciliatory, a compromise line was agreed upon, 1842. Neither the state of Maine, however, nor the Senate in Washington was in a mood to compromise with the British. On the other hand, Parliament had no desire to give up territory to the Americans.

By one of the most curious and happy coincidences in diplomatic history, two maps came to light, one in each country. Both the maps had the Maine boundary drawn in red and each was presumed by the respective finders to have been the one so described that was used at the treaty negotiations in 1783. The one which turned up in America gave so much more territory to the British than they had claimed, that Maine and the Senate were glad to get off with what the new treaty negotiated by Ashburton gave us. The one which appeared from the British Museum, not known to Ashburton when negotiating nor to the public until 1896, so supported our original claim that Parliament was similarly silenced. With McLeod safely out of jail and with our northern boundary definitely settled as far west as the Lake of the Woods, the two nations could breathe easily again, although the questions of Texas and Oregon yet remained unsettled. Webster then retired from the Cabinet.

The Senate defeats a treaty for the annexation of Texas. In 1843 Tyler and his Secretary of State, Abel P. Upshur, both Virginians, were disturbed by rumors that England and France were flirting with Texas. Tyler suggested to Sam Houston, then President

of the Texan Republic, that it might be well to discuss possible annexation again. This suggestion Houston, then negotiating with England, treated coolly. Tyler pressed the point, and finally Houston agreed to treat with the United States, the negotiations continuing with Calhoun who had succeeded Upshur on the accidental death of the latter. In



SAM HOUSTON AT THE BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO IN 1836 DURING THE FIGHT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF TEXAS

From a portrait by S. S. Thomas in possession of the city of Houston, Texas

April, 1844, the two republics signed a treaty. By it the United States agreed to annex Texas and to assume her public debt up to the amount of \$10,000,000, the Federal Government becoming owner of all the public lands of the annexed state.

When the treaty was submitted to the Senate, the North was furious, claiming that the South was trying to extend slavery and to overturn the balance between the sections. On the other hand, the South claimed in turn that the North, from mere prejudice, was attempting to prevent the natural and necessary expansion of the whole nation. In the Senate, neither party wished to assume responsibility for ratification on the eve of

a presidential election, and the treaty was defeated. The North won.

The Texas question enters the political field. The election of 1844 was chiefly influenced by two of the strongest forces of the time, those of expansion and sectionalism. Tyler had become a man without a party. Although elected by the Whigs he had gone over to the Democrats, and he was out of the running as far as either major party was concerned. At the beginning of the year it seemed certain that the Democrats would nominate Martin Van Buren and the Whigs Henry Clay.

On being asked to take their stand on the burning question of Texas, however, both candidates met embarrassing situations. So far had sectionalism already entered into politics that Van Buren, "little Magician" as he was, could not oppose annexation without alienating the important Democracy of the South, or favor it without losing the North. He chose to oppose it, although offering to submit the question to Congress if Mexico should threaten Texas in such a way as to involve our interests. At once the South expressed its resentment, and Van Buren's candidacy became impossible. Although most of the Whig strength was in the North and West, Clay dodged the issue in such a way as to leave complete doubt as to where he did in reality stand.

Both party conventions were held in Baltimore in May. Although the Whigs unanimously nominated Clay, the Democrats were in a quandary. After taking many ballots, in which Van Buren steadily declined in strength, and his rival, Cass of Michigan, gained up to a certain point, it became evident that there was a deadlock. As a result of consultation during the night, the first "dark horse" of American national politics was suddenly brought forward in the morning. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, after one ballot, was unanimously chosen as the Democratic candidate. The country, bewildered, at once asked "Who is Polk?" He was, indeed, not entirely unknown. He had been Speaker of the House for a time and had received one electoral vote for Vice-President in 1840. But he had made no mark in public life, and the nation was ignorant as to what opinions he might hold.

The Democratic platform demands both Texas and Oregon. The opinions, however, were provided by the Democratic party platform which proclaimed that "our title to the whole territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power; and that the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period are great American measures, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union."

We had never officially claimed Oregon farther north than 49°; and England unquestionably had a good claim to part of the remaining territory. As for "re-annexing Texas," that phrase was based upon the assumption that we once held title to it, which is doubtful. It was hoped that the South could be won by the promise of Texas, and that the North would be placated by getting Oregon, while its sensibilities might be eased as to Texas by the suggestion that we were merely taking back what we had once owned.

Tyler, who had hoped for the Democratic nomination, was nominated by a separate party, but the movement was dead from the start and the candidate withdrew from the contest in August. Clay's weakness on the Texas question, however, had serious results in the appearance of a third party at the polls, the so-called Liberty party, which again nominated James G. Birney who had run in 1840. Backed by the abolitionists who refused to vote for Clay because of his stand, or lack of it, on Texas, the Liberty party polled over 62,000 votes and held the balance of power.

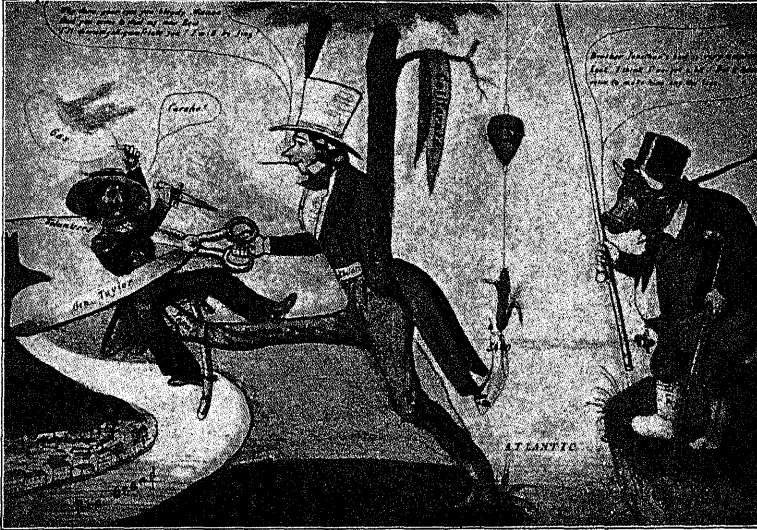
Texas becomes a state in the Union. That the election of Polk indicated the certain absorption of Texas was understood by Tyler, who at once proceeded to recommend to Congress in December immediate annexation by means of a joint resolution of the two Houses instead of a treaty. The former method required only a majority vote, whereas the ratification of a treaty would require the consent of two-thirds of the Senate. The resolution, which passed at once, provided that Texas should be made a state of the Union as soon as she had presented an acceptable constitution. The President could complete the process of annexation by negotiating with Texas or Mexico as he should deem fit.

The vote in the Senate had been close, twenty-seven to twenty-five, and some of the senators had been induced to vote in favor, as was claimed, only by assurance from Polk that Mexico would be honorably treated. Tyler, however, paid no attention to what may or may not have been a promise by his successor, and immediately sent a messenger to close the transaction with Texas. A few months after Polk became President, Texas, on December 29, 1845, was admitted as a state. Meanwhile, our annexation of a Mexican province, whose independence had never been acknowledged, was embroiling us with our southern neighbor.

3. *War with Mexico*

The Mexicans are unable to form a stable government. Since winning her freedom from Spain, Mexico had been in an unstable condition, politically and economically. The country with which we were soon to go to war had a white population of only about 1,000,000, or less than twice as many as there were in our city of New York. The remainder of her 7,000,000 were made up of 4,000,000 Indians and perhaps 2,000,000 half-breeds. Her territory at the time of gaining her independence included all of the present Mexico, and our present Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and California.

The problem of governing such a vast domain with such a population would have been extremely difficult in any case. But in addition the people, after winning their independence from Spain, were not at all ready for self-government. The result was a succession of revolutions. Foreign investors, however, insisted upon holding Mexico to the same standard of accountability as they would have the United



"UNCLE SAM'S TAYLORIFICS"

A cartoon showing Uncle Sam forcing Mexico back across the Rio Grande by means of General Taylor and his army. England is trying in vain to attract his attention to the Oregon Question. From the original by E. W. Clay.

States or England. The consequence was the piling up of the usual "claims" under such conditions.

In 1838 France had collected some of these for her citizens by force of arms. In 1839, after long negotiations, a treaty was signed providing that the claims of American citizens should be arbitrated. When the award was made, Mexico paid three instalments and then stopped.

Polk tries to settle peacefully disputed points with Mexico. Justin H. Smith, one of the few American historians who uncompromisingly defends our war with Mexico, points to this default as a breach of faith. Yet we may note that it occurred in the very year in which English bondholders were making bitter protests to our own

Secretary of State regarding the defaulted payments of some of our states. At that time our minister to Mexico, Wilson Shannon, was a blustering political stump speaker. His predecessor, Anthony Butler, is described by Smith as a "national disgrace," "shamefully careless about legation affairs . . . a bully and a swashbuckler . . . wholly unprincipled . . . and openly scandalous in his conduct."

Under such circumstances our relations with the Mexicans, who were proud and touchy, naturally went from bad to worse. There were plenty of grievances on both sides. When we annexed Texas, there was bound to be further trouble. In the summer of 1845 General Zachary Taylor was ordered to the Nueces River with troops, and orders were sent to Commodore Sloat in the Pacific to seize California as soon as war might come.

Meanwhile, hoping to get what he wanted without war, Polk sent John Slidell to Mexico with an offer of \$25,000,000 for California, \$5,000,000 for what was then called New Mexico, and our agreement to assume the claims of our own citizens. The envoy was also to try to have the Texas boundary settled as reaching to the Rio Grande. Under both Spanish and Mexican rule the boundary had not extended beyond the Nueces River, though Texas had claimed the farther line. Slidell arrived in Mexico City at a moment of governmental crisis, and the attempted negotiations came to nothing. Polk then made up his mind to war.

We declare war on Mexico. Meanwhile General Taylor had taken up his position at Corpus Christi, south of the Nueces River. When it was known that Slidell had failed, the troops were ordered on to the Rio Grande. The Mexicans had thus far remained on the south bank of that river. But when Taylor appeared, he was requested to fall back to the Nueces. When he refused to do so, the Mexicans, under General Ampudia, crossed the stream on April 24, 1846, and captured a party of the Americans.

Polk then proclaimed that our patience was exhausted, that the Mexicans had invaded the United States, and asked Congress for war. On May 12, bills were passed appropriating \$10,000,000 for war expenses and ordering the enlistment of 50,000 additional troops.

The Wilmot Proviso intensifies sectional feeling. Mexico, not believing we would fight, took no formal action at this time. In August Polk tried to have a measure passed in Congress authorizing him again to try to buy from Mexico what we intended to take. This action, which came to nothing, is chiefly interesting from the first appearance,

in connection with it, of the Wilmot Proviso, which was constantly to make trouble between North and South for many years after.

While the bill was being considered a Pennsylvanian, David Wilmot, tried to have an amendment attached to it providing that no territory acquired by the purchase or war should ever be open for slavery. This would have deprived the South of all its anticipated advantages and made the slave states almost negligible politically. Although defeated, it served to increase yet further the sectional tension.

We take possession of New Mexico and California. Meanwhile, military operations had already begun. Marching from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fé, Colonel S. W. Kearny captured that town without bloodshed. He at once issued a proclamation declaring all of New Mexico (including the present Arizona, Nevada, and Utah) to "be part of" the United States. He then set out for the further march to California, but that was already ours, as he was informed by Kit Carson when only a short distance on his way.

In June a party of American settlers in the Sacramento Valley attacked a party of Mexican troops, who they imagined had been sent to force them from the lands on which they were illegally squatting. Four days later another party of Americans occupied Sonoma. They then issued a proclamation declaring the independence of the American settlements and hoisted a flag on which were painted a star and a bear. It has always remained obscure whether Frémont, who was a son-in-law of Senator Benton, was involved in this insurrection, and how far, if at all, it may have had the secret sanction of the Washington authorities.

Meanwhile, Commodore Sloat had sailed for Monterey, reaching that port on July 2, when he immediately had an interview with our consul there. Five days later, Sloat landed a force, took possession of Monterey, hoisted the American flag, and declared California to be a part of the United States. By the end of the year we had established ourselves in every part of the province.

General Taylor defeats the Mexicans. While these operations had been in progress on the coast, Taylor and his troops had not been idle across the Texas border in northern Mexico. In May he had defeated the enemy at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Matamoras, forcing the Mexicans back to Monterey. After a considerable rest and delay in waiting for supplies, Taylor continued to advance, and in September captured the strongly fortified city of Monterey. These easy successes against an incompetent Mexican general began to make

Taylor a possible presidential candidate. This was by no means to the satisfaction of Polk, who decided to entrust the leadership of operations in the future to Major-General Winfield Scott, whom he thought both a better soldier and a less dangerous rival politically.

Opinions differ as to the real ability of Taylor, who had seen little but Indian frontier fighting on a small scale, and who, in spite of great courage and a personality which inspired his men, had slight knowledge of strategy or the handling of large bodies of troops. On the other hand, he had won victories, and had done so with the scant support of the government. These facts were to count heavily in his favor later and were to make him President at last, as Polk may have feared.

We fail to end the war by negotiations. The new plans called for a direct attack on the City of Mexico by way of Vera Cruz. Taylor was called upon to despatch half his troops to the Gulf port to join Scott. We had had a blockading squadron there, and through it we had, as a matter of policy, allowed our former and future enemy, Santa Anna, to return to his country from exile in Cuba.

He had made us believe he could manipulate the political situation at the capital so as to end hostilities by negotiation. But the pride of the Mexicans and their hatred of us made impossible any peaceful settlement that would dismember their country by the method of bargain and sale. Santa Anna, whatever his original aims or motives may have been, turned round, and put himself at the head of the Mexican forces. We had succeeded in presenting our enemy with their strongest leader.

General Taylor defeats Santa Anna at Buena Vista. Having discovered that Taylor's force had been heavily depleted by the troops sent to Scott, Santa Anna decided upon a quick blow. With a good army of 16,000, the largest we had ever been called upon to face since the battle of Long Island in 1776, he marched northward against Taylor and his 5000. It was expected that Taylor would retire, but he appears to have thought the coming attack less important than it was. Remaining at Saltillo, he posted General Wool with most of the troops in a valley two miles wide on the ranch of Buena Vista, which gave its name to the ensuing battle.

Owing to the rough and broken nature of the land the disparity in numbers was practically overcome. Santa Anna had had to march through a dry, desert country, with scarcely any water, but in February, 1847, he reached the American forces and launched his attack. In spite of his gaining some of the commanding heights, the American position was too strong for him. Our artillery mowed down the Mexicans as they tried to force their way up the narrowing valley. There

was terrible slaughter and night came without the Mexicans having been able to make good their attack. During the darkness Santa Anna drew off his forces, to the infinite relief of the Americans, who were in an awkward plight.

As Santa Anna retreated across the desert, his men died by hundreds from fatigue and thirst. With the losses from battle and the retreat, he reached Mexico City again with approximately one-third of the troops he had led out.

Scott defeats the Mexicans at Cerro Gordo. We must now turn to Scott and his troops, who had been sent by boat to Vera Cruz down the Gulf. In March, 1847, they captured that city, and began the march to Mexico by the old road which had led there from the coast long before the first white man had come to disturb the peace of Montezuma. At Cerro Gordo, about fifty-five miles from the Gulf, Santa Anna had placed a force of about 13,000 to oppose Scott, who had about 10,000. Occupying strong positions on the heights commanding the road, this obstacle to the advancing Americans was formidable.

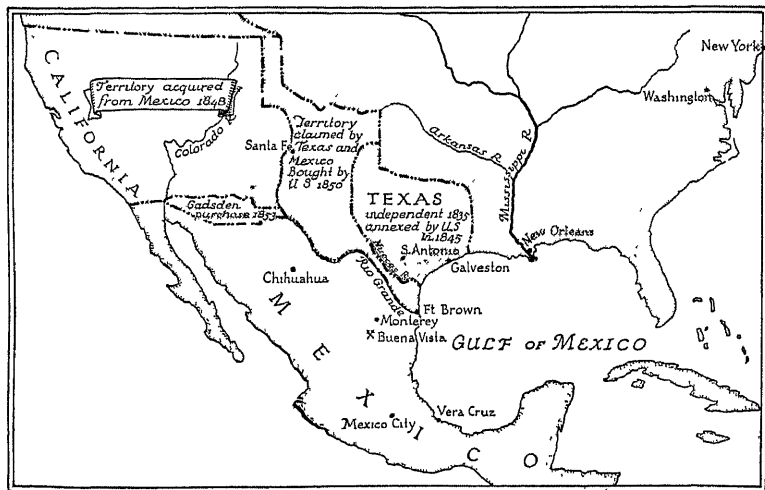
Scott had among his officers a brilliant group, Robert E. Lee, U. S. Grant, George G. Meade, George B. McClellan, and P. G. T. Beauregard. Lee discovered that it might be possible to reach the heights by a trail up which artillery could be dragged and the Mexicans outflanked. The plan was carried out with success, and after a battle on April 18, the enemy fled, abandoning their guns, and leaving about 3000 prisoners.

We fail again to end the war by negotiations. The march then proceeded to Puebla, where Scott found himself almost without supplies, one-tenth of his force in the hospital, and many volunteers, whose time had expired, refusing to advance farther. These volunteers he sent back to Vera Cruz. He called up the garrisons he had left at several points behind him, and with about 10,000 men, to be followed by 2000 reinforcements who had arrived at the coast, he continued his way to the capital. He reached the outskirts early in August and soon defeated bodies of Mexicans at Contreras and Churubusco, only a few miles outside the city.

There one last attempt was made at negotiation. Scott concluded an armistice with Santa Anna, who received a bribe of \$10,000 and the promise of \$1,000,000 if peace were made according to our terms. These were drastic enough. We demanded the Rio Grande as the southern boundary of Texas, California, and the entire expanse of "New Mexico," and a canal route across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Polk had placed the negotiations in the hands of the chief clerk of the State Department, an unimportant person by the name of Nicholas P. Trist, who could easily be disavowed.

General Scott captures Mexico City. When the Mexicans came back with proposals to cede no territory except Texas with the Nueces as boundary, and a demand that we pay the entire cost of the war, it was clear that Trist would not get far. As Santa Anna broke the terms of the armistice in several particulars, Scott at once moved

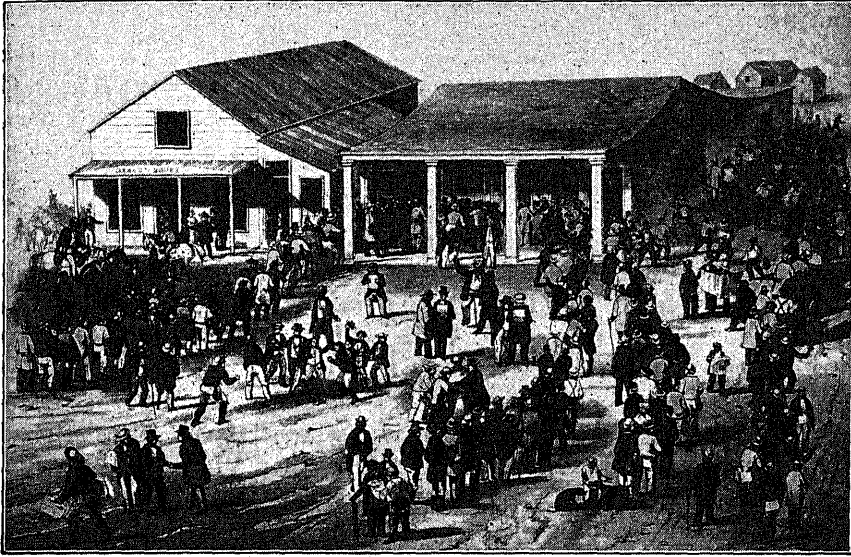


THE DISPUTED TERRITORY AND REGIONS ACQUIRED BY THE UNITED STATES AS A RESULT OF THE MEXICAN WAR

against the city. On September 8 he made an attack on some factory buildings, called El Molino del Rey (the Royal Mill), which he wished to capture because of the war materials being manufactured there. The effort proved extremely costly, over 700 men of the 8000, which was all Scott then had with him, being killed.

Two causeways which led into the capital were dominated by the hill of Chapultepec, and it was necessary to control the height before the city could be entered. This also proved an expensive undertaking, but the way was at last made clear, and the victorious American general entered the capital city. There governmental affairs were in chaos. Santa Anna resigned the presidency, however, and a new government consented to negotiate a treaty with Trist, who had been ordered back to Washington but had declined to leave.

We make a treaty of peace with Mexico. Trist succeeded at last in getting a treaty, signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848. According to the terms of the treaty, Mexico was to cede all of New Mexico and California, and acknowledge our possession of Texas with the Rio Grande as boundary, and we were to pay Mexico \$15,000,000 and pay the claims of our citizens against Mexico to the extent of



POST-OFFICE AT PIKE AND CLAY STREETS, SAN FRANCISCO, AT THE TIME OF THE GOLD RUSH

From a lithograph by Endicott. Courtesy of The Mabel Brady Garvan Institute of American Arts and Crafts, Yale University.

three and one-quarter million dollars. Trist had been without authority to act, but on March 10, 1848, the Senate ratified the results of his negotiations by a vote of 38 to 14.

We thus secured an addition to our territory embracing all of the present states of Texas, Utah, Nevada, and California, and most of New Mexico and Arizona. The small balance of the latter two was added by purchase in 1853 to round out the boundary and give us the best route from Texas to California. For this strip, known as the Gadsden Purchase from James Gadsden, who negotiated the treaty for us, we paid \$10,000,000 more.

Gold is discovered in California. Meanwhile, in January, some gold particles had been found in the millrace on Sutter's ranch in California. As soon as the news spread, there was a rush such as the world had never known. San Francisco was almost deserted, as were the ships which touched at California ports. When the word reached the East, men of all types and of all grades of life started for California. They went either across the continent or by water to Panama, across the isthmus and by water again to San Francisco.

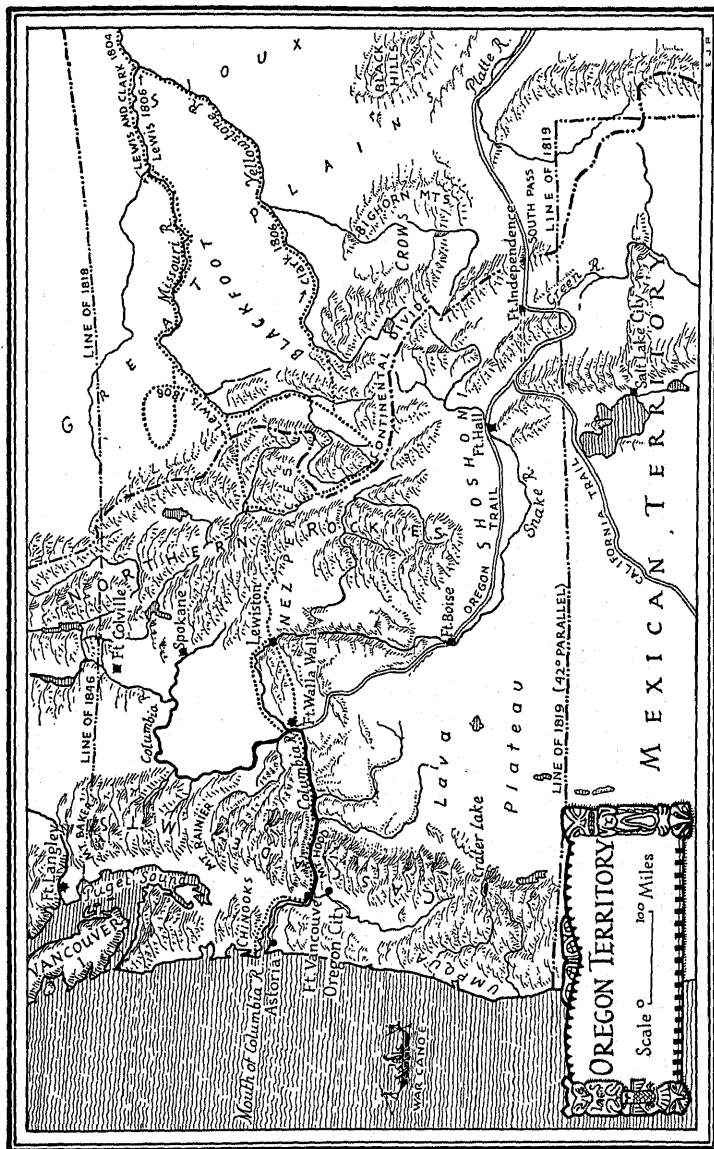
Almost as soon as we had acquired title to the soil from Mexico, the "Forty-niners" and their successors were building up a populous and turbulent state. By 1850 there were over 92,000 persons, mostly men, and by 1860, 380,000.

4. How Oregon Became American

Our country and England fail to agree on Oregon line. Northwestward, as well as southwestward, our boundary lines were not definitely drawn. The title to the Oregon country was disputed between England and ourselves. Although the question had several times been raised between the two powers since the ten-year agreement of joint occupancy had been made in 1818, no boundary, mutually satisfactory, could be determined upon. The line as far west as the Rockies had been set at the 49th parallel of latitude, and we had offered to accept this out to the coast. But England had declined any settlement which did not give her the north bank of the Columbia River.

Oregonians ask Congress for territorial government. Until 1834 the only Americans in the district had been hunters, trappers, and fur-traders, and comparatively little interest had been excited. But in that year Methodist missionaries went out with a few permanent settlers, followed the next year by some Presbyterians and Congregationalists. In 1835, Doctor Marcus Whitman took a wagon across the Rockies and set up a mission at the junction of the Snake and Columbia Rivers. By 1842 there may have been 500 Americans permanently located in the country. From that time on, the "Oregon Trail," from Independence, Missouri, up the Platte and over the mountains, was to see thousands pour into the new frontier, all bitten by the "Oregon fever."

In 1843 the settlers formed a government of their own and asked Congress to make Oregon a territory. Although the treaty of 1827, made with England, could be ended on a year's notice, Congress was not yet ready to act. But it was clear that the Oregon question



was entering upon a new and far more dangerous phase. A rapidly growing agricultural population with farms and villages was very different from a few hunters for furs when it came to the settlement of boundaries.

We compromise the Oregon question. Such was the situation as the presidential campaign of 1844 drew near. In the possible occupation of Oregon, the South saw a chance to placate the North for the annexation of Texas. The Oregonians themselves, anxious to establish their own position, and to add the territory to the Union, began to clamor for the annexation of all the disputed northern country. They joined in heartily with Polk's campaign cry of "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." But our government could not afford to have two serious boundary-lines disputes on its hands at the same time, so the Oregon question was compromised and the boundary fixed in 1846 at the forty-ninth parallel. Our northern boundary was thus settled from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I, ch. 14; Cox, *West Florida Controversy*, 1798-1813; Ellison, *California and the Nation*, 1850-1869; Fish, *The Path of Empire*, chs. 2-3; Frémont, *Exploring Expedition to Oregon and Northern California*; Garrison, *Texas, a Contest of Civilization*; Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*; Ghent, *The Road to Oregon*; Goodwin, *The Trans-Mississippi West*, 1803-1853; Greenhow, *The History of Oregon and California*; Hitchcock, *The Louisiana Purchase*; McElroy, *Winning of the Far West*; Ogg, *The Opening of the Mississippi*, 495-539; Priestley, *The Mexican Nation, a History*; Rives, *The United States and Mexico*; Schafer, *History of the Pacific Northwest*; Skinner, *Adventures of Oregon*, chs. 7-8; Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*; Smith, *The War with Mexico*; Stephenson, *Texas and the Mexican War*, chs. 4-6; White, *The Forty-Niners*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, nos. 10-11, 14; Johnston, *American Orations*, II, 123-218; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 96-107; Muzzey, *Readings*, 312-346; *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 45, 132.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Barr, *Remember the Alamo*; Elliott, *Sam Houston*; Hough, *Fifty-Four Forty or Fight*; Hough, *The Covered Wagon*; Irving, *Astoria*; Irving, *Captain Bonneville*; Linn, *Story of the Mormons*; McNeil, *Boy Forty-Niners*; Remington, *Crooked Trails*; Roosevelt, *Thomas H. Benton*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 355-358; Wallington, *American History by American Poets*, II, 13-47.

III. *QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT*

1. Why was the right of deposit at New Orleans so important to the West? 2. Why did our government fear to have Napoleon in control of Louisiana? 3. What plans did Jefferson work out to prevent Napoleon from keeping Louisiana? 4. Why did Napoleon give up his plan of establishing a French empire in America? 5. Tell of the purchase of Louisiana. 6. Was Jefferson inconsistent in the purchase of Louisiana when he believed in the strict construction theory of the Constitution? 7. How did the question of the annexation of Texas bring up the slavery issue? 8. Was our government justified in its fear of England's influence in Texas? 9. What was the significance of the McLeod affair? 10. What was the Webster-Ashburton Treaty? 11. Why did our Senate defeat the treaty for the annexation of Texas? 12. How did the Texas question enter the political field? 13. What stand did the Democratic party take in its platform of 1844 on the questions of Texas and Oregon? 14. Tell of the admission of Texas to our Union. 15. What were the causes of our war with Mexico? 16. What peaceful efforts did Polk make to settle our differences with Mexico? 17. Trace the military course of the Mexican War. 18. What territory did we acquire as a result of the war? 19. How did Oregon become American?

IV. *EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES*

1. **IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW:** Napoleon's plan of empire in America, our purchase of Louisiana, the question of the annexation of Texas, the McLeod affair, the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, the presidential campaign of 1844, the admission of Texas, our efforts to avoid war with Mexico, the treaty of peace with Mexico, discovery of gold in California, settlement of the Oregon question.
2. **PROJECT:** Dramatize some stirring scene in our occupation of the Oregon country.
3. **PROBLEM:** How do you account for our acquisition of so much territory during the half century from 1803 to 1853?
4. **DEBATE SUBJECT:** **RESOLVED:** That the United States was not justified in its war against Mexico.
5. **ESSAY SUBJECT:** The importance of the Louisiana Purchase.
6. **IMAGINARY LETTER:** Imagine that you were one of the "Forty-niners." Write a letter back home describing your trip across the continent and your life in the gold fields of California.
7. **DIARY:** You were one of the early pioneers in Oregon. You kept a diary of your journey there and of your life in that new country. Read portions of your diary to the class.
8. **PERSONS TO IDENTIFY:** Lord Ashburton, Sam Houston, Zachary Taylor,

632 OUR TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES TO THE PACIFIC

John Slidell, David Wilmot, Kit Carson, John C. Frémont, Winfield Scott, Robert E. Lee, U. S. Grant, Marcus Whitman.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1803, 1837, 1844, 1846.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Right of deposit, strict-construction theory of the Constitution, "general welfare" clause of the Constitution, "little Magician," "dark horse," "re-annexing Texas," blustering political stump speaker, "Forty-niners," "Oregon Trail," "Fifty-four Forty or Fight."

11. MAP WORK: *a.* On an outline map of the United States show by different coloring the following acquisitions: (1) Louisiana Purchase, (2) Texas, (3) Mexican Cession, (4) Gadsden Purchase, (5) Oregon territory. *b.* Give a map talk tracing the military operations of the Mexican War. *c.* Give a map talk tracing the routes of the "Forty-niners" to California and the early pioneers to Oregon.

12. GRAPH WORK: By means of bar graphs show the area of the following: (1) The original thirteen states, (2) The Louisiana Purchase, (3) Texas, (4) The Mexican Cession, (5) The Oregon territory, (6) The Gadsden Purchase.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. OUR NORTHEASTERN AND NORTHWESTERN BOUNDARIES: Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, II, chs. 15-17; Gannett, *Boundaries of the United States*, 9-19; Johnson, *Century of Expansion*, 180-195; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, nos. 70, 74; Moore, *Arbitrations*, I, chs. 1-6.

2. ACQUISITION OF LOUISIANA, WEST FLORIDA, AND OREGON: Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, nos. 111-115; Hosmer, *Louisiana Purchase*; Johnson, *Century of Expansion*, 73-127; McMaster, *History*, II, 620-633; Semple, *American History and Its Geographic Conditions*, ch. 6.

3. THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS: Garrison, *Westward Extension*, chs. 1-2, 6-10; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, ch. 29; Ripley, *War with Mexico*, I, ch. 1; Rhodes, *History*, I, 75-87; Smith, *Liberty and Free-Soil Parties*, ch. 6.

4. THE MEXICAN WAR, 1846-1848: Bancroft, *Mexico*, V; Foster, *Century of American Diplomacy*, 314-323; Garrison, *Westward Extension*, chs. 13-15; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, nos. 72-73, 76, 84; Reeves, *Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, chs. 11-13.

5. EXPLORATION OF THE FAR WEST: Farrand, *Basis of American History*, chs. 4, 8, 9; Laut, *Conquest of the Great Northwest*, I, ch. 20; Parkman, *Oregon Trail*; Turner, *New West*, ch. 8; Winsor, *Mississippi Basin*, 30-32, 193-217.

TOPIC III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To see the relation of the railroads to the West.
2. To understand the significance of the disappearance of the frontier.
3. To know the efforts made by our national and state governments to conserve our natural resources and reclaim our waste lands.
4. To understand the influence of the West in American history.

1. *The Railroads and the West*

Many people move West at the close of the Civil War. By the middle of the nineteenth century we had rounded out our boundaries to the Pacific coast. We had vast areas of sparsely settled and almost wholly unoccupied land. This condition was not to remain long, however. New farm machinery; overseas market for grain, made possible by the repeal of the Corn Laws in England; improved means of transportation, making it possible to get our grain to the market, all hastened the westward movement. At the close of the Civil War there was a strong urge for many people to "go West." The pre-war South, although not wholly agricultural, had been chiefly so, and when the armies of that section were disbanded the soil called back their men simply and naturally. In the industrial North the problem of re-absorbing nearly a million ex-soldiers peaceably into civil life was properly considered a serious one. There, again, it was the land which made the transition from war to peace surprisingly easy. It was not the "old plantation" or the old farm that called the Northern soldier, however, but the new West.

As seems inevitably to be the case, there was a primary post-war depression in business about two years after the end of hostilities. This short period of bad times in 1866-67 made it more difficult for men to find places in Eastern industry, and thus increased the westward drift. There were not only the ex-soldiers who had to find ways of living, but the steadily mounting numbers of immigrants, which rose from just under 250,000 in 1865 to 460,000 in 1873.

Our first transcontinental railroad is completed. Within three years after the end of the war, the Federal Government was distributing 6,000,000 acres a year of public lands. Although much of this went in grants to the railroads, millions of acres were turned into farms by new settlers. Between 1865 and 1872 the railway mileage of the nation jumped from about 35,000 to double that amount. Much of the new building was in the West, where the railroad was displacing the stage-coach. In 1869 the first transcontinental line, the Union and Central Pacific, was completed, after four years' work. Building had been carried forward westward from Omaha and eastward from Sacramento, and the two lines met when an engine from the East and one from the West faced each other at Promontory Point in Utah.

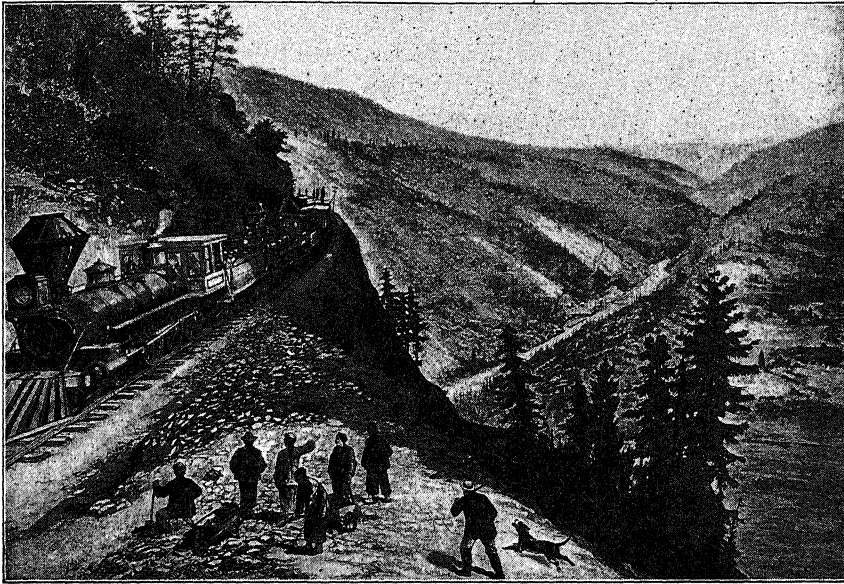
The work had been colossal. The Central Pacific, for example, had had to climb over 7000 feet through the Sierra Nevada Mountains in the first 125 miles. The whole line, traversing the plains and mountains, was, indeed, one of the greatest engineering feats of the time. It is not easy now to realize the difficulties under which it was accomplished. For the western portion, all the machinery, iron, cars, locomotives—practically everything except timber and water—had to be transported all the way from the East to California by way of the Isthmus of Panama or around Cape Horn.

When the two lines met, the Central Pacific after building 688 miles from the West, and the Union Pacific 1086 miles from its starting point in the East, the entire country rejoiced. The actual physical uniting of the two sections was made the occasion of an elaborate ceremony. On the final tie to be placed, which was of polished California laurel wood, a silver plate bore the inscription, "the last tie laid in the completion of the Pacific Railroad, May 10, 1869," and the rails were spiked to it. For this purpose, Arizona sent a spike made of iron, silver, and gold, Nevada one of solid silver, and California one of gold. This last was driven into position by the presidents of the two roads, each striking it alternately with a sledge hammer made of silver, while the telegraph carried the strokes to all the principal cities of the country. As each stroke thus re-echoed, the bell of the City Hall in San Francisco repeated the sound, and the chimes of Trinity Church in New York played "Old Hundred." As the last blow was struck, cannons roared their salute across the whole continent.

Many railroads are built in the West. If the single line spanning the country was the most spectacular feat of the railway builders of this period, it was perhaps less important than the network

of lines being built in every direction in the West, extending settlement and widening markets. The five years before the panic of 1873, for example, saw the mileage in Wisconsin doubled, and in one year more miles were built in Illinois than measured the whole length of the Union and Central Pacific lines.

This intensive railway building was partly the result and partly the



ACROSS THE CONTINENT—THE FRANK LESLIE TRANSCONTINENTAL EXCURSION
The excursion train is rounding Cape Horn at the head of the Great American Cañon. In the distance is shown the South Fork of the American River, where gold was discovered in 1848. (By courtesy of the University of California, Extension Division.)

cause of the rapid development of the West. Even during the war there had been a huge migration, the population of the Western states increasing by more than a million during the conflict. With peace, the rate was immensely accelerated. The main basis of Western industry and prosperity was agriculture, stimulated by war prices and a combination of other circumstances. The improvement in agricultural machinery, of which we have noted the beginnings, was rapid. The few years after the war saw the advent of the self-binding harvester, the Oliver plow, the modern windmill, and the increasing use of steam in threshing. The new railways were earning in gross 27 per cent of

their cost in a year. Their business was derived from many industries besides farming. Eastward came not only wheat and corn, but ore for the rising steel and iron industries, metals from the mines, and cattle from the plains. Westward went the tens of thousands of settlers, and manufactured products of all sorts for their needs.

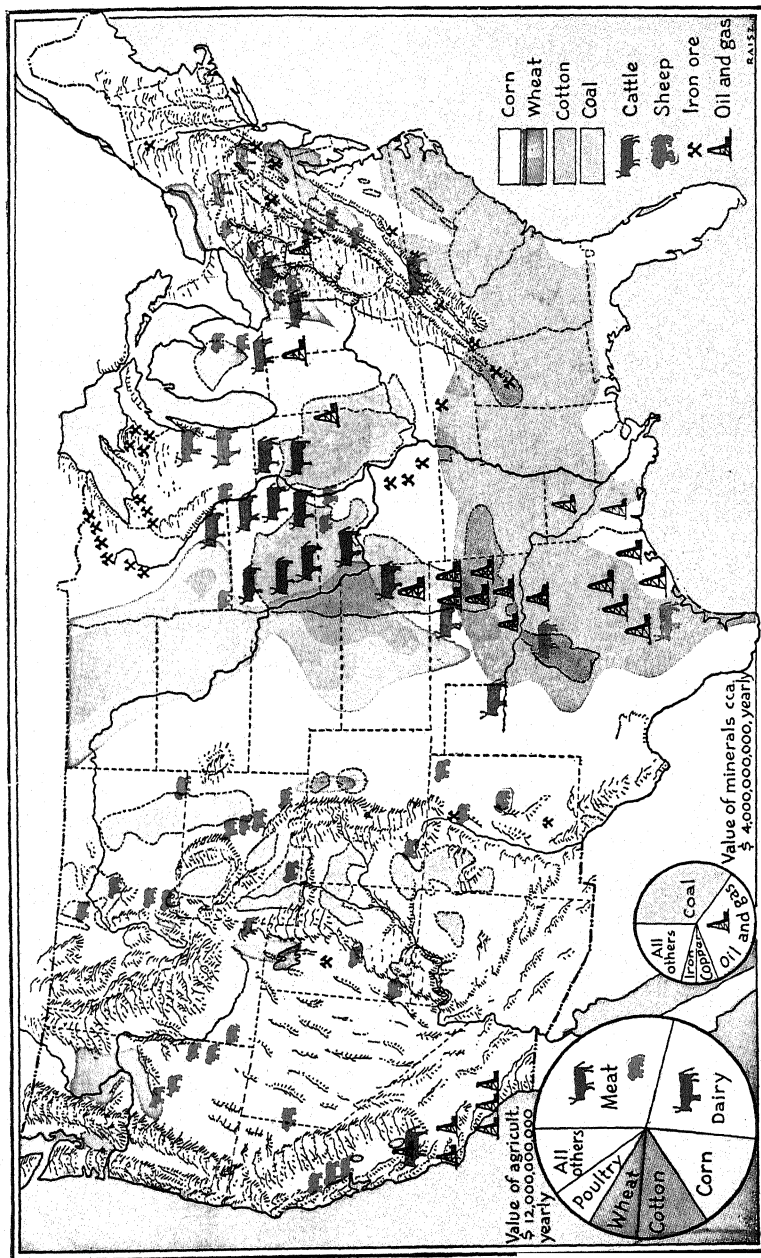
The settlement of the West brings trouble with the Indians. A most important problem in the West was that of the Indian, and war after war now marked the last stage of driving the original occupier of the soil into reservations on lands least desirable for the white men. In 1862 we were fighting the Sioux. In 1864 it was the Cheyennes, the Apaches, Comanches, and others. In 1866 there was the uprising again of the Sioux under Red Cloud, and two years later General Custer broke the power of the Cheyennes under their chief Black Kettle.

Although the Federal troops were defeating the Indians, there was constant unrest, which was closely linked with the killing of the buffalo, the main source of food and profit to the plains Indians. William F. Cody, better known as "Buffalo Bill," killed personally nearly 4300 of the animals in one year and a half. Although they had been so numerous that a train passed through one herd for 120 miles, the killing was at so furious a rate—5,000,000 in 1873 alone—that the Indian saw his main support disappearing almost as by a miracle.

One of the chief conflicts with the Sioux under the great leader Sitting Bull occurred in 1876. After the end of the Civil War the advance of the railroads and the presence of the troops gradually opened the plains to the cattlemen and cowboys. Before 1890 the Indian wars were over.

The West becomes a great cattle range. Cattle by the tens of thousands were driven up along the Chisholm and other trails, first to the end of the Kansas Pacific and later up to the newer Santa Fé and the Union Pacific. The day of the steer lay between the earlier one of the Indian and the later one of the settled West. The cattlemen could thrive only so long as a reasonably safe national domain was given them to use without cost or hindrance.

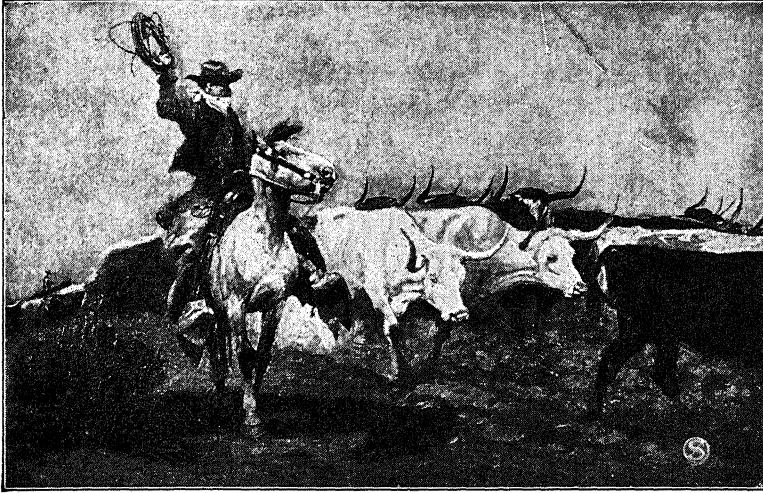
In the romantic pages of our history the figure of the cowboy is the most typically American in our own eyes and in the mind of the world at large. The "West" of legend and story and picture is not, as it should be, that of the pioneer farmer and his wife, fighting dust, hard winter, droughts, grasshoppers, and loneliness, in too often slovenly, drab, and poverty-stricken homes, but that of the stage coach, the wild



ECONOMIC MAP OF THE UNITED STATES

Indians on horseback, and the cowboy rounding up his herds on the "long drive."

The West remains agricultural. Cattle towns sprang up where the cattle were sold. Then came the refrigerator car in 1867. It carried the meat from great packing plants concentrating in Omaha, St.



Courtesy of Swift & Company

DRIVING A HERD TO TOWN

Louis, and Chicago to households in the East which had largely depended hitherto on the local butchers. There had also been a steady drift of other great industries farther and farther west. The manufacturers of agricultural machinery followed the sunset trek of the farmers. So did the millers and the meat packers.

In spite, however, of the increase of big enterprises, and of banks, the West was to remain primarily agricultural—a land of farms and small towns. Its attitude toward political and economic questions was to continue to be that of the small independent producer, often in debt, and opposed to measures which seemed to benefit the creditor and business classes at his expense.

2. The Disappearance of the Frontier

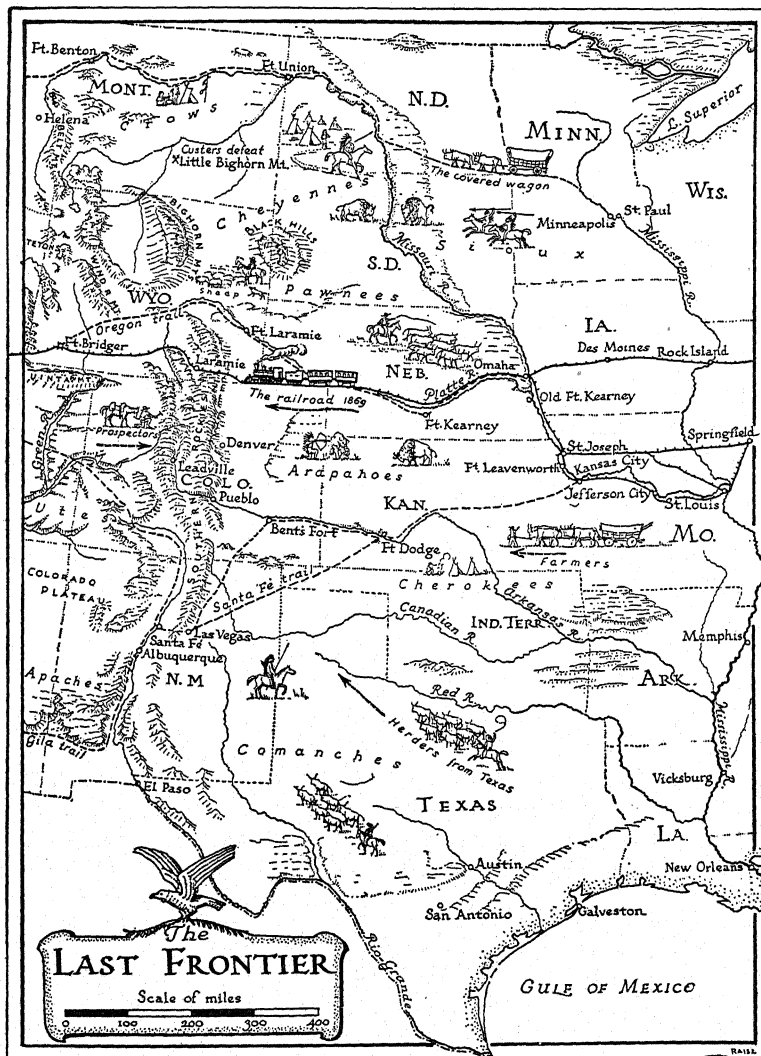
Our Western frontier closes. The year 1890 when the government officially declared the frontier closed is a very important one

in our history. What the government meant was that the land at its disposal to grant to settlers either free or for a nominal price was practically at an end. There were no longer any great areas, as in the past, to be developed. It did not mean that there were not bits here and there, or that there was not yet an enormous amount of land in the United States which was unused and could be bought at private sale.

The frontier and all it had signified in our life had been something quite different from that. Because there is still much land to acquire, some historians are inclined to minimize the importance of the government's declaration. It must be insisted upon, however, that a man who buys, let us say, an abandoned farm in New England and works on it is not in the slightest influenced by the "frontier spirit." He is surrounded, hemmed in, and helped by a complete civilization on every side. It is absurd to compare the influences which worked on the pioneer of the old frontier with the influences exerted upon a man running a chicken farm a few miles out of a New England village with which he is connected by automobile and telephone and where every need can be supplied.

Our western frontiersmen build an empire. The real frontier has been rightly described as having been as much a "state of mind" as a place. That means that the pioneer of earlier days wanted not only his farm but something more. He wanted the freedom of a new country where he had room to grow. He did not want simply to be a poor farmer in a community already filled with rich and powerful people. He wanted to work on an equality with people like himself and to build up towns and states in which he might develop with the country. He did not have the vision of a chicken farm but of a new commonwealth in which he would prosper in time and he or his sons might become important men with every opportunity open to them. There was an exhilarating sense of unlimited possibilities in breaking the first sod of a prairie where no state government existed and all lay in the future. This is wholly absent when merely buying a bit of ground in a community which is already organized and filled.

Our great West is a safety valve. The pronouncement of the government in 1890 meant that something buoyant, optimistic, thrilling had gone out of American life. In times of stress, such as great panics, or when we disbanded the armies after the Civil War, the great open spaces had been of untold value to us as safety valves to lessen the pressure of discontent which might otherwise have welled up from



unemployed and suffering men. In the older and smaller countries of Europe, when discontent with economic, social, or political conditions became acute, it was like getting up too much steam in a boiler which had no vent and which was bound to explode when the pressure became too great. Emigration might provide some relief but, except for the British Empire, emigration meant going to foreign countries or those in which conditions were wholly unlike the home lands. The American could emigrate from his former home by the simple process of going somewhat farther west and still remain within his own country and among his own people.

Several things might have been foreseen when the frontier was closed. One was that social or economic discontent would no longer have the old vent. We should become more in the position of the European nations, more in danger of explosion. When we had the frontier, the problems of social and economic justice could be largely disregarded with a minimum of danger. The mutterings died as the discontented and radical "went west," and the older communities were left without having been forced to face the problems and solve them. As we shall see, about once in a generation a wave of resentment had rolled back from the frontier and determined political events in the East. On the whole, however, the social system suffered no such shocks as it would have suffered had it not been for free land in the West.

Free land helps us to solve the problem of crime. As we have said, all sorts of persons went to the freer life of the frontier. In the colonial period, when there was comparative equality of wealth among the people at large, and when almost any honest and energetic man could make a comfortable living and have a home, there had been amazingly little crime. Although England at that time was infested with highwaymen and her cities with footpads, there were very few travellers held up in the American colonies, though the lonely roads lay through endless woods. This, moreover, was in spite of the fact that England had emptied her jails upon us and sent over many whom she had condemned as criminals. Economic and social opportunity largely solved the problem of serious crime. The nineteenth century, however, saw a big change in America with the growth of inequality in wealth, the rise of a factory population, and the increasing poverty which a complex civilization brings. But, again, the West was a safety valve.

So long as the frontier remained, we appeared to have escaped many

of the difficulties of older countries, and, like our prosperity due to a new continent, we smugly ascribed our immunity to our political institutions or to our character. Our historians and other writers began, however, about 1890, to take a much more critical attitude toward our past and present. This would seem to be another result of the passing of the frontier, and with it our freedom from many of the ills which older countries have suffered but which we considered we had escaped by superior wisdom.

3. Conservation and Reclamation

Our people are wasteful of their natural resources. When we consider the incredible natural wealth of the United States, it seems hard to believe that by 1890 we had used up a considerable part of it. Perhaps no civilized people has ever been as wasteful and reckless as we have been. This has been partly because for a long time the amount of our resources did really seem inexhaustible in relation to our needs. A man who made a clearing for his home in a virgin forest which extended from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi River could not be expected to be economical in the use of timber. As one of its legacies, the frontier left us the habit of careless waste. The available land seemed so great that it was often easier to move on to fresh land than to farm the old with care. There has also been the desire to get rich as quickly as possible regardless of the general social good or the needs of future generations.

Europe, with more limited resources, with comparatively small opportunity to gain sudden fortunes, and with centuries of experience of recurring famines or other hard times, had learned to be careful and to conserve what she had. In America it seemed impossible ever to use all we had. On the other hand, if only we used it fast enough huge fortunes awaited the more lucky or ruthless spoilers.

The waste of coal, gas, and oil is appalling. After about 1850 for half a century the increase both in actual consumption and waste became staggering. In 1850, for example, we were mining only about 7,000,000 tons of anthracite coal a year, whereas a little more than fifty years later we were mining over 480,000,000 tons annually. This was not the worst of it. In their haste to mine cheaply and get rich quickly, the mine owners had taken out only the best and easiest mined coal, leaving the shafts to fall in on the rest and make it impossible of use. The Anthracite Coal Commission in 1902 re-

ported that for every ton mined probably a ton and a half had been wasted, the waste amounting in twenty-five years to about 3,000,000,000 tons of sound hard coal.

The waste of gas and oil has been equally if not more colossal. For long if natural gas was found when sinking wells for oil it was allowed to be wasted utterly. The figures seem incredible. It was reported that in one field in the South alone the natural gas which was burning daily for years was sufficient to light ten cities the size of Washington.

The waste of our timber brings dire results to the land. The story of our forests is the same. Only patches are left of the once magnificent forest covering. It is impossible to arrive at figures for what was cut and if we could they would be so big that we could not comprehend them. It has been estimated that in one region alone, the states in the northern part of the Middle West, enough logs were cut to make a chain long enough to go from the earth to the moon thirty-three times. A large part of this was sheer waste.

The loss of our timber resources by waste and fraud has been only part of the total loss resulting from the recklessness of the settlers and lumber men. The clearing off of our forests has lowered the rainfall, and also caused floods and erosion on the now bare land. The rains carry off the top soil down the little gullies, the streams carry it farther, and the rivers take it out to sea. It is said that the Mississippi carries off some 400,000,000 tons from farms every year, and the same process is at work wherever all the forests have been cleared. This soil can never be replaced even if we again grow forests.

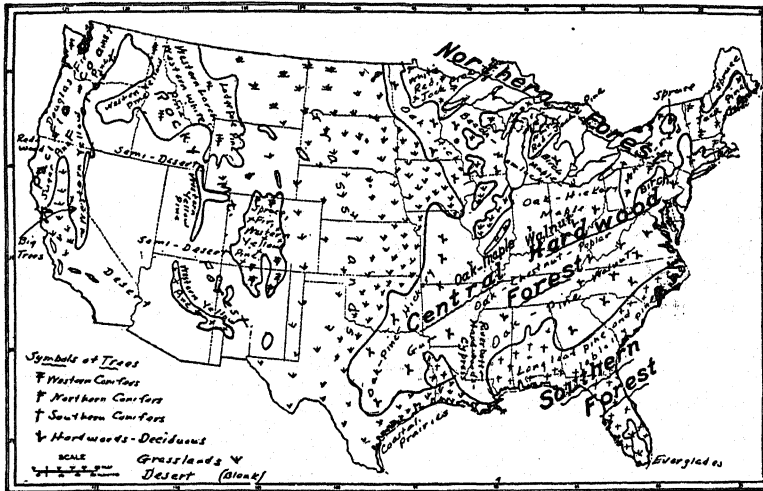
President Cleveland takes up the question of conservation. The Homestead Act had been passed in 1862 to enable genuine settlers to obtain land on which to build their homes, but it had been shamefully abused by all sorts of unscrupulous men. These used it, not to get small plots of land for farms, but to gather to themselves great tracts for the sake of getting off or out of them as fast as possible the timber, oil, or minerals.

In 1891, the year after the frontier was declared closed, Congress passed an act authorizing the President to reserve from entry under the Homestead Act any public lands covered with undergrowth or forest. Before Theodore Roosevelt, however, Cleveland was the only President to take a real interest in the matter. Cleveland was indeed the first, as Roosevelt himself acknowledged, to see the pressing need of preserving what was still left of our timber. He added, under the

Congressional Act, about 25,000,000 acres to our national forests, whereas his successor, McKinley, added only 7,000,000.

Theodore Roosevelt becomes leader in conservation movement.

It was under Theodore Roosevelt, however, that the movement for conservation really got under way on a large scale and was brought home to the people. Although there was a small forestry service when he came into office, it was under the Department of Agriculture and the



Adapted from a U. S. Forest Survey Map, Department of Agriculture

THE DISTRIBUTION OF TIMBER IN THE UNITED STATES

forest lands themselves were still under the Public Land Office. Whether owing to corrupt officials or mere carelessness, frauds in acquiring lands through that office had always been perpetrated on a colossal scale. In 1905 Roosevelt had the forests placed under the care of the newly created Forest Service and put Gifford Pinchot, afterwards governor of Pennsylvania, at its head. Pinchot had for years been interested in the matter and was as enthusiastic as Roosevelt himself.

The following year the President closed 64,000,000 acres of public lands, and as the forests were closely connected with rivers and floods he appointed an Inland Waterways Commission to study the whole problem. His knowledge and love of the West and his passionate devotion to an out-door life, in addition to his general crusade for the

betterment of social and business conditions, were probably powerful influences in making him the first real leader in the conservation movement. During his term of office he was to withdraw from entry not only more than 148,000,000 acres of forest but also 1,500,000 acres around and including water-power sites, 4,700,000 acres of phosphate lands, and about 80,000,000 acres of coal lands. The withdrawal of the mineral lands was of somewhat questionable legality and was strongly opposed by Congress.

Roosevelt becomes interested in reclamation. Meanwhile, in May, 1908, he had called together a meeting of the governors of all the States (twenty-four of whom attended), and of other leaders, including Cabinet members, Supreme Court judges, members of Congress, and scientists to discuss the possibilities of nation-wide action. He also appointed Pinchot as head of a National Conservation Commission, which inventoried the nation's resources in a report made the following January. Roosevelt had by now included in his general project the reclamation of desert lands by irrigation and the improvement of our means of internal transport by water.

The irrigation projects were undertaken on the passage of the Newlands Act in 1902. Money from the sale of public lands was in part to be used as a revolving fund for building dams and otherwise developing irrigation works. This money was eventually to come back through the money paid in by settlers. Among the great dams built were the Roosevelt dam (1911) on the Salt River in Arizona, the Shoshone in Wyoming, the Elephant Butte in New Mexico, and others. All these various projects resulted in the reclaiming of over 3,000,000 acres of land for farming. The meeting of governors at the White House had greatly aroused interest in conservation, and in addition to the work undertaken directly by the Federal Government, thirty-six states soon had commissions of their own at work.

Taft, too, is interested in conservation and reclamation. Roosevelt's successor, Taft, was also genuinely interested in the subject, but he was a lawyer and cautious, whereas Roosevelt had not cared so much about legality and was enthusiastically impetuous. Taft, as Congress had done, doubted the legality of some of Roosevelt's withdrawals of coal lands, and against his own wishes felt it necessary to cancel the action. He was bitterly attacked by the extreme conservationists and was obliged to discharge Pinchot for official insubordination. The controversy between Pinchot and the Secretary of the Interior, R. A. Ballinger, became a political feud of the first magnitude, and

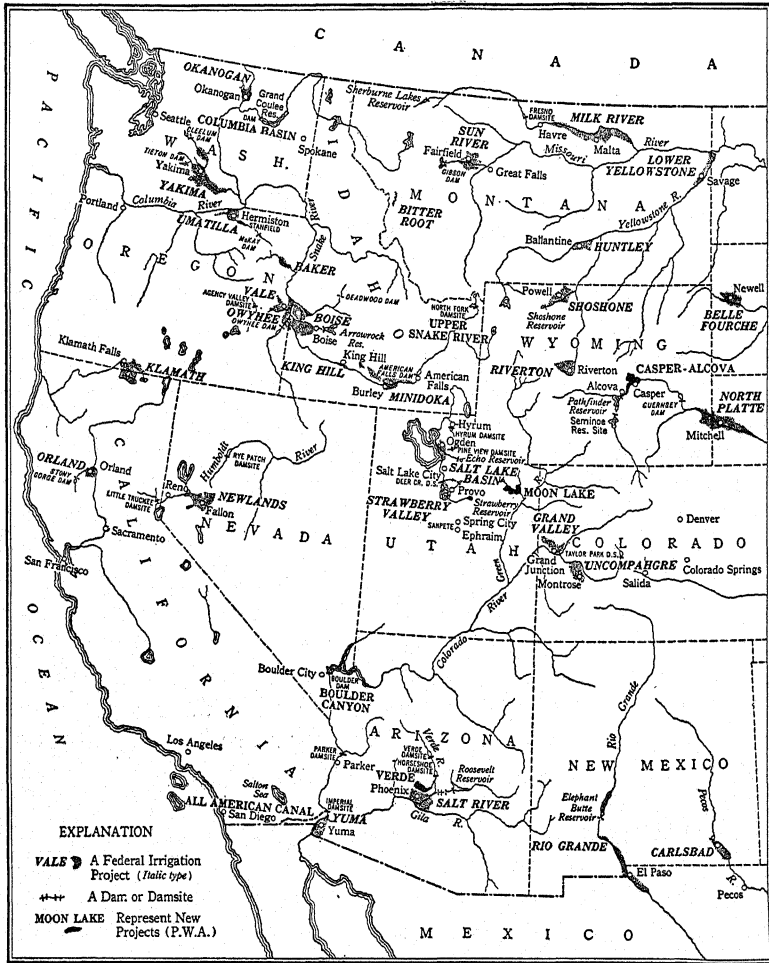
was of less importance in its effect on conservation than in widening the growing rift between Roosevelt and Taft and influencing the former to split the Republican party in 1912. In 1911 Taft signed the important Appalachian Forest Reserve Act by which the government acquired well on to 1,300,000 acres of mountain lands at the head of important streams.

Abundant land brings forth abundant crops. The World War naturally halted the advance of conservation to a considerable extent, although the great rise in the price of land also stimulated the bringing of all land possible into cultivation. By 1920 California, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Utah, and Colorado, for example, had each increased the amount of land which could be used by irrigation by about a million acres each. The enormous areas thus brought into crop raising during the preceding twenty years throughout the country, in addition to the "dry farming" and more scientific methods, had not a little to do with the over-production of the later twenties and the plight in which the farmer was eventually to find himself. Some authorities think we had brought far more land into cultivation than could be profitably used in the world conditions which followed the war.

Farmers are interested in waterways and water-power sites. To a considerable extent the problem has changed to one of markets and cheap production, and to-day the farmer is more interested in such matters as the St. Lawrence waterway, which would make the Great Lakes cities of the Middle West seaports, and in the control of water-power sites and rates, than he is in bringing more land into use. Naturally the East, and especially the great port of New York, is opposed to the canals around the rapids of the Canadian river which would divert much of the western traffic from itself. On the other hand, President Franklin Roosevelt claims that if we do not join Canada in the project she will build by herself and leave us out whereas we could make good terms by joining in an international agreement and undertaking.

Along with most of the coal, oil, and other assets once owned by the government and so by the people as a whole, most of the sites for water power have passed into private hands. Little attention was paid to the ownership of water power until the age of electricity. In the early colonial days a little waterfall of a river or stream was generally used only to turn the wheel of a mill which ground the wheat for a small neighborhood. It meant for the owner only a comfortable living like

that of his neighbors. In the present day the problem has taken a quite different form. Our great water-power sites may distribute



WESTERN PART OF THE UNITED STATES SHOWING LOCATION OF FEDERAL IRRIGATION AND POWER PROJECTS

electricity for hundreds of miles and one company may control the light and power of a section as large as many of the nations of Europe. Such a control of light and power should not be abused.

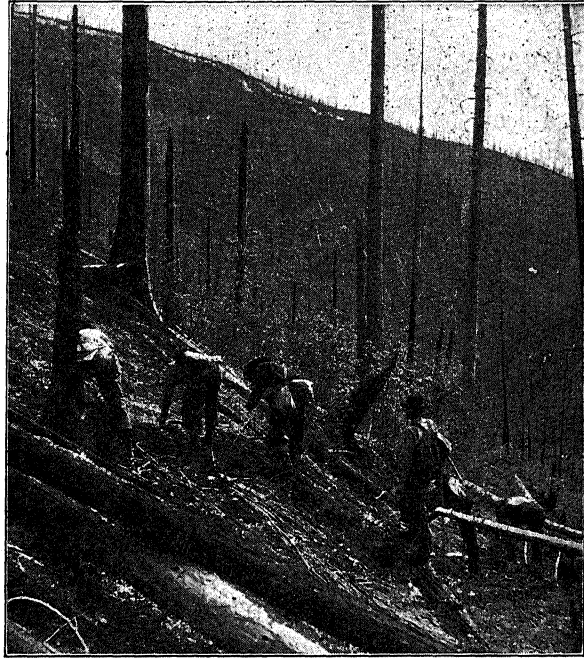
This is one of the difficult problems now before us. It is pointed

out that the public through the private corporations is already to a great extent the owner of the water powers already being used. Not only are the stocks of the corporations very widely distributed among the people but the bonds of these and other power and light companies are owned to the extent of billions of dollars by savings banks and life-insurance companies in the welfare of which almost every person in the country who has any savings for the future is interested.

Franklin Roosevelt is interested in development of water power. In 1933 President Franklin Roosevelt undertook the development of several great power centers, one in the district around Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River, which the government had bought during the war, another on the Columbia River, one huge dam near Portland, Oregon, and

another in northern Washington called the Grand Coulee, in the Northwest. He also advocated the use of power which might be developed from the St. Lawrence water-way plan. Boulder Dam on the Colorado River had been authorized by Congress under Hoover in 1929. The Muscle Shoals scheme is the most comprehensive and under the name of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) aims at trying to organize a vast district not only for power production but for conservation in general.

Roosevelt lays plans to conserve our young men. One of the interesting turns which the conservation movement has taken was the



CCC PLANTING CREW SETTING OUT SEEDLINGS IN THE ST. JOE NATIONAL FOREST, IDAHO

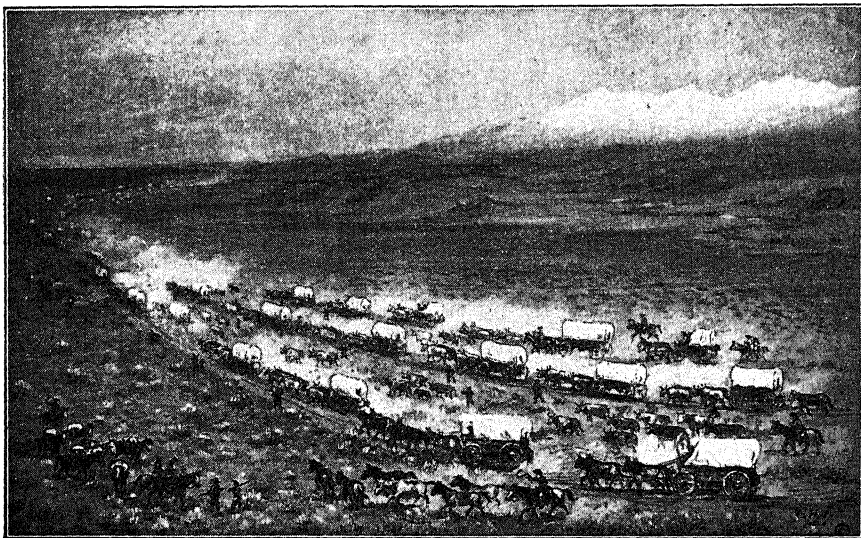
organization by Roosevelt in the spring of 1933 of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). By the summer he had in the Corps over 30,000 members of the American Legion, and about 210,000 other young Americans out of work. They were set to building 50,000 miles of roads and trails, 12,000 miles of telegraph lines between forest fire look-outs, and improving in other ways the conditions on about 15,000,000 acres of our forest lands. Without military training in this country and with the practical disappearance of frontier experience, the opportunity for a large number of young men to spend some time in a semi-disciplined life in the open is an admirable plan. With educational features added to the useful work of conserving our forest and perhaps other resources, the advantages for both the men and the government are many. The future of this work holds many possibilities.

4. Western Influence in American History

“Westward the course of empire takes its way.” There have been many “Wests” in our history as there have been many frontiers. The first West was the string of settlements which had pushed out from the old tide-water sections of all the colonies and gone farther toward the mountains. After the Revolution the West crossed the mountains and entered the valley. Successively after that it pushed on, in this direction and that, until it met over the Rocky Mountains the West of the Pacific coast which had been peopled by those seeking gold. But these Wests have all had much the same influence on our history and outlook.

The West makes for democracy and nationalism. It was from the first West, the “back” or “up” counties, that came the strongest demands for democracy, equality, manhood suffrage, and individualism. That has been characteristic of every West, and especially of that great West which lies in the “valley of democracy” as the Mississippi Valley has been called. It was also from the first West that came the strongest bond of nationalism in the otherwise jealous colonies. There was little in common between a Boston merchant and a Virginia planter, but there was much between a back-country farmer in New England and a small farmer of western Pennsylvania, the Shenandoah Valley, or the uplands of even the Carolinas. The later Wests also made for nationalism. It was to save the first West over the Appalachians that Jefferson bought “Louisiana” from Napoleon and in a single stride carried our bounds to the western mountains.

It was again the great Northwest which by its refusal to secede in the war between North and South finally saved the nation from being riven in two. The political influence of the West has also been felt, rising to flood tide once each generation, in demanding that the nation stand for the ideals of Americanism as against an Old World social order. In this it has often found allies among the working classes in



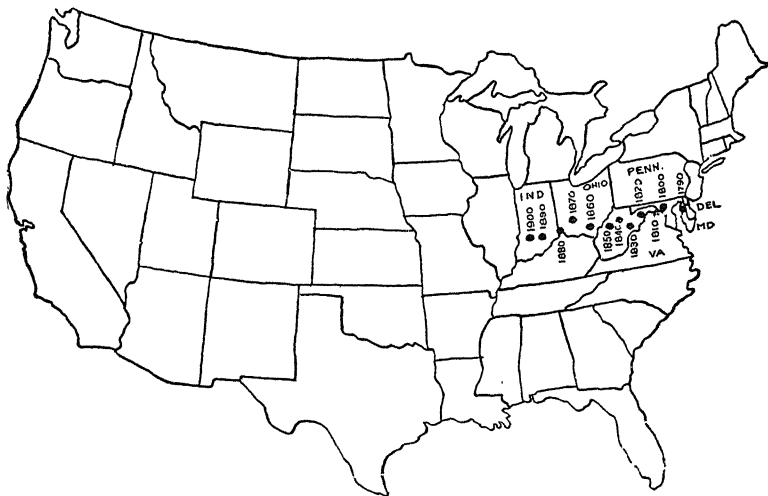
THE SPIRIT OF THE FRONTIER. THE OREGON TRAIL IN SOUTH PASS, 1852
From a painting copyright by the Oregon Trail Association.

the East but not among the conservatives. The first flood was when Jefferson in the name of democracy defeated the Federalist party. The second was when the West rallied triumphantly under Jackson against the East. Again, the West won under Lincoln. The fourth generation saw the rising under Bryan.

The West stands for equal opportunities for all. The measures proposed by the West have often been crude, but to a great extent what has been thought radical in one generation has become accepted in the next. In any case, the West has had a clear notion of what it wanted if it may not always have been wise in the measures it has proposed to win it. In a word, what it has wanted was to keep the door of opportunity open for the mass of men instead of having it closed by privileges belonging to a few, and to set the rights of human nature above those of

property. This does not mean that it has wanted to confiscate or repudiate. It means that the West has believed that social and economic relations should be human relations, based on fair play for all.

When Western farmers in each recurring crisis have often refused to allow mortgages to be foreclosed on their farms, it has not meant they did not intend to pay but that they did intend that the enforcement



WESTERN MOVEMENT OF THE CENTER OF POPULATION AS DETERMINED BY THE CENSUS BUREAU FOR THE DECADES 1790-1900

In 1900, the center was six miles west of Columbus, Indiana. By 1920, the center had moved farther west, to the village of Whitehall, Indiana.

of the very letter of the bond shall not take away from them any chance of ever paying. When they have fought railroads it has not been because they wanted free transportation, but because they have insisted on fair rates and refused to bear the whole burden of watered stock which has gone to line the pockets of some one else.

The West makes our democracy different. In this day there are great democracies in other countries. England and France are both democracies in a political sense in spite of the British monarchy, but American democracy is something essentially different. It is not merely political. There is a sense of genuine friendliness in America, not as between persons of different classes but as between human beings, which is not found elsewhere. It is not due to the thinking of statesmen nor to our Constitution, but to the daily conditions of life and their

influences on frontier after frontier for three centuries. It is the contribution of "the West" to our national character and ways of looking at things. It is what, in its successive revolts, the West has insisted should remain in American life and laws.

What the West battled for under Bryan was at bottom what it had always been fighting for. It was not simply that the Democratic platform appeared so radical. In the eyes of conservatives Jefferson, Jackson, and even Lincoln had been radical. It was that something had gone out of or come into American life which had shifted the major forces.

It is too soon to prophesy as to the future. It is impossible to tell whether the American Dream was so closely dependent on free land and a frontier that it will pass with them or whether the ideals more deeply engrained in the West than in any other section may serve to keep us from becoming an Old World civilization with its proletarians and classes. We are now trying to do consciously by law what free land for three hundred years did for us unconsciously, and the change is great.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Branch, *The Hunting of the Buffalo*; Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*; Buck, *The Granger Movement*; Fuller, *The Inland Empire*, III; Hough, *The Passing of the Frontier*; Hough, *The Way to the West*; Hulbert, *The Paths of Inland Commerce*; Johnson, *American Railway Transportation*; Leupp, *The Indian and His Problem*; Moody, *The Railroad Builders*; Ogg, *The Old Northwest*; Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman*; Paxson, *The Last American Frontier*; Rollins, *The Cowboy*; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*; Riegel, *America Moves West*; Seymour, *The Story of the Red Man*; Turner, *The New West*; Webb, *The Great Plains*; White, *The Forty-Niners*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, 561-574; IV, nos. 163, 204; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 183, 188; Muzzey, *Readings*, 526-545.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Adams, *Log of a Cowboy*; Altsheler, *Last of the Chiefs*; Clemens, *Roughing It*; Eggleston, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*; Garland, *A Son of the Middle Border*; Grinnell, *Story of the Indian*; Harte, *Luck of Roaring Camp*; Hough, *North of '36*; Hough, *The Covered Wagon*; Hough, *The Story of the Cowboy*; James, *Lone Cowboy*; Miles, *Personal Recollections*; Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman*; Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting-Trail*; Shinn, *Story of the Mine*; Sutley, *The Last Frontier*; Warman, *Story of the Railroad*; White, *The Blazed Trail*; Wilson, *The Able McLaughlins*.

III. *QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT*

1. Why did many people move west at the close of the Civil War? 2. Describe the building of the Union Pacific Railroad. 3. How do you account for such extensive railroad building in the West? 4. Why did the settlement of the West bring trouble with the Indians? 5. Why did the West become a great cattle range? 6. Show that our Western frontiersmen built an empire. 7. How did the West act as a safety valve? 8. How did the free Western land help us solve the problem of crime? 9. Discuss the waste of our natural resources. How do you explain this waste? 10. What was President Cleveland's attitude on the question of conservation? 11. Discuss the work of Theodore Roosevelt in the fields of conservation and reclamation. 12. What was Taft's stand on conservation? 13. Explain how the cultivation of so much cultivated land helped to cause the farmers' plight of the 1920's. 14. Why are farmers to-day interested in waterways and water-power sites? 15. Discuss President Franklin Roosevelt's interest in water-power development. 16. What is the purpose of the Civilian Conservation Corps? 17. Explain how the West makes for democracy and nationalism. 18. How has the West wielded a powerful political influence? 19. Show that the West stands for equal opportunities for all. 20. How does the West make our democracy different from that of any other nation? 21. Do you think we can do by law what free land has done for us?

IV. *EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES*

1. **IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW:** Building of the Union Pacific Railroad, war against the Indians of the West, the disappearance of the frontier, the destruction of our natural resources, the work of Presidents Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin Roosevelt on conservation and reclamation.
2. **PROJECT:** Collect pictures showing conservation and reclamation projects and make them into a booklet.
3. **PROBLEM:** How do you explain the influence the West has had on American life?
4. **DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED:** That our National Government is justified in competing with corporations for the control of water-power.
5. **ESSAY SUBJECT:** The work of the Civilian Conservation Corps.
6. **IMAGINARY LETTER:** Imagine that you were present at the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad and witnessed the ceremony. Write a letter to a friend describing the scene.
7. **DIARY:** You spent several years of your life on a western cattle ranch. Many interesting things occurred during your stay in the West. You jotted down notes about them. Read some of your notes to your class.

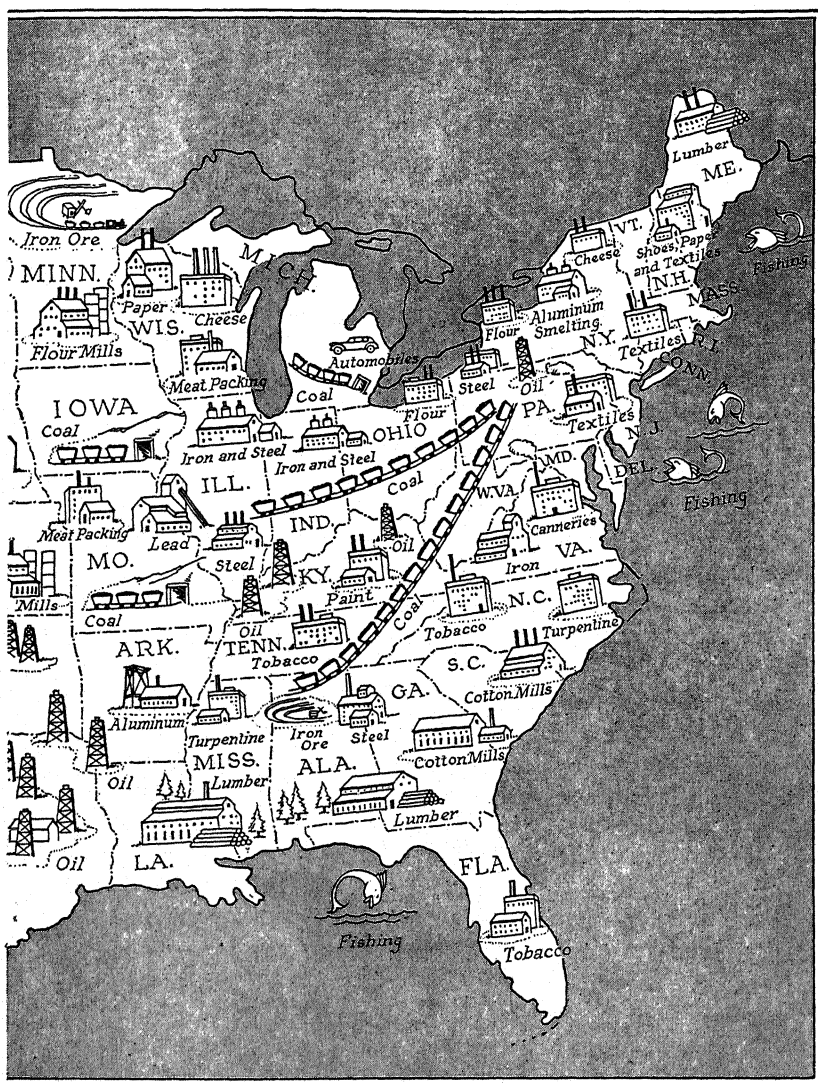
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Red Cloud, General Custer, William F. Cody, Sitting Bull, Gifford Pinchot.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1862, 1869, 1890, 1933.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: "Frontier spirit," great open spaces, safety valve, soil erosion, "dry farming," "valley of democracy."
11. MAP WORK: *a.* Draw a rough outline map of the United States and show on it the various "Wests" in our history. *b.* On your outline map indicate the route followed by the Union Pacific Railroad.
12. GRAPH WORK: *a.* In some graphic way show the selfish exploitation of our natural resources. *b.* In some graphic way show the influence of the West on American life.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. CONTINENTAL RAILROADS: Bogart, *Economic History*, ch. 22; Davis, *Union Pacific Railway*; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions*, ch. 3; Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*; Paxson, *Last American Frontier*, chs. 11-13.
2. INDIAN RELATIONS, 1860-1876: Brady, *Indian Fights and Fighters*; Cody, *Story of the Wild West*; Custer, *My Life on the Plains*; Jackson, *Century of Dishonor*, chs. 3-7; Paxson, *Last American Frontier*, chs. 2, 8, 20-21.
3. DEVELOPMENT OF THE MINING FRONTIER: Langford, *Vigilante Days and Ways*; Meade, *Story of Gold*; Paxson, *Last American Frontier*, chs. 9-10; Schafer, *Pacific Northwest*, 260-270; Shinn, *Story of the Mine*.
4. LANDS AND WESTERN AGRICULTURE: Bogart, *Economic History*, ch. 20; Casson, *Romance of the Reaper*; Coman, *Industrial History*, 294-297; Edgar, *Story of a Grain of Wheat*, chs. 8-11; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions*, ch. 1.
5. TRADE AND SETTLEMENT IN THE FAR WEST: Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, ch. 22; II, chs. 2-10; Garrison, *Westward Extension*, 23-34; Linn, *Mormons*, books V, VI, chs. 1-9; Paxson, *Last American Frontier*, chs. 1-7; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*.



INDUSTRIAL, AGRICULTURAL, AND MINING



MAP OF THE UNITED STATES

UNIT VII

UNIT VII tells the story of the development of our economic system—of the growth of industry and commerce from the self-sufficient homes of the colonists to the giant corporations of to-day. You will see how the Industrial Revolution came to America and how it has altered our lives in many ways. You will know how the machine age has solved the problem of production but how it has left almost untouched the problem of distribution.

This unit traces the struggle between the factory system of the free states and the plantation system of the slave states and sets forth how the War between the States aided business enterprise. It shows how great fortunes were made and traces the story of the formation of corporations and monopolies on the one hand and labor organizations on the other.

Closely connected with the story of the organization of capital is that of the tariff and the banks. Unit VII takes up the history of our tariff from the early days of our republic down to the present time. In like manner it tells the story of the development of our banking system.

UNIT VII

HOW THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE USHERED IN THE AGE OF STEEL, MACHINES, AND HUGE CORPORATIONS

TOPIC I

OUR EARLY ECONOMIC SYSTEM

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To show that the colonists were self-supporting.
2. To see the commercial and industrial problems of the colonial and Revolutionary periods.
3. To understand how colonial fortunes were made.

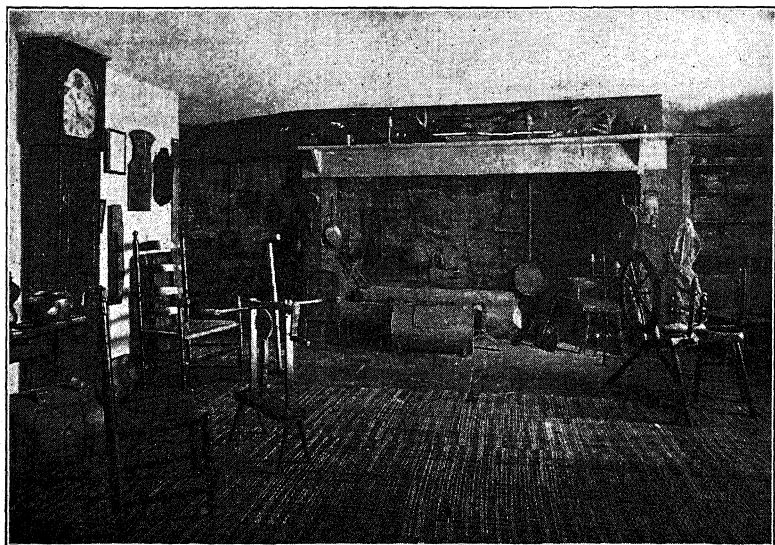
1. *The Self-Sufficient Homes of the Colonists*

Our colonial forefathers are self-sustaining. During the colonial period from the first settlements to the winning of independence, the scale of living on the part of the more wealthy increased very considerably. But even so, the best houses were merely comfortable roomy mansions of modest size. The characteristic of the whole period was the remarkable extent to which people were self-sustaining in their own households or on their farms. While the rich needed money for their luxuries, the vast majority of Americans were then comfortable without much money income.

The colonists make furniture and clothes and raise their food. Except in towns, as population grew, the houses were usually built by the owner himself with the help at times of neighbors. The land would cost a trifling sum if anything at all. Once started, the members of the household provided almost everything they used. The simple furniture, somewhat rude but in earlier times often carved or painted, was frequently wholly made in winter evenings by the family. A few things, such as the iron pots or pieces of pewter, were bought; but most of the household utensils, largely of wood, were also home-made, as were the implements used on the farm. When the light at night was not derived merely from the open fire but the luxury of candles was permitted, these

too had been made, either from tallow or bayberries. The fuel for the fire was gathered from the family's own woodlot.

Practically the entire food supply cost nothing but labor. A few things had to be bought, such as salt, but the main items were home-grown. The various vegetables, including the important corn, were the produce of the farm. The farmer's cows and pigs, killed in the fall and salted down, provided the beef and bacon for the year. Near the seacoast fresh or salted fish, caught by some one in the household or



THE KITCHEN IN THE HOUSE WHERE GEORGE WASHINGTON STAYED IN MORRISTOWN, NEW JERSEY, SHOWING MANY OF THE UTENSILS AND FURNITURE MADE BY THE COLONISTS

exchanged for something they produced, gave a welcome variety. Fruit grew in the orchard, and there were berries in abundance which were canned for winter use.

Clothes were largely of family make, both in material and manufacture. Wool from the farmer's sheep was carded, woven, and spun by the women, who also made both their own dresses and the men's suits. Shoes might be made by the village shoe-maker but the leather for these and for harness and other needs was from the farmer's cattle. All the family in a thrifty household became expert at their many tasks, and whether times were good or bad a farm was a little kingdom of its own

which produced practically all the real necessities and most of the comforts of life.

The colonists live the simple life. Taxes were light because scarcely any of the purposes for which modern taxes are collected then existed. There were no sewerage system, police, fire department, expensive schools, and other things to maintain. Moreover there was practically no need of money for amusement. Except for occasional theatrical performances in a few towns there was scarcely anything one could spend money for, no moving pictures, amusement parks, or all the many things which call for money to-day. The husking bees, dances, and other social entertainments were in the barns or houses where neighbors met. The refreshments were prepared by the women and cost work not money. These conditions were almost universal and applied to the small farmers or planters South as well as North. Of course in the cities, which were scarcely more than small towns, the artisans, shop-keepers, and others had more of a money income and had to buy a larger part of what they used, but even they needed little as contrasted with to-day. There were no costly plumbing, cars, telephones, expensive amusements or most of the things which drain our pockets now.

The rich, especially in the North, were less self-sustaining and bought many luxuries denied to most, such as portraits, imported furniture, dresses and clothes from London, books, and wines. Although the rich Southern planter also bought these things, even the largest plantation was self-dependent to a degree unknown anywhere in our modern world. The staple crop of tobacco was shipped to England and its sale provided the money needed for the planter's English purchases. Outside of the luxuries, however, everything was provided by the plantation. Among the slaves were brick-layers, carpenters, and so forth. The master's coach and harness might be imported, but the farm tools, harness for work horses, clothing for the slaves, and nearly everything else was made on the place.

We may say that Americans, apart from the wealthy, in this period had to work hard but in exchange were sure of a comfortable living almost regardless of whether they "made money" or not.

2. Colonial Manufacturing

The colonists carry on little manufacturing. The conditions given in the preceding paragraphs did much to delay the introduction of manufacturing in the colonies. As most Americans made themselves what they needed, there was little market for what might be made to

be sold. Most people also had little money with which to buy anything. The richer usually preferred to buy in London where they would get the latest styles and better work. We now collect, for example, our own early American furniture and silverware, but at the time rich Americans wanted not these comparatively simple things but productions of a noted furniture maker or silversmith from abroad.

Other factors also retarded manufactures. Labor was very scarce. When a man could have a farm and home of his own, he did not care to work for wages. He wisely preferred the self-sufficient independence of working for his own needs rather than merely to be paid for making something for some one else to sell. There was also a scarcity of capital to put into manufacturing. The capital of most Americans was in their land and even if a rich planter or merchant did have ready money he preferred to employ it in his shipping or other enterprises in the North or tobacco raising in the South, which promised larger returns. Finally, as the theory of empire in those days was that colonies should ship raw materials to the mother country and provide a market for her manufactured goods, various laws were passed in England designed to discourage, even if not wholly to prevent, manufacturing by the colonists themselves. Some sorts were wholly forbidden.

Manufacturing starts in the New England colonies. There was, however, a beginning made in some lines. For the most part, nevertheless, manufacturing was mostly carried on in households and not in factories. There was no machinery in the modern sense. Manufacture then had its original Latin meaning which is "to make by hand." In England some improvements had been made in looms for weaving, but it was not until the end of the colonial period that Hargreaves invented the "spinning Jenny" (named for his wife) which made possible spinning by power looms.

Manufacture, even in the household sense of making goods in the household for sale instead of use by the family, started in New England. This was because New England always found it more difficult than the South, which exported its tobacco, to raise commodities which it could sell to England and so get credit there for buying things. It is said that some of the Presbyterians who had come to Massachusetts from the north of Ireland, a great center for linen manufacturing, introduced better methods, and linen was one of the early New England manufactures. The material, however, was coarse and the industry was small. A little business also sprang up secretly in making hats, though this was strictly forbidden by England. Many of the

colonies also had what were called "fulling mills" which did the shrinking, shearing, and finishing of woollen cloth after it had been woven in the homes. Other industries were the dressing of furs for shipment and the tanning of leather. In the latter industry there were also beating mills which made the leather soft and pliable.

The chief manufacturing industry of New England, however, was ship-building. The next important industry was perhaps the mak-



Courtesy of the New York Museum of Science and Industry

MODEL OF THE JOHN WINTHROP MILL, WITH OVERSHOT WATER WHEEL, BUILT IN NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT, IN 1650, AND STILL IN OPERATING CONDITION

ing of rum from the molasses received from the West Indies. Rum was then not only drunk in large quantities but was later the chief article exchanged for slaves in Africa and was the foundation of the American slave trade, largely carried on by New England.

In the middle colonies there was a greater variety of small manufactures in the later colonial period than in New England, for many mechanics had come from many lands who could use their various skills for their neighborhoods. Flour milling, however, was the most important manufacturing industry there.

Iron furnaces spring up throughout the colonies. One of the earliest manufactures and always encouraged by the colonists was the

making of iron. The furnaces were all small, one of the largest, in Virginia, producing only 600 tons a year by 1760. Nevertheless, by the opening of the Revolution, Rhode Island was producing bar and sheet iron, nails, stoves, and anchors. There were also a few paper mills, and the early colonial pottery and glass now command high prices from collectors.

These were all beginnings, but they were only beginnings. There were no great plants, no sordid districts of work and workers, and even in those industries, like iron, where the work was not done at home the groups of employees were small. The relation between the employer and his few men was personal and much like that of a farmer and his help. Manufacturing with all its modern problems came in only after the Industrial Revolution of the next century.

3. Commercial and Industrial Problems of the Revolutionary Period

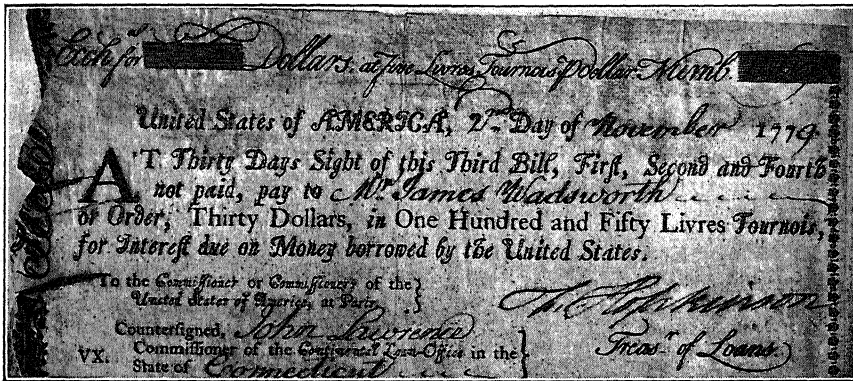
The Revolutionary War dislocates the economic life. The end of the War of Independence brought relief and rejoicing to the colonies. The eight years precisely from April 19, 1775, when the first really warlike engagement between Americans and the British had occurred at Lexington, to April 18, 1783, when the formal announcement was made that the war was ended and independence won, had been years of suffering, anxiety, and turmoil. It has been claimed by some historians that America was prosperous in the last year or two of the war. It is true that after 1778 there was increasing importation of foreign goods and even luxuries. It is also true that, as compared with most wars of equal importance, the actual destruction of American property had been slight.

Over 90 per cent of the population was engaged in agriculture, and even within the zones of actual military operations there had been little damage to farm property. It has even been said that the great bulk of the population went on with their farming undisturbed by the fact of war. Such statements, however, do not appraise fairly the vast dislocation that occurred in the economic life of the people.

The war makes few people rich and many poor. There was bred, of course, as in all wars, a class of new rich, of men who had been shrewd enough to take advantage of conditions for their private benefit, who had profited by army contracts, or who had been lucky in speculation or privateering. Sudden profits called for unwonted luxuries.

On the other hand many firms were ruined. To a large extent the god of chance had ruled. The loss of a ship or two might cripple a merchant of standing, whereas a capture of one or two enemy vessels might make some one rich. One of the most marked changes in Boston at the end of the war was the great alteration in the personnel of its "leading" citizens. If in that town after 1778 there was much dissipation and extravagance, there was also much pinching poverty and economizing. What was true of Massachusetts was largely true also of other colonies.

The continental currency falls rapidly. Apart from the influence of war on various occupations, such as the disastrous effect on the



A THIRD BILL OF EXCHANGE

Issued by the Connecticut Loan Office under authority of an Act of Continental Congress of September 9, 1777, in payment of interest due on Loan Office Certificates representing money borrowed by the United States at Paris from funds advanced by the French Government. The bills were issued in sets of four, and the first one of any set to be paid automatically voided the rest.

From the Chase Bank Collection of Moneys of the World.

fisheries, the factor that counted most in disturbing economic life was the continuous depreciation in the paper money, and the corresponding advance in prices.

Because of their fear of taxation, the colonies refused to grant to Congress any power to raise money by that means. And as they failed miserably in making voluntary grants to the central government, that body had to carry on the war by the simple but disastrous method of turning out paper money on the printing press. Over \$240,000,000

was thus issued by Congress and an equally colossal sum for those days by the several colonies. The steady increase of the amount of currency outstanding, and the decreasing prospect of its ever being reduced as promised, naturally led to its decline in value measured in coin or goods.

Over and over, the United States pledged its "sacred honor" that the bills would be redeemed at their face value. They were forced on the people at times regardless of depreciation. General Putnam issued an army order that any civilians declining to take the paper money at its face value in exchange for goods should be imprisoned and suffer forfeiture of their merchandise. The council of safety of Pennsylvania added banishment as the punishment. Yet the paper fell steadily until, like the German mark after the World War, it became practically worthless. The final lack of any value in the continental currency gave rise to the expression, still used, "not worth a continental."

Our economic life is on an unsound basis. The reverse of this movement was a fantastic rise in the prices of merchandise, farm produce, and all other goods, and in wages, though as usual wages did not rise in proportion to the cost of living. As we know well from our recent experiences from 1929 on, any such great readjustment in prices has very unequal effects on different classes. The rapid rise in prices gives the effect of a feverish prosperity, while many persons suffer and the whole community is on an unsound basis.

After a time, it became almost impossible to trade in terms of money, and barter was widely used. The relations between debtors and creditors became impossible. If a man borrowed money or held up payment for purchases, all he had to do was to wait with the assurance that he could pay his debts for a half, or less than when he had made them. Creditors of all sorts, shopkeepers with open accounts, lenders of money, mortgagees, persons whose property was held in trust, were often ruined.

Even Washington refused to have his agents accept payments in the paper. He declared that, although he would gladly sacrifice his entire estate in a common cause he would not consent to be ruined in such a dishonorable way while others were prospering. Bitterly did he complain that "idleness, dissipation, and extravagance, speculation, speculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches seem to have got the better of every other consideration, and almost of every order of men."

Farmers who were getting high prices seemed on the one hand to themselves to be getting rich, yet on the other, their labor supply was

very uncertain. When the men were at the front, it sometimes was almost impossible, even with the help of the women, to raise the crops. Moreover, the farmers paid equally high prices for such articles as they had to buy. And it must be recalled that the great mass of farmers did not raise their crops for sale but for their own consumption, so that they gained little or nothing on the high farm prices while they lost by high merchandise prices. Besides they were under the influence of the general extravagance developed by the overturn of all the old standards of living.

England limits our trade with her empire. There was, however, prosperity for certain classes, and with the return of peace all hoped to share in it. We expected the trade of the world to be open to us. We had hoped to negotiate with England a treaty of commerce as well as of peace, but England had declined. We had forced her to acknowledge our complete independence, but in her view we were a foreign country. By our rebellion we had not only deprived her of the most important part of her empire but had become the ally of her immemorial enemy, France.

She saw no reason for giving us special privileges in her imperial trade, though Lord Shelburne and others had a wider vision and would have tried to unite the two nations closely in sentiment and commerce. Unhappily, narrower views, such as those advocated by Lord Sheffield in his *Observations of the Commerce of the American States*, were to prevail. In the war, England had found herself almost alone in a hostile world, with her fleet heavily outclassed. She now determined to make no concessions which might build up American shipping at the expense of her own.

In 1783, by Orders in Council, she excluded our vessels from Canada and the West Indies, putting us on the same footing as any other foreign nation. She did the same when she allowed our vessels in her own ports precisely the same privileges as those of any European power. On the other hand she did admit free of duty all our raw materials, to be carried direct from America to England in either our vessels or her own, on the old basis of colonial days. This concession was an important one, but our exclusion from the West Indies played havoc with our old triangular trade routes.

We were not excluded from trading with the islands but from doing so in our own vessels. The owners of these vessels were forced to hunt for new sources of trading and were irritated against the British, who were certainly within their rights. Their policy was unwise for the

long run, but we were illogical in demanding at once independence and those old special privileges in her trade which we had enjoyed as part of the empire.

France, too, limits our commerce. France also reduced the privileges she had accorded us as allies in the war. In 1783 she excluded our vessels from her West Indies. Although the following year she opened to us some of her ports there for certain articles, they had to be carried only in small vessels which were required to ply directly between the islands and our own ports. In so far as our triangular trade was concerned, therefore, she interfered with our shipping as much as did England.

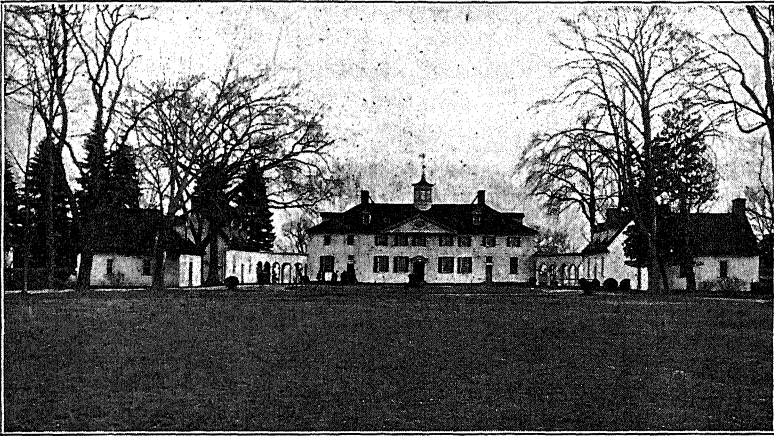
Our economic life gradually adjusts itself. To some extent, however, these foreign Orders in Council became dead letters and by 1785 we had begun to trade with the West Indies much as we had been accustomed to in the past. The Dutch and Danish islands had always been open to us, and Spain opened the ports of Santiago and Havana in Cuba. Our commerce returned to normal. The economic life of the new states was also on a sounder basis from the rapid increase which had taken place in manufacture during the non-importation periods and the war. Manufactories of firearms, iron works, textile mills, and other industries had been started and prospered, and these reduced to some extent the necessity of such imports, helped our trade balance, and gave greater variety to our occupations.

There was a severe depression in 1785, as usually happens two or three years after the close of a great war. Then there was increasing prosperity until our first national panic came in 1791.

4. Large Fortunes in Colonial Times

Large fortunes are acquired only by a few. Although almost any honest and hardworking American in the colonial and early national period could acquire the simple comforts of life as they were then understood, large fortunes were acquired only by the few. Throughout the whole history of the world fortunes have been usually made by a combination of qualities and circumstances. These remain pretty constant, however different the times may be. The winners of the great accumulations of wealth have usually had ability, shrewdness, an instinct for making money, luck, often unscrupulousness, and a way of getting special privileges from government. This was true in Greece, in its period of greatness around 400 B.C. It was true in the period we are discussing, and it is still true to-day.

In the South the Byrds and Carrolls build huge fortunes. We may note some of the examples of colonial days. One of the noted magnates of Virginia was William Byrd. His father was a born money-maker. Coming to Virginia he got grants of land, inherited more in 1671, engaged in the slave trade and the Indian trade in furs, held public office, planted tobacco, was interested in shipping, and speculated in land. His son became master of 180,000 acres of land and of a fortune in slaves and money. Another noted Southerner who made one of



From a photograph by Brown Brothers

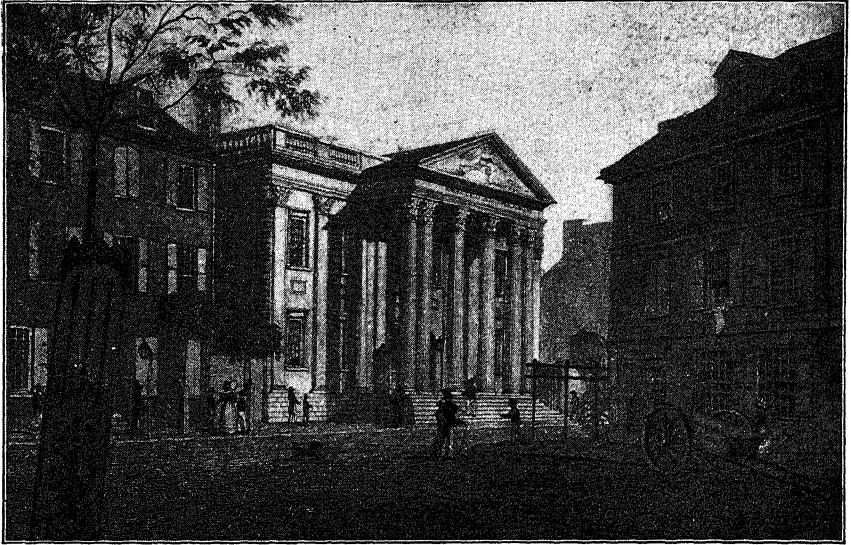
MOUNT VERNON, THE HOME OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, A SOUTHERN PLANTATION TYPICAL OF ITS CLASS AND PERIOD

the greatest Southern fortunes was Charles Carroll of Maryland. He managed to secure grants of land to himself of over 60,000 acres. He spent much money in Ireland and Germany to induce settlers to come over as tenants, as Americans refused to be tenants because they knew they could get land for themselves instead of paying rent. Carroll thus built up the value of his land while retaining the title to it. Wilderness land was worth nothing. Thickly settled land had a value.

Large fortunes are made in New York and New England. In New York there were even larger land grants to those who stood well with the royal governor. Individuals or small groups got grants running from 90,000 to 2,000,000 acres. In New York the founder of the Livingston family obtained political office, made enormous profits as an army contractor, lent money at high rates, had flour and saw

mills, a bakery and a brewery, and ended with a landed estate sixteen miles wide and twenty-four miles long.

In New Hampshire the governor, Benning Wentworth, who had been bankrupt in 1740, owned 100,000 acres of timberland twenty years later, had a fortune in money, and was living in a house with fifty-two rooms, the most princely on the continent. His brother became the lumber king of his time and one of the richest men in America.



GIRARD'S BANK, PHILADELPHIA, IN 1831

From an engraving by Sears after a drawing by Burton.

Some fortunes are made in commerce. As commerce and the size of vessels increased, shipping became a source of other fortunes. Although the Revolution broke up trade temporarily, privateering proved extraordinarily profitable for those who had luck. Israel Thorn-dike of Boston, by his success in privateering, regular shipping, real-estate speculation, and business ventures, left \$1,800,000 when he died, a very old man in 1832. Nathaniel Tracy, who had twenty-five priva-teers, lived in magnificent style until in a run of bad luck the British ruined him by capturing his ships.

Stephen Girard of Philadelphia, however, became the prince of shipping merchants. While most others were losing money, he piled

it up by secretly trading with the enemy in the Revolution. After the war he made money in both shipping and banking. He was the first of the banker millionaires and left \$6,000,000.

John Jacob Astor makes his fortune in furs. Another type of fortune was that of John Jacob Astor, who arrived in New York practically penniless in 1784. He got a job in a fur store, went into the fur trade for himself, and by 1800 was the leading Western fur-trader in America. He also became a shipping merchant sending ships to the Orient. At length he carried out his plan of collecting furs in Oregon, sending them to China, selling them for high prices, buying Chinese goods, and selling them in New York. Meanwhile he was making money in other ways and investing in real estate in the fast-growing city of New York. When he died in 1848 he left about \$40,000,000 largely in city real estate which is the foundation of one of the greatest of the fortunes of to-day.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Adams, *Revolutionary New England*, chs. 6-16; Beer, *British Colonial Policy*, 1754-1765, chs. 13-14; Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States*, 1607-1860, chs. 1-10; Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*, chs. 3-8; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, chs. 1-3; Faulkner, *American Economic History*, chs. 1-7; Hulbert, *Paths of Inland Commerce*; Marvin, *The American Merchant Marine*, chs. 4-14; Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*, chs. 1-5; Paine, *The Old Merchant Marine*; Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, chs. 7-8.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Bogart and Thompson, *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, 42-80, 96-105; Callender, *Selections from the Economic History of the United States*, chs. 7-8; Commons, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*; Hart, *Contemporaries*, II, nos. 85-89, 102-108; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 15, 19, 22, 28; *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 44, 104, 131.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Burnaby, *Travels*; Clark, *Clipper Ship Era*; Franklin, *Autobiography*; Harland, *His Great Self*; Woolman, *Journal*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Explain how the colonists were in a large measure self-supporting.
2. How did the colonists live the simple life?
3. Show how the Southern plantations were almost wholly self-supporting.
4. What factors prevented the colonists from carrying on manufacturing to any great extent?
5. Why did manufacturing start in New England?
6. Compare colonial manufacturing with that of to-day.
7. How did the Revolutionary War dislocate the

economic life of the colonies? 8. How did the Revolutionary War make a few people rich but many poor? 9. Why did the continental currency depreciate in value? 10. What attitude did England and France take toward our commerce at the close of the Revolution?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The self-sufficing life of the colonists, manufacturing in colonial days, how the Revolutionary War dislocated the economic life of the colonists, depreciation of continental currency, funding of the continental currency, how the European nations limited our commerce at the close of the Revolutionary War, how fortunes were built up in colonial days.
2. PROJECT: Show how the amassing of large fortunes has been both an advantage and a disadvantage in the history of our country.
3. PROBLEM: Why were there so few wealthy people in colonial times?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That England was justified in discouraging manufacturing in her colonies.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: A self-sufficient home in early days.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that your home was on a large plantation in colonial days. Write a letter to a friend of yours in New England describing life in the South.
7. DIARY: You bought furs for John Jacob Astor in the far Northwest. You kept a diary of your daily activities. Read to your class extracts from your diary.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Hargreaves, General Putnam, William Byrd, Charles Carroll, Stephen Girard, John Jacob Astor.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1783, 1785, 1791.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Household manufacturing, "spinning Jenny," "fulling mills," turning out paper money on the printing press, feverish prosperity, barter.
11. MAP WORK: Give a map talk locating the following places and stating the historical significance of each? Lexington, Santiago, Havana.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. COLONIAL COMMERCE: Andrews, *Colonial Folkways*; Channing, *History of the United States*, II, 507-521; Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, II, ch. 16; Greene, *Provincial America*, ch. 17.
2. COLONIAL INDUSTRIES: Faris, *When America Was Young*, ch. 1; Faulkner, *American Economic History*, ch. 4; Forman, *The Rise of American Commerce and Industry*, ch. 6; Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860*, chs. 1-6; Wright, *The Industrial Evolution of the United States*, chs. 1-4, 6-9.

TOPIC II

THE MACHINE AGE

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the significance of the Industrial Revolution.
2. To see the reasons for the organization of labor unions.
3. To know how the Civil War aided business enterprises.
4. To understand how the great fortunes of the machine age were made.
5. To see the results of the formation of corporations and monopolies.

1. *The Industrial Revolution in the United States*

America turns to manufacturing. As we have seen there was comparatively little manufacturing of any sort in the colonial period, and none in the modern sense. The situation became greatly changed early in the nineteenth century. There were several reasons why we undertook then to produce more of what we used and also of what we sold. For one thing, during the Revolutionary War we were cut off from business with England for about six years. We were again cut off during the War of 1812. During both these periods we had to rely much on ourselves. Moreover, our population was growing rapidly. Between the Revolution and the Civil War our numbers increased about ten-fold. This steady increase and the rise of cities meant wider markets for the goods produced. Wealth was also increasing and it is said that the value of American property doubled every ten years. Machinery was coming into use. Our frontier training, which had made us learn to turn our hands to anything, seemed to have increased our inventive ability.

During the first half of the nineteenth century we were both improving on European machines and inventing all sorts of new contrivances, mostly labor-saving, ourselves. The shortage of labor and comparatively high wages were still drawbacks, for our manufacturers had to compete with those of England especially, but on the other hand our distance from England and the cost of transportation were equal to a protective tariff of about 20 per cent. Without going into details we may merely note the enormous increases in the total amount of this

form of industry. In 1812 the value of all our manufactured products was about \$200,000,000. This increased to over \$480,000,000 by 1840 and almost \$1,900,000,000 by 1860.

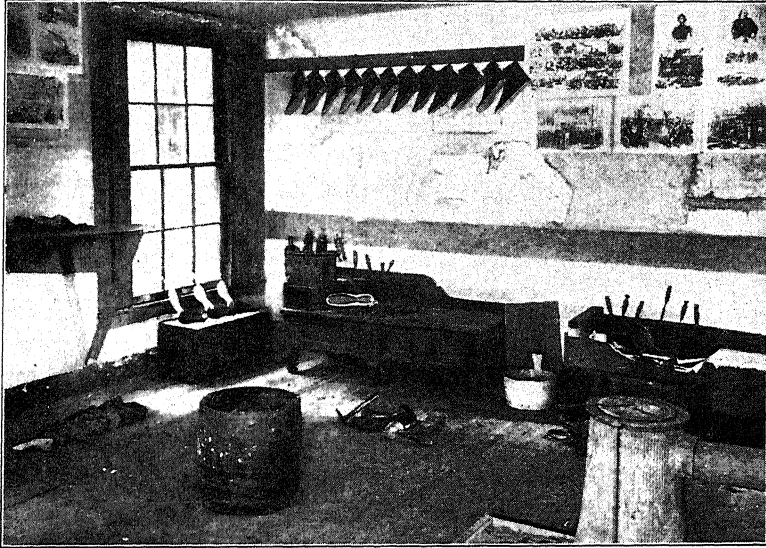
The factory supplants household manufacturing. This enormous increase in the amount of goods made for sale had effects which we shall note, but the change produced by the Industrial Revolution in American life, as in that of other nations, was due not merely to the larger volume of goods but also to the manner of production. Although the old way of producing goods in the homes long lingered on in a few lines such as the garment trade, the introduction of machinery usually turned home production into factory production. This change was longer in coming in some industries than others, depending on the kind of machinery, power, and other factors. A sewing machine could be run in any tenement-house room. A large power loom could not.

The individual workmen cannot compete with the factory. The factory system in itself has had many effects. The household system required practically no capital. A shoemaker, for example, could work in his own house, or as he frequently did, at that of his customer, with a few simple tools and the leather for a pair or two of shoes. The shoe factory calls for the outlay of capital for buildings, machinery, large stocks of material, and credit to customers. Only those who have a fair amount of capital already can start such an enterprise. But, when started, they can far undersell the individual shoemaker. Even the early machine for making shoes could turn out 600 pairs a day.

The individual craftsman thus found himself in many lines unable to compete with the capitalist manufacturer, and had to become a worker in his factory, while the capitalist made more capital rapidly by the use of his machinery. The shoemaker saw his customers buying the cheaper machine-made shoes and had little choice but to become a wage earner instead of having his own little trade. The hours he would have to work, the wages he would get, the conditions in the factory would all be beyond his control unless all the workers were so organized as to be on equal terms with the capitalists in bargaining.

Before the machine age began, almost all Americans had enjoyed or had the chance of enjoying, a reasonable degree of economic independence. The rise of the mill, the factory, and the great industrial plant meant the simultaneous rise of a great class of workers who in time would become dependent on the wages allowed them by capitalists or corporations.

Manufacturing takes people from country to city. In 1760 about 90 per cent of the population was engaged in farming. By 1860 nearly a third of all Americans were estimated to be supported directly or indirectly by manufacturing. Factories also tended to build up cities. Owners have wanted to place their factories where there were ample



Courtesy of the United Shoe Machinery Corporation

WINSLOW'S SHOE SHOP AT LYNN, MASSACHUSETTS

In 1750 at Lynn was established the "ten-foot" shop where men cut out the parts of a shoe and sent the uppers out to women who bound them in their homes. They were then returned to the shop to be sewed to the soles and finished. The equipment shown in the picture is of about 1860 when the shop was last in use.

labor supply and good transportation facilities. Nearness to banks and other considerations also made a city location desirable. By the time of the Civil War half of all the manufactured products of the nation was made in cities. As the factories went to the cities because they were already large centers of population, so their going brought more people and made the cities yet larger. The system worked round in a circle, and the rise of great cities was one of the main changes to be noted in the last century.

Our factory owners begin to employ foreign labor. Most of the manufacturing of this period was carried on north of the Potomac

River. There had been but few foreigners in New England, and at first the conditions in some of the mills were good. To a great extent the operatives in the textile mills, for example, were daughters of farmers who came in to such mill towns as Lowell to work for a year or two to make money. Many New England mill owners, in spite of large profits, demanded ever more. Conditions in Europe, particularly Ireland, were operating to bring about big emigration, and the mill owners seized on these desperately poor immigrants to beat down wages. Gradually the Americans refused to work with them for inadequate pay, and we began to build up our foreign industrial worker class.

Industrial Revolution makes possible rapid increase in population. One of the most far-reaching effects of the Industrial Revolution has been the staggering increase in population in every country touched by it. Before it occurred, the population of Europe was not only fairly stable, in spite of sudden changes due to plagues and wars, but was small. Up to 1800, the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, it had never been above 180,000,000. Suddenly in a century it mounted and was 460,000,000 in 1914. The rise of the masses is one of the notable facts in recent history, but we must not forget that the very existence of such masses is new.

This sudden increase in the number of human beings has been due in part to improvement in medicine and hygiene, but we may trace the greater part of it to the machine. Before the machine age such an increase would have meant stark famine, even if it could have occurred. Any species of animals will suddenly increase if its food supply increases, if it has the means to obtain it, and if there is a lifting of the pressure of conditions which have helped to keep its numbers constant. That is what happened to man. By means of farm machinery and all sorts of other inventions and the advance in science, our food supply was enormously increased. By means of more rapid and universal transportation than man had ever dreamed of—the steamships, railroads, and automobiles—food could be easily taken from one place to another.

Increase in population calls for an increase in goods. Some of the increase in European population spilled across the ocean to America. Regardless of the amount of food per person and the number of jobs per person, there is always a great number who find difficulty in adjusting themselves in the constant change of industry, especially where society is old. The consequence was that with both our native increase and the additions from abroad, our population rose

enormously. The exploitation of our resources and the increase of wealth were much more rapid than they would otherwise have been. We may add also the concentration of wealth. Even with the setbacks of periodical panics, the cities grew with incredible speed and the price of real estate rose in them. Fortunes were made which would have been impossible had population and the demand for land remained constant. The great industries felt much the same effect. As population and wealth grew, the demand for steel, railroads, telephones, all inventions and materials, seemed endless.

The machine age raises a serious political problem. The change from a fairly sparse population to the huge modern masses has raised problems which seem almost insoluble in all fields, political, economic, social. It has come about with surprising suddenness and we have no past experience to guide us. In small communities where problems are local, the voter can express himself immediately and with knowledge. But in a nation of 140,000,000, in which the problems are of such complexity as to baffle the most experienced and widest informed men, how are we to develop a public opinion capable of dealing with them, and how is that opinion to be translated into action? Other nations as well as ourselves are feeling the strain of adapting the old political forms to the new needs.

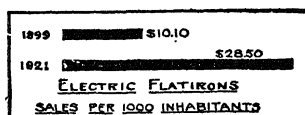
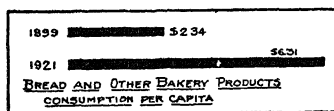
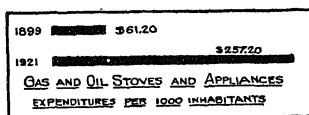
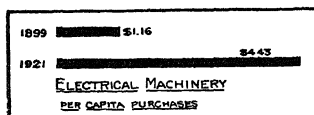
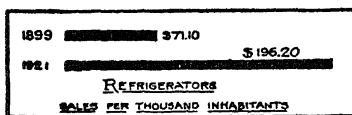
Fruits of the Industrial Revolution are unevenly distributed. Again there is the economic problem raised by the machine age. In early America, though not in the countries from which Americans came in the Old World, a moderately fair division of the goods of life was not difficult to achieve. In spite of the rise of some men to what would seem now very small fortunes, there was probably never any other large area where economic well-being was so widely diffused. This was not due to plan but to the situation in which we were placed. There was, of course, a difference in the quality of goods. One man might wear homespun and another satin; one might have pine furniture and another mahogany; one might drink his home-brewed cider and another Madeira. But the whole range of goods was small, and the essential goods—a home, food, heat, clothing—could be had by almost all. The ownership of land was practically shared in by everybody. Under the conditions brought about by the Industrial Revolution at present the problem of how to bring about a reasonably fair division of the goods of life has become infinitely more difficult.

Industrial Revolution makes possible material well-being. The social effects of the revolution and machine age have been far-reach-

ing. The rapid increase of wealth has allowed an even more rapid increase in taxation. The money which has thus come to be at the disposal of the public has been spent for roads, schools, sewerage, colleges, hospitals, libraries, museums, the lighting of streets, and

many other purposes for the good of the people at large, in addition to the older objects of government such as protection of life and property through armies, police, and courts of justice.

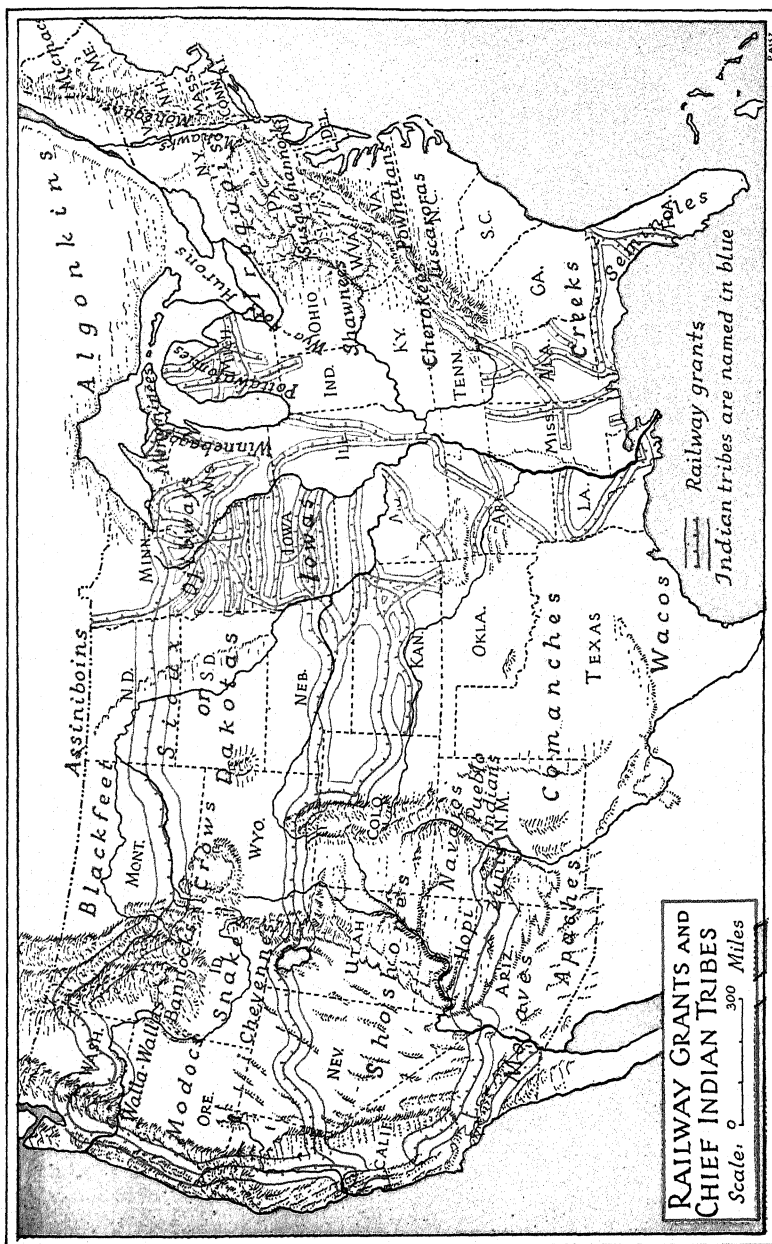
The machine age has greatly increased leisure. The early American home, in which almost all the family needed was produced, meant independence but also constant toil all day for all the members of the household including the children. The ability to purchase all these things, which used to have to be made, has replaced drudgery from morning to night with idle time which may be wisely spent or squandered as its possessor may wish. The working hours in store or factory have also been steadily reduced. This has meant for one thing an amazing extension of education. The child who used to have to be content with a little primary instruction before he went to work is now carried through high school and by the hundreds of thousands through college. In most of our



THE MACHINE AGE HAS REVOLUTIONIZED HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

states there are state universities where college education, like elementary and secondary education everywhere in our country, is free. The same is true of some of our larger cities. For example, the William T. Harris Teachers College in St. Louis gives a four-year college education for the training of teachers, charging no tuition and even furnishing books and supplies to the students without a cent of cost to them. Increased leisure has also meant the development of the adult education movement.

Many women are now engaged in business. The machine age has had other effects on the home and the individual. In the household stage of industry the woman worked only at home. With the develop-



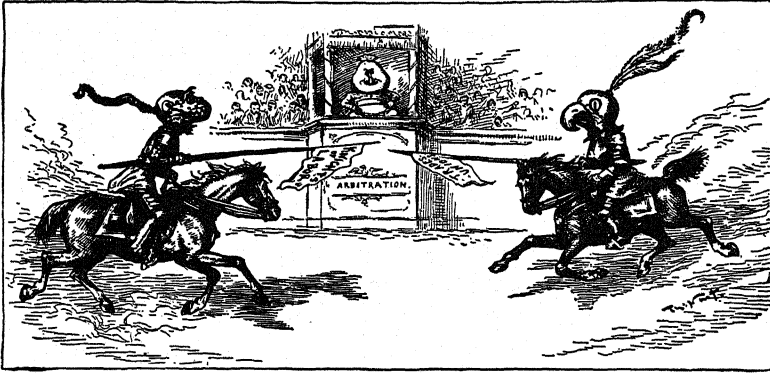
ment of the machine and the factory, and modern business resulting from them, women in ever increasing numbers have gone out into the world to add to that cash income which has become more and more essential to every family, or to make careers of their own. By 1920 there were over eight and one-half million women over ten years of age engaged in gainful occupations. This has had a tremendous effect on home life, on laws affecting women, on the position of men in business, on woman's rights, and on social outlook and custom.

The machine age calls for the spending of much money. Another effect of the machine has been to stimulate greatly the desire for money. This has been due partly to the change from making one's own things to buying them, partly to the immense number of new things which are made and which have come to be desired. We have spoken of the little need for actual cash in the early American home. Besides the things we must buy which a household used to make, the list of new things has become endless—telephones, radios, electric refrigerators, washing machines, furnaces, cars, together with the amusements, movies, travel, and all the rest. Practically every American, since the full effect of the machine age has been felt, whether he is a farmer owning his own farm or a city clerk on wages owning no home, has required a constant stream of money coming in so that he may buy what he needs to keep up the standard of living which has come to seem necessary to comfort. Economically, socially, and morally, this pressure to make money and ever more money has been of profound influence. As invention places constantly more goods on the market which because of either their real or assumed necessity come to appear necessary, the pressure to make money is likely to increase rather than decrease.

The machine age excites the mind in leisure and dulls it in work. With the machine there came also a great intellectual ferment, of which we shall speak later. We need here merely note that with the increase in schools, libraries, newspapers, magazines, the quick gathering of news by telegraph, cable, and now by wireless, the movies, and travel, the mass of people have had their minds stirred as never before in the entire history of the race. On the other hand, the routine of the factory or office has become far more dulling than the old life in which a man made the whole of some product from start to finish or had to be Jack-of-all-trades on his farm.

Industrial Revolution contributes to our periodic crises. We may note finally that the machine has solved the problem of production

and transportation, but it has done nothing to solve that of fair social distribution of wealth and purchasing power. The lack of balance between production and consumption has largely been responsible for the intensity of our periodic crises which have come to be expected about once in each generation. The great surplus of goods which resulted from excessive demand during the World War and which could not be disposed of at a profit afterward is to a great extent the cause of the social and political as well as economic crisis in the whole



A TILT BETWEEN THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR AND THE TRADES UNIONS, WITH
CAPITALISM THE ARBITRATOR

A cartoon by Nast from *Harper's Weekly*, June 12, 1886.

world to-day. That crisis, in its triple form, is also the cause of the setting up of ever more barriers between nations and the increase of the spirit of nationalism. Yet the machine age, by steamships, telegraphs, radio, airplanes, the needs for raw materials and markets, has also linked the nations of the world together as never before.

2. Our First Labor Unions

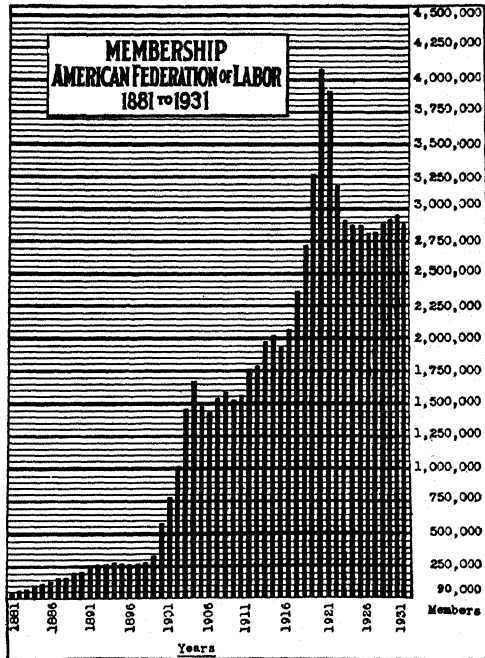
There are few labor organizations in colonial days. For the most part the free white worker in colonial days was an artisan or a journeyman. When young he was an apprentice working at his master's side and usually living in his master's home as a member of the family. When older, he worked for himself. Even before machines came, however, some trades began to undergo a change. Men began to employ groups of workmen, whether they worked together in one building or not, and in such trades, notably shoemaking, quite a new social relation

came to exist between the owner of the group business and his workmen. It was in such trades that dislike of the new conditions began first to result in strikes, chiefly with regard to hours and wages.

Labor unions begin to form. With the spread of the Industrial Revolution, however, large bodies of workmen were assembled in one place, and began to be more conscious of occupying a new position, and one by no means to their taste, in American society. As men do under such circumstances, they combined to protect their mutual interests. As unions were formed and strikes ensued, court after court invoked the law of conspiracy against them. A man, the courts ruled, might decline to work under certain conditions or for certain wages, but he had no right to prevent others from doing so or to form groups which would have such power. Both employers and the newspaper press were bitterly opposed to labor unions,

and in one case, about 1835, merchants in Boston pledged themselves to drive striking workmen in that city into submission or starvation and subscribed a fund of \$20,000 for the purpose.

Trade unions form in America. By that time, however, the local trade-union movement had got well under way. There were 105 unions in New York and Philadelphia alone. Efforts to bring the many unions in different parts of the country into some central organization failed as the time was not yet ripe. The movement steadily progressed but less rapidly than in Europe. There were two causes which held it back somewhat with us. One was the difficulty encountered in trying to include in any organization with the American male



FROM THE REPORT OF THE ANNUAL CONVENTIONS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

laborer three other important classes—women, foreigners of many races, and negroes. The other cause was opening to discontented workmen the public lands of the nation under the Homestead Act of 1862.

The American workmen considered the women, the foreigners, and the negroes not as fellow workmen but as dangerous competitors. This was a problem, except for women, which the European trade-union movement did not have to face. The European workman also felt the need of union more keenly as he did not have the option of taking up free land in his own country.

The American Federation of Labor is formed. Organizers, nevertheless, continued their efforts. After the Civil War, business began to organize on a national basis and it was essential that labor do likewise. The National Labor Union was formed in 1866, but failed after six years. Next came the Knights of Labor that was organized by Uriah S. Stephens and that became powerful under the leadership of Terence V. Powderly, but afterward declined. In 1881 there was at last organized successfully the American Federation of Labor, which was headed by the able and fairly conservative Samuel Gompers until his death in 1924.

3. Factory vs. Plantation

The slavery controversy is an economic one. At the time of the war between North and South there were considered to be in general two forms of labor in the nation, the black slave labor of the South and the white free labor of the North. In Europe the question being debated was that of the rights and position of labor with respect to the rest of society. In America for a generation the chief question had been whether we should have free or slave labor. As passions became more deeply involved during the sectional controversy, the South pointed to what it claimed was the comparatively happy and secure position of the slave as contrasted with the position of the Northern free worker.

In the North to admit that anything might be wrong with the position of the free worker was yielding to the arguments of the slave-owners. Even had the South won the war, slavery as an economic system in the modern world was doomed. The controversy over slave and free thus tended to hide the real problem, that of the position of free labor in the new world of the machine age.

There is little freedom in the New England mills. The Northern workman might be "free" politically and legally, but economically

he was far from being free. In New England mills in the 1830's the hours of work ranged from twelve to fifteen. The manager of one mill at Holyoke found that his operatives could produce 3000 more yards of cloth a week if he worked them without breakfast. In Paterson, New Jersey, the women and children were worked from 4:30 in the morning. Rhode Island mills were working children under twelve from ten to fourteen hours a day, six days a week, one of the managers proudly saying that he allowed them to go to school on Sundays. Their wages were one dollar and a half a week. Another Massachusetts owner stated that he considered his workers precisely as he did his machines. When either got old or out of order, he threw them out. Employees who made trouble were blacklisted and often could get no work elsewhere unless they carried a card of approval from the last mill in which they had worked. Under those conditions "freedom" was not freedom at all.

The economic condition of the slave is more stable than that of the white mill workers of the North. The slave of the plantation was in a wholly different situation. He was not free, and there was possibility of cruelties and hardships. Under a bad master or overseer, who was, however, the exception, he might be badly treated. He could not legally marry and might be separated from his family. No one would want to go back to the system of slavery, but probably the great majority of slaves were care-free and happy. They had to be taken care of from birth to death. They were sure of food, shelter, clothing, and medical care. Their share in the social product was an humble one but they were certain of it.

The Southern economic system had to base itself on providing for the wants of all its laborers for life. The slave was valuable property and had to be taken care of whether crops were good or bad, whether he was well or ill. He did not have to worry over sickness, old age, the number of children he had, or the state of business. In the North the moment business got bad, free labor could be turned off.

4. The Civil War and Business Enterprise

A panic sweeps over the North just before the Civil War. Although the North fairly buzzed with an amazing prosperity during the Civil War, the war began in the midst of a serious panic. The causes of the preliminary panic are not far to seek. The months between the election of Lincoln in 1860 and the actual beginning of the war in April, 1861, were months of intense anxiety. No one could tell what was com-

ing, whether it might be safe to borrow or lend, to buy or sell, or to engage in any business undertaking.

The South, largely agricultural, with less than a quarter of the number of the Northern business houses, owed Northern business men about \$300,000,000. There was the fear lest, in case of war, this debt might become an almost total loss, as in fact it did, New York firms alone losing \$160,000,000 when the war started. Even before that, the banks from Philadelphia southward had temporarily suspended, and especially in the West, the smaller banks failed in every section. Eighty-nine out of 110 Illinois banks broke within a year. One of the causes of the collapse was that the Western banks in particular had secured their currency by deposit of state bonds. The Southern bonds, paying higher rates of interest than the Northern ones, had been preferred by the banks. The Northern bankers thus found themselves, at the opening of hostilities, with \$9,000,000 of enemy bonds to secure their own banknotes.

Agriculture helps to bring prosperity. The reasons for the abounding Northern prosperity which so soon followed are more varied. The fundamental basis of economic life of America has always been agriculture. It had been the enormous development of cotton culture in the South which had riveted slavery on that section, made it wealthy, and caused it to believe that it would be bound to succeed in war because the world would not be able to get along without its product. Now a peculiar combination of circumstances was about to make the wheat empire of the North rival the cotton kingdom of the South.

For any great expansion of Northern agriculture four factors would have to be present in combination—land on terms which would allow of rapid settlement, power (either mechanical or human) to work it, transportation facilities for distributing crops raised on it, and markets large enough to absorb them.

An empire of land is given to settlers. For several decades prior to the war, there had been constant demand from the West for free land. This demand was opposed by the South, which did not wish to see the non-slave states grow too rapidly in population. In 1862, the Republicans, redeeming their campaign pledge of 1860, passed the Homestead Act, signed by Lincoln May 20. By it an actual settler who should remain on his quarter section of 160 acres could acquire title to it without any payment whatever to the government. The dream of the West had at last come true.

In the same year, the Morrill Act, sponsored since 1857 by Representative Justin H. Morrill of Vermont, became a law. This act was designed to promote the establishment of agricultural colleges. The Federal Government donated to the states 30,000 acres of public land for each representative they had in Congress, for the purpose of providing funds from land sales with which to found the colleges.

In addition to these two sources of free or low-priced land, there was yet another in the huge land grants which had been made to the railroads to hasten their construction since 1850. These grants were to continue throughout and long after the war, until they were to



Courtesy of the Ferargil Gallery

DINNER FOR THE THRESHERS

A painting by Grant Wood who has made evident to our generation the picturesque truth and beauty of mid-Western farm life.

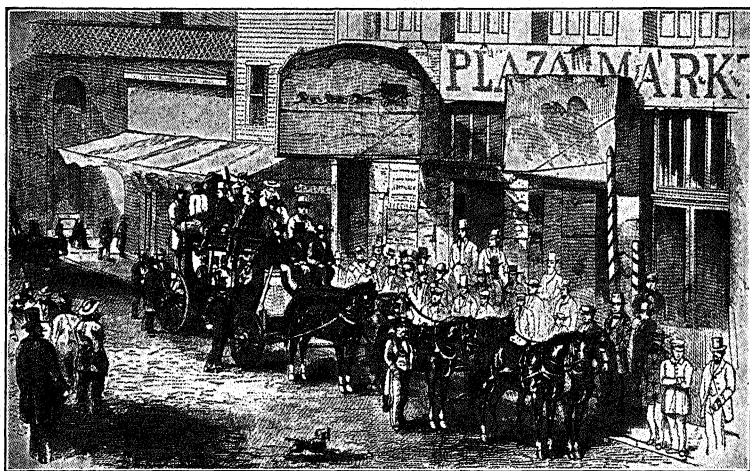
reach the imperial total of nearly 160,000,000 acres. Thus, almost coincident with the beginning of the war, there was an ample supply of land to be had. Much of it was wholly free of cost to actual settlers.

Thousands of people move to Western farms. Farming either on a small or large scale required labor, and the war naturally took thousands of men off the farms to put them in the army. This shortage of labor was more than overcome in three ways. As in the Revolution, the women left at home on countless small farms and little patches turned to and did the men's work. But in addition, although immigration was slight in 1861 and 1862, it rose rapidly and during the five war years 800,000 people arrived in the North from Europe. Of these over 80,000 were carried straight to the farms of the West by one railroad alone.

Although many remained in the centers of the East, this access of population then made possible the big emigration of native-born Americans also from East to West. Within two and a half years after the passage of the Homestead Act, nearly 20,000 farms had been settled

under it, besides the large number established from the other lands obtainable.

Agricultural machinery greatly increases farm output. Added to this great increase in agricultural man power came the yet greater one of mechanical inventions. The McCormick reaper, although patented in somewhat crude form in 1834, really profoundly altered life for the larger-scale farmers only on the eve of war. A reaper, operated by one man, would cut in a day approximately ten times the



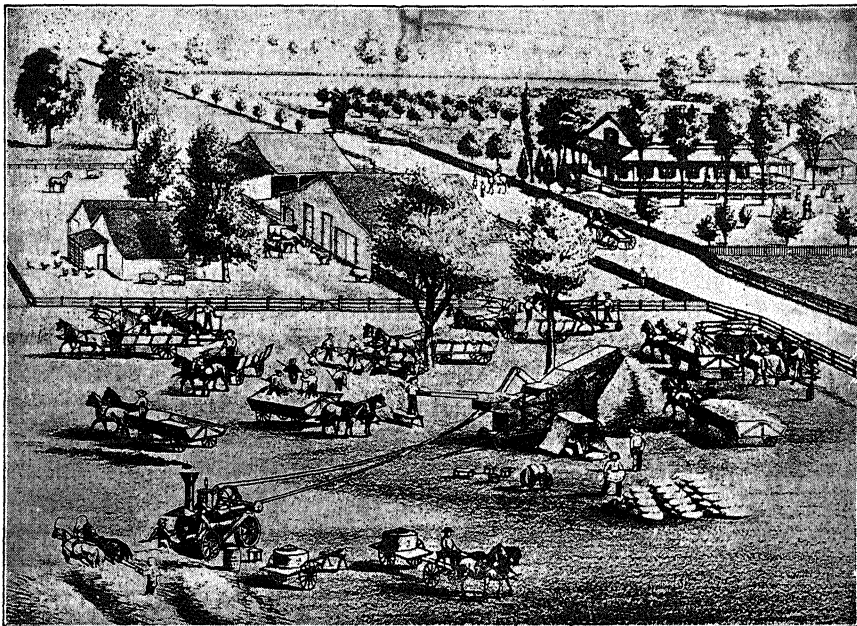
THE OVERLAND MAIL STARTING EAST FROM SAN FRANCISCO

From an old engraving in *Harper's Weekly*, December 11, 1858.

acreage the man himself unaided could have cut with a scythe. The constant difficulty in securing labor, in a country where an ambitious man found it comparatively easy to be his own master, gave a great impetus to the use of machinery under the new conditions which developed after 1860.

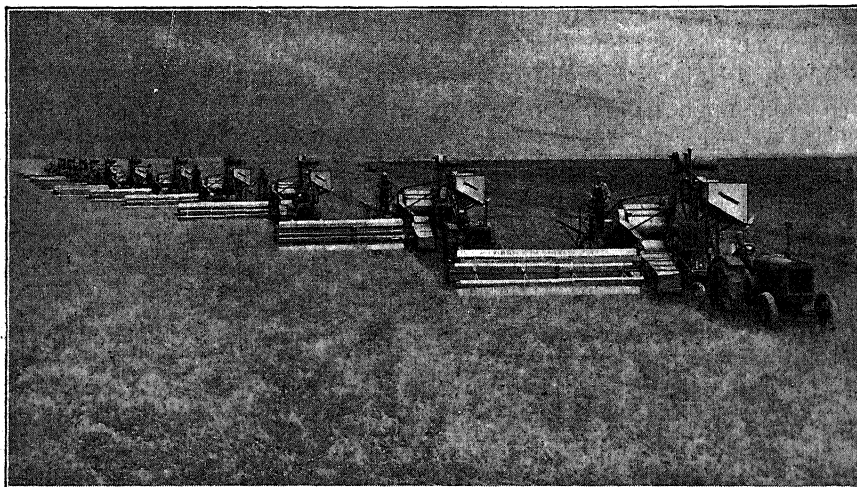
It was not the McCormick reaper alone which came into use but such machines as horse-rakes, grain drills, rotary spaders, and other mechanical aids. In the dozen years before the war about 85,000 mowers had been manufactured, but in the four years after 1861 there were sold over 165,000. At the Iowa state fair in 1859 there were 26 entries of agricultural machinery. In 1865 there were 221.

It was estimated in 1864, apparently without exaggeration, that a young man could buy an eighty-acre farm in Iowa, fence it, build his



By courtesy of the University of California, Extension Division

HARVESTING IN THE EIGHTIES The ranch of Henry Best, Sutter County, California.



By courtesy of the International Harvester Company

TWELVE McCORMICK-DEERING 16-FOOT HARVESTER THRESHERS WORKING IN ONE FIELD, 1933, CUTTING A SWATH 192 FEET WIDE, OR APPROXIMATELY 640 ACRES PER DAY

house, and pay for the whole out of his first year's crop, besides putting over \$500 in the bank. Such Western states as Iowa and Wisconsin furnished respectively 75,000 and 90,000 men to the army, yet the population rose rapidly and it was noted that "houses and barns and orchards have sprung up as if by magic."

Railroads carry the farm products to market. The transportation problem had been settled by the network of railroads which in the decade before the war had been connecting the West with the centers and ports of the East. The railroad systems had, indeed, been much over-built, which was one of the causes of the serious business panic of 1857. But with the Mississippi closed to traffic by the war, the whole business of the West had to be handled by the new railroads, which were fortunately already built to carry it. Because of competition between the trunk lines themselves and also with boats on the Great Lakes, freight charges actually decreased while the prices of farm produce were soaring. The Western farmer was having boom times.

Northern wheat, and not Southern cotton, is king. The last problem was that of markets to absorb the enormous increase in production. There was, of course, an increased demand at high prices within the North itself. As we shall see, it was a period of great industrial activity. Besides the natural increase in our own population, there were the 800,000 immigrants to be fed. But the greatest increase in demand came from Europe.

Great Britain, more and more dependent on overseas countries for her food supplies, had crop failures in 1860, 1861, and 1862. In one of these years the failure was in all Europe and not merely Great Britain. Before 1862 we had been shipping abroad only 20,000,000 bushels of wheat (half of all our grain exports having gone by way of New Orleans), but in 1862 the North was shipping 60,000,000 bushels. British imports of that staple suddenly increased eight times, while its cotton imports from the South fell to almost nothing.

England needed Southern cotton to keep its workers employed, but even more it needed Northern wheat to keep them alive. As a consequence, our Northern farmer, at least in the West, where the nature of the land was adapted to machinery, had ceased to be merely a manual laborer and had become a capitalist and a business man. The West had had ample trouble before the war, and was to have again. But in those years of the first harnessing of the machine, of war prices at home, and of dire need abroad, the West had much money and was out of debt.

Great impetus is given to manufacturing in the North. At the opening of the war, about 88 per cent of all the manufacturing of the nation was carried on in the Northern states, and conditions were to make the manufacturer as prosperous as the farmer. Not only is war wasteful of goods but government contracts are notorious for creating high prices. The 85,000,000 pounds of peace-time consumption of wool, for example, rose to over 200,000,000 pounds, of which more than one-third was used in making uniforms for the army. Mills paid all the way from 10 to 40 per cent dividends and the cloths sold made millionaires. The war tariffs also gave manufacturers new protection, and by helping to limit competition increased business and profits.

As in agriculture, machinery also enormously increased the output in many other lines. Even the production of the machines themselves created great manufacturing businesses. Reapers and all other farm machinery had to be made as well as sold. The sewing machine, which had been invented by Elias Howe in 1846 and developed in the decade before the war, not only revolutionized the ready-made clothing and other industries, but by 1864 the manufacturers of the "Singer," and "Wheeler and Wilcox" were exporting 50,000 machines a year.

The contracts for hundreds of thousands of pairs of shoes at a time for the army could be readily filled because of the invention by Lyman R. Blake of a machine which could sew the soles on uppers. This machine, called the Blake in Europe though in America it was given the name of its financial promoter, Gordon McKay, made it possible for the man operating it to turn out a hundred times the number of shoes per day that had been possible under the old hand method. Put on the market in 1862, it was merely one of the most conspicuous examples of what was occurring to Northern industry in the midst of the war.

With production speeded a hundredfold by machinery, with an unlimited market to absorb production at war prices, industry boomed and huge profits were made. To a greater or less degree, this was true of almost all lines. Even cotton textiles recovered as parts of the South were conquered by the North and the raw material could be secured from them and elsewhere.

Petroleum industry comes to make North rich. But the war prosperity of the North was not to be due alone to ordinary war-time conditions, man's ingenuity, and a vast stride forward toward the machine age. The crop failures of Europe were not the only strokes of

luck. Petroleum and its possible commercial value had long been known, but the oil had been found only on the surface of the ground or streams. It had been used mostly in small quantities in patent medicines. In 1859, after many trials, a well was driven which yielded by pumping twenty-five barrels a day, worth \$1000. In the wilds of Venango County,

REWARD
FOR
\$10,000
A reward of
\$500 EACH
Will be paid for the arrest and conviction of the parties concerned in the robbery of our Express, on the
VOLCANO STAGE,
MORNING OF MAY 1, 1872.
ALSO,
One-fourth the Amount Recovered
For the recovery of the Treasure.
WELLS, FARGO & CO.

REWARD CIRCULAR FOLLOWING THE
HOLD-UP AND ROBBERY OF A WELLS-
FARGO STAGE

From the Jesse Charles Harraman Col-
lection, in the Library of Congress.

Pennsylvania, where most of the land had been worth only three dollars an acre, one of the most colossal of modern industries was to take its start.

Before the middle of 1861, scarce six weeks after war had begun, the first flowing well was discovered, producing \$10,000 a day. In the three years from 1862 to 1865, over 300,000,000 gallons were produced, 30,000,000 had been exported, and untold millions of dollars of profits had been made in the most spectacular fashion which, perhaps, has ever been seen. The Aladdin's lamp of Eastern legend produced no such fortunes as the kerosene lamp of our father's day.

Newly discovered gold mines pour out their wealth. No such sudden wealth had ever come to men before except in the rarest of mining discoveries, and even then

not in such stupendous amount. Gold mines, however, were to add new and unexpected wealth to the North. The gold yield of California had been decreasing when in 1859 the Gregory Lode was discovered in Colorado, and a few months later the famous Comstock Lode in Nevada.

The former started a gold rush comparable only to that of California and "Pike's Peak or Bust" became the slogan of thousands who toiled across the plains in covered wagons, buggies, or even on foot, pushing their few goods ahead of them on carts. Although it started just before the war, the output was chiefly important in the war years, during which Colorado mines yielded perhaps \$22,000,000, the Comstock Lode \$52,000,000, and others found in Idaho possibly \$14,000,000 more.

Our railroads prosper but our shipping declines. All of this wealth and boiling business activity was naturally reflected in prosperity for the railroads. There was not much new railway building during those years, and the mileage already in existence, which had seemed so much more than adequate in 1857, was taxed to its utmost. On many of the most important lines, the tonnage handled doubled during the war, and prices of rail stocks soared.

The Far West had, indeed, still to rely for communication on the "Pony Express" and the overland mail coaches. But in 1862 Lincoln signed the bill authorizing the building of the Union Pacific, though this, the first transcontinental line, was not completed until 1869.

The only large industry in the North which suffered from the war, and there had been causes undermining it for some time previously, was shipping. Not only did capitalists have more lucrative opportunities for employing their wealth in other ways, but with the danger of capture at sea no American shipper would use a vessel under our flag if a neutral could be had. The war gave the last blow to our merchant marine, which declined 1,000,000 tons during the war. After peace came we were willing to leave the carrying trade to the British.

5. *How the Great Fortunes Were Made*

Foundations for vast new fortunes are laid. After the war, while the South was slowly and painfully trying to rebuild its economic structure, and the West was booming, the East was having a veritable financial orgy. The vast opportunities afforded by the quick accumulation of capital in the war, the inflation following it, the expansion of the West, the new machinery, inventions, and commodities, were quickly appreciated and embraced by a type of business man bold, unscrupulous, combative, and selfish. The foundation of some of the so-called great American fortunes had been laid in an earlier period. Many of the most widely known, such as the Rockefeller, Gould, and Carnegie fortunes, date only from the time of the Civil War and the years immediately following.

Fortunes are made in steel, oil, and railroads. The Bessemer process for manufacturing steel was invented by Henry Bessemer in England in 1856, but it was after the Civil War that the new age of steel began in America. In 1867 we were making only 2600 tons, but in the next few years such concerns as the Bethlehem Steel Works and Carnegie, McCandles & Co. were rapidly expanded. In spite of the

panic and hard times, by 1879 we were producing nearly 1,000,000 tons annually. During the war, John D. Rockefeller, then a young man, had devoted himself to money-making. By 1872 he was already trying to control the entire oil business of the nation. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company had reached by 1878 the point of practically complete control of the American oil business in all phases.

The railroads were the footballs of speculators, grafters, and bribers and, in a large number of cases, were built and operated, and their stocks manipulated, with the sole thought of personal profit. Gould, who by his issues of illegal stock in the Erie wrecked that road, made in that and other ways a fortune of \$25,000,000 in not much more than a decade.

Graft and corruption spread over our land. Corruption, indeed, was so rife throughout the country as to disgust honest men. As is the case far too often with us, however, they could not be moved to action so long as they themselves were making money. New York was merely a classic example although, unfortunately, not the only one. There William H. Tweed had made himself head of Tammany Hall and political boss of the city. Almost two-thirds of the voters were foreign-born. Using the well-known methods for controlling this foreign vote together with false registrations and illegal naturalizations, and in alliance with the legislature at Albany, it seemed for a while that Tweed was invincible.

Every possible source of graft—city contracts, selling offices, dispensing favors and franchises—was tapped by Tweed and his henchmen. By the time the boss was overthrown in 1871, the stealings from the city probably had aggregated close to \$50,000,000 if not more. But New York was not alone. In Pennsylvania and other states there were scandals almost as bad.

An attempt is made to corner gold. From early in the war, the United States had been off the gold basis. But gold was required by business men for several purposes, such as the payment of customs duties and shipment abroad to settle the balance of trade. There was therefore a market for gold, where business men bought and sold it for their needs. As the Treasury drew gold in to itself through its customs duties, it was in the habit of selling it to keep it from going to such a premium as would make it difficult, if not impossible, for business men to meet such of their engagements as had to be settled in gold.

Gould conceived the idea of cornering the metal, buying all of the limited amount in the market, and forcing merchants to pay his price

for it or go bankrupt. To succeed in this he had to make sure that for the period of his speculation the United States Treasury could be kept from selling any of the government supply. Gould and his associate, Fisk, persuaded President Grant that it would be for the benefit of the country if gold were temporarily at a high price in New York.

TWO GREAT QUESTIONS.

Th. Nast



"WHO STOLE THE PEOPLE'S MONEY"

A cartoon on Tweed (left) and the Tammany Ring, showing every one implicated passing the accusation on to his neighbor. (From a cartoon by Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly*, August 10, 1871, copyright by Harper and Brothers.)

Gould's actions ruin hundreds of merchants. Grant having allowed himself to become converted to the idea that a higher price for gold would benefit the farmer, ordered Boutwell, the Secretary of the Treasury, not to sell any government metal. It was only after the conspiring gamblers had forced the price of gold up to 163½ on Friday, September 24, 1869, and the country was in a panic, that Grant, who had come to realize his mistake, allowed Boutwell to sell \$4,000,000 from the Treasury.

Gould, who had heard of the President's change of mind, had quickly sold out on his partners, without letting them into the secret. Fisk repudiated his contracts amounting to \$70,000,000, and the cor-

ner collapsed. As Fisk remarked, it was now a case of "each man drag out his own corpse."

Meanwhile, on what came to be known as this "Black Friday," hundreds of reputable merchants had been ruined while the country as a whole had faced disaster. The President, Mr. Grant, and his secretary, Horace Porter, were exonerated, but Grant's relationship with such men as Gould and Fisk left a smirch that cannot easily be wiped out, though personally he never had any intention of profiting himself.

6. The Formation of Corporations and Monopolies

Captains of industry form trusts and monopolies. This point brings us to a consideration of the economic conditions prevailing during the final decade of the last century, which had such resounding effects on politics. Let us try to plot in simple outline the chief groups and forces which were to come in conflict.

Most strikingly in the public eye were the great titans of the new business era, the coal and meat "barons" and the copper, railway, steel, and other "kings," men of the type of the elder J. P. Morgan, James J. Hill, E. H. Harriman, William H. Vanderbilt, Andrew Carnegie, H. C. Frick, William A. Clark, and John D. Rockefeller. Such men had certain broad traits in common, differ as they might from each other as individuals. They were men of wide economic vision, and of colossal driving power and iron wills. They could lay their economic plans with imperial vision in time and space and they joined their business units into "trusts" and combinations of almost unlimited power.

The farmers and laborers fear power of great magnates. There were two other groups, far more numerous, though less powerful and spectacular—the farmers and the industrial laborers. Although times had in general been good for some years after 1879, when recovery from the great panic of 1873 had fully set in, by 1890 they had begun to grow worse. For various reasons, the prices of farm products had been falling. In the South and West the agricultural class was beginning to suffer severely. Efforts were also being made to reduce wages in manufacturing and other industries, and there were much discontent and numerous strikes among the employees.

Gradually there grew up the suspicion of a great conspiracy on the part of the rich to ruin the poor. The farmer, for example, found himself at the mercy of the railroads while he saw a railway magnate

like Vanderbilt enlarge his private fortune from about \$10,000,000 to more than \$100,000,000. Appeal to the law seemed hopeless. When the possible interest of the public was suggested, the famous answer which rang through the land was "The public be damned." Such were the men whom the small shipper saw in control of the nation's transportation system while at the same time he saw big shippers spreading ruin right and left among their competitors.

Iron and steel workers lose their fight. The iron and steel industry was highly organized, and the labor unions in that industry were also the strongest of all in the United States. In 1889 H. C. Frick, the largest coke manufacturer, became head of the Carnegie steel interests, and bad feeling at once developed between the owners and the workmen. In 1892 the wage contract expired. After fruitless conferences the owners delivered an ultimatum to the men that if the wages offered were not accepted the operators would no longer deal with the union but only with the men as individuals. The men at the plant at Homestead, Pennsylvania, then went on strike to save the union.

Frick had already arranged to have 300 Pinkerton detectives sent to the plants to act as guards. This embittered the workers who had threatened no violence. When the imported detectives reached Homestead on July 6, a pitched battle took place in which a number were killed on both sides. The strike spread to the other Carnegie plants. The state militia was called out and remained for several months, although there was no further disorder. By November 20 the funds of the strikers were used up, and the men, facing winter without work, were forced to go back, giving up their union. Organized labor was broken in practically the whole steel industry, the other mills following the example set by the Carnegies. Labor had learned that its strongest organization was powerless before organized capital.

A serious strike occurs in the silver mines. That summer there were also strikes in other industries and sections, the most violent being at the silver mines of the Cœur d'Alene district in Idaho. The price of silver, like that of most commodities, had been steadily falling. Although the silver-mine owners had forced the government to come to their aid, as we have seen, by buying a very large proportion of their annual output, they had forced several wage reductions when at last the workmen struck. The owners imported strike-breakers and there was a good deal of violence, including the blowing up of a mill. The Idaho militia proving ineffective, President Harrison was called upon and sent federal troops to suppress the strike.

Laboring men feel that government and courts are opposed to them. It began to seem to the laboring men that the power of the government was always on the side of the rich. The high tariff men talked about protecting the standard of living of the American workmen. But the workmen pointed to the fact that their employers had the new abundance of cheap immigrant labor to pick from, and that the owners of industry seemed bent on beating the wages down and even destroying what effectiveness in bargaining and self-defense the men might gain from organization.

When cases involving working conditions or wages came into the courts, labor felt that it found the same hostility. The Supreme Court of the state of New York declared that the law making it illegal to manufacture cigars in tenement-house homes was unconstitutional. The court held it depreciated the value of property without compensating public advantage. This was but one of the many decisions in which the courts appeared to set the rights of property above those of man. The law had been aimed to break up in part the system of "sweated" labor under which families lived, ate, slept, and worked in vile conditions, often in one room. But the judges declared they could not see how the health or morals of the worker would be benefited by forcing him to labor outside the "hallowed associations and beneficent influences" of his own home!

There was, indeed, no general conspiracy of "the rich," but if many of the farmers and industrial workmen were mistaken as to the great conspiracy, they were right enough that there was something radically wrong. The people at large were not economists and for the most part their knowledge and views were limited to the range of their own daily needs and woes. Most persons of broader experience, unfortunately, were busy making money as fast as possible, and were on the side of the larger capitalists. The leadership of the masses thus had to come mainly from their own ranks.

Workingmen seek relief through labor organizations. Many movements and organizations arose from this seething discontent. In the ranks of industrial workers the Knights of Labor declined. But in 1881 with the organization of the American Federation of Labor there was formed the most important workingmen's organization in our history. It was to weather the storms of this period and to exert lasting influence. Started by Samuel Gompers, a cigar maker, it helped to make him one of the greatest of American labor leaders, who

was to remain in control and exert a beneficent power for over forty years.

The Federation of Labor worked through economic pressure for immediate aims of higher wages and better conditions, and took little part in politics. For the most part the workers' particular grievances were such as could be remedied only by state and not by federal legislation, if relieved by legislation at all.

The United Mine Workers was developed as an affiliated union, with a great membership. Railway engineers, conductors, and trainmen formed separate organizations of their own, known as the railway brotherhoods.

Farmers seek relief through political parties. The farmers, however, could gain nothing by organizing in unions and striking. Their grievances, which sprang largely, as they thought, from abuses of the currency, the "money-power," the trusts, and interstate commerce freight rates, could be most rapidly remedied by legislation, largely federal. By 1890 some separate political parties had arisen, in addition to the Farmers' Alliance, to elect legislators and exert political pressure.

In the South the Alliance worked through the only white man's party in that section, the Democratic. But in the West the various new parties worked independently, such as the People's party in Kansas, the Industrial party of Michigan, or the Independent party in South Dakota. In the 1890 elections, they managed to send two senators and eight representatives to Congress.

THE SLOGAN THAT WILL WIN!



A FAMOUS CARTOON BY JOHN BAER IN THE NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE FIGHT OF 1916

The league was a non-partisan movement, started in North Dakota to gain control of the state government and so secure farm relief measures.

Their success was not to be wondered at. In the South the price of cotton was steadily declining, and in the West the prices of wheat and corn were falling to the point at which, in 1893, they were less at the farm than the cost of production. In four years, over 11,000 farms in Kansas alone were taken from their owners under foreclosure of mortgages. "Ten-cent corn and ten per cent interest" were driving the West to despair. The sources of the Populist movement, which was so to frighten the conservative East, were not hard to discover, though the East chose to ignore them.

The leaders of the movement were a picturesque lot, for the most part conservative and honest. The South had its "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman, Kansas its "Sockless Jerry" Simpson, and in that same state Mrs. Mary E. Lease roused the West to enthusiasm and the East to terror. The more conservative leaders, like Senator Allen of Nebraska, were likewise regarded in the East as dangerous radicals. Yet most of the planks in the Populist platforms of the nineties were subsequently included in the programs of the older parties and enacted into laws.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Bachman, *Great Inventors and Their Inventions*; Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, chs. 10-11; Bruce, *Rise of the New South*; Carver and Adams, *Our Economic Life*; Chase, *Men and Machines*; Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860*, chs. 11-21; Ely, *The Labor Movement in America*; Ely, *Monopolies and Trusts*; Haney, *Business Organization and Combination*, chs. 6-16, 23-27; Hendricks, *The Age of Big Business*; Jenks and Clark, *The Trust Problem*, chs. 3-5, 13-15; Jones, *The Trust Problem in the United States*, chs. 1-4; Lippincott and Tucker, *Economic and Social History of the United States*, 508-511; Lloyd, *Wealth against Commonwealth*; Mitchell, *Organized Labor*; Moody, *The Railway Builders*, chs. 6-12; Moody, *The Truth about the Trusts*; Paxson, *The New Nation*; Ripley, *Trusts, Pools, and Corporations*; Thompson, *The Age of Invention*; Tryon, *Household Manufacture in the United States, 1640-1860*, chs. 7-8; Williams, *What's on the Worker's Mind*; Wilson, *New Freedom*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Bogart and Thompson, *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, chs. 8-9, 21, 23; Callender, *Selections from the Economic History of the United States, 1765-1860*, 432-478; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, Part V; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 141-177; Muzzey, *Readings*, 453-494; *Twelfth Census of the United States*, VII, ch. 2.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Antin, *The Promised Land*; Beard, *Our Foreign-Born Citizens*; Carnegie, *Famous Fortunes*; Cohen, *Out of the Shadow*; Forman, *Side Lights on Our Social and Economic History*; Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*; Husband, *America at Work*; Law, *Modern Great Americans*; Redmond, *Financial Giants of America*; White, *A Certain Rich Man*; Wildman, *Famous Leaders of Industry*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What is meant by the Industrial Revolution? 2. How did the factory supplant household manufacturing in our country? 3. Why could not an individual compete with factory production? 4. What was the effect of the Industrial Revolution upon the growth of cities? 5. Why did factory owners begin to employ foreign labor? 6. What was the effect of the Industrial Revolution on the increase of population? 7. Show that an increase in population calls for an increase in goods. 8. How are the fruits of the Industrial Revolution poorly distributed? 9. Show that the Industrial Revolution has made possible much material well-being. 10. Show how the machine age has increased leisure. 11. Why does the machine age call for the spending of much money? 12. How has the machine age solved the problem of production but not that of distribution? 13. Why were there so few labor organizations in our country in colonial days? 14. Why were labor unions slower to form in America than in Europe? 15. How was the slavery controversy an economic one? 16. Compare the economic condition of the mill hands in the North with the slaves in the South. 17. Why was there a panic in our country just before the Civil War? 18. How do you account for the prosperity that came to the North during the Civil War? 19. How did the free lands in the West help to bring prosperity? 20. What effect did agricultural machinery have on prosperity? 21. How were the farmers of the West able to get their produce to market? 22. What markets did they have? 23. How was Northern wheat and not Southern cotton king? 24. Describe manufacturing in the North. 25. Tell of the rise of the petroleum industry. 26. How did the newly discovered gold mines make for prosperity? 27. Describe the great fortunes made in steel and oil. 28. How do you account for so much graft and corruption during this period? 29. Describe Gould's attempt to corner the gold market. 30. What fear did the farmers and laboring men have of the trusts and monopolies? 31. Describe the Homestead strike. 32. What reasons did the laborers have for believing that our government was on the side of the rich? 33. Describe the organization and purpose of the American Federation of Labor. 34. Why did the farmers turn to political parties for relief?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The Industrial Revolution, foreign immigration, growth of cities, increase in manufactured goods, increase in leisure

time, women in industry, labor unions in colonial days, formation of labor unions, the economics of slavery in the South, the economics of free labor industry, the free land in the West, the advent of agricultural machinery, markets for Northern farmers, manufacturing in the North, the petroleum of the North, discovery of new gold mines in the West, creation of huge fortunes, graft and corruption in our land, Gould's attempt on the corner of gold, formation of corporations and monopolies, the Homestead strike, the formation of the American Federation of Labor, the rise of the Farmers' Alliance.

2. **PROJECT:** Collect as many pictures and illustrations as you can to show how work was done before the Industrial Revolution. In a similar way collect pictures showing how work is done since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Make them into a booklet to be given to your school library at the close of your school year.

3. **PROBLEM:** How has the machine age solved the problem of production of wealth but not its distribution?

4. **DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED:** That the Industrial Revolution has brought more harm than good to our people.

5. **ESSAY SUBJECT:** The work of the American Federation of Labor.

6. **IMAGINARY LETTER:** Imagine that you were secretary of your labor union and you firmly believed that the government was on the side of the employer against the worker. Write a letter to your congressman setting forth your views.

7. **DIARY:** You were one of the detectives on duty during the Homestead strike and kept a daily record of the stirring scenes. Read portions of your diary to your class.

8. **PERSONS TO IDENTIFY:** Samuel Gompers, Justin H. Morrill, McCormick, McKay, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Gould, William H. Tweed, J. P. Morgan, James J. Hill, W. H. Vanderbilt, "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman "Sockless Jerry" Simpson.

9. **DATES TO IDENTIFY:** 1857, 1859, 1862, 1878, 1892.

10. **TERMS TO UNDERSTAND:** Household system, factory system, machine age, fair social distribution of wealth and purchasing power, law of conspiracy, black-listed, social product, Aladdin's lamp, "Pike's Peak or Bust," Bessemer process, henchmen, corner on gold, "Black Friday," coal and meat "barons," copper and steel "kings," railway magnate, "sweated" labor, the "money-power," "Ten cent corn and ten per cent interest."

11. **MAP WORK:** Give a map talk locating the following places and stating the historical significance of each: Lowell; Paterson; Venango County, Pennsylvania; Gregory Lode; Comstock Lode; Pike's Peak.

12. GRAPH WORK: *a.* By means of bar graphs show the value of our manufactured products in 1812, in 1840, and in 1860. *b.* In some graphic way show the effects of the machine age on our country.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE GROWTH OF BIG BUSINESS: Faulkner, *American Economic History*, ch. 20; Forman, *The Rise of American Commerce and Industry*, 319-327; Hendricks, *The Age of Big Business*, ch. 1; Moody, *The Masters of Capital*, chs. 3, 5; Wright, *The Industrial Evolution of the United States*, chs. 13-14.
2. DEVELOPMENT OF LABOR, 1820-1860: Callender, *Economic History*, ch. 14; Carlton, *Organized Labor*, ch. 3; Ely, *Labor Movement*, 7-60; McNeil, *Labor Movement*, ch. 4; Wright, *Industrial Evolution*, 215-244, 264-269.
3. CONSOLIDATION OF LABOR: Beard, *A Short History of the American Labor Movement*, 116-126; Beard and Beard, *The American Leviathan*, ch. 15; McFee, *How Our Government Is Run*, ch. 14; Orth, *The Armies of Labor*, ch. 4; Wright, *Industrial Evolution*, ch. 19.
4. FIGHTING THE TRUSTS: Faulkner, *The Quest for Social Justice*, ch. 2; Forman, *Rise of American Commerce and Industry*, 375-383; Lingley, *Since the Civil War*, 224-240; Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic*, 725-738; Sullivan, *Our Times*, II, 307-337.
5. THE GOOD THAT TRUSTS CAN DO: Apthorp, *Trusts*; Bridge, *The Trust, Its Book*; Dodd, *Combinations*; Flint, *Industrial Combinations*; Gunton, *Trusts and the Public*.

TOPIC III

TARIFFS AND BANKS

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To trace the story of the tariff and to understand the arguments presented for and against it.

2. To trace the development of our banking system and to see the needs of its reorganization.

1. The History of Our Tariff

Before the Constitution, the states levy the tariffs. The first tariffs enacted by us were for neither revenue nor protection but weapons to be used in forcing England to make better terms with us in connection with our trade. After we had won independence, she not unnaturally treated us as a foreign country but, by largely depriving us of the old West India trade, she prevented us from securing the money with which we could pay her for manufactured goods. Even from the point of view of England herself, the policy was short-sighted but William Pitt struggled in vain against it in Parliament.

Congress under the Articles of Confederation had no right to levy duties, so between 1783 and 1788, many of the states did so individually. They could not agree on any uniform system, however, and as their duties varied from nothing to 100 per cent, English merchants had merely to pick the cheapest port and their goods still came in. With the formation of the Constitution the Federal Government was given the power to regulate commerce and the day of state tariffs passed.

Although tariffs are now again looming large as bargaining weapons in international trade, the long controversy in our own history has been almost wholly between those who have believed in a tariff for revenue and those who believed in a tariff for protection. Those who believe in the first realize that a government must have income, largely raised by taxation. A duty on imported goods which is passed on to the consumer is a tax upon those who use such articles. No American has ever had any objection to this as a way of raising money for the general good. The dispute has arisen when Congress has gone farther and levied duties with the primary object of protecting some special

industry so that in addition to the government's receiving the income a special profit or advantage has also gone to a particular trade or group.

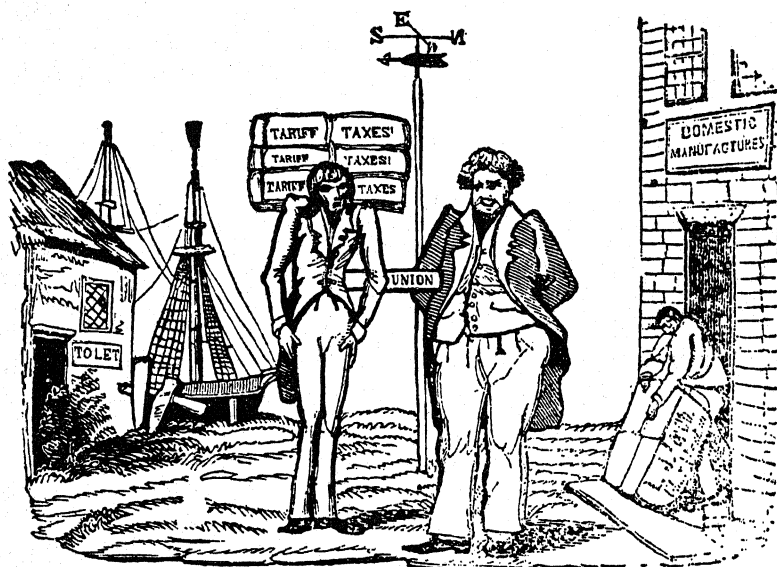
We pass our first tariff measure. The first tariff, passed in 1789, was partly protectionist because of the unwillingness of some states to give up the protection of a few industries they had guarded. On the whole, however, in spite of Hamilton's classic argument for protection in his "Report on Manufactures" given to Congress in 1791, there was little interest in genuine protection for another twenty years. America, devoted to agriculture and shipping, paid slight attention to manufacturing. During the Napoleonic wars we had been getting higher prices for our crops and doing a considerable part of the carrying trade of the world.

Our country turns to a protective tariff. A complete change came in 1808. As answer to the actions taken by Napoleon and England, Jefferson declared the Embargo. This was followed by the Non-Intercourse Act and war with England which lasted until the end of 1815. Our foreign trade was almost wiped out temporarily, and manufacturing in many lines suddenly sprang into life to provide the articles we no longer imported. The shipping interests of New England were in favor of low tariffs and as free trade as possible, as it was their business to carry goods from one country to another. On the whole, however, the nation was alarmed at the dumping of huge amounts of British goods in America after the war, and the threatened ruin of our young manufactures. The Tariff of 1816 had distinct protectionist features, and from that time on protection has been steadily urged by certain classes.

Calhoun and Webster change their views. In view of the later sectional feeling against protection in the South, we may note that the Tariff Bill of 1816 was introduced in Congress by Lowndes of South Carolina. The fact is that whether protection is correct in theory or not it has always been urged by those who consider it favorable to their interests. In 1816 the great John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was in favor of a tariff and nationalism, though by 1828 he was to take exactly the reverse position. On the other hand, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, who in 1816 represented the Federalist shipping group, was against protection. A dozen years later, when the manufacturing group in Massachusetts was more important than the ship-owners, he was all in favor of it.

South Carolina opposes the tariff. The Act of 1828, called the "tariff of abominations," marked the high point of the protectionist

movement for several decades. The South decided that as an agricultural section, selling its produce largely in Europe, it should be allowed to buy its manufactured goods there at low prices instead of paying Northern manufacturers higher ones because of a tariff. South Carolina brought on the nullification and secession movement over the issue of the tariff. Although the Act of 1832 modified the protectionist features in part to meet her demands, her legislature promptly passed an



AN EARLY CARTOON COMPARING CONDITIONS UNDER FREE TRADE AND PROTECTIVE TARIFF

From the *United States Weekly Telegram*, November 5, 1832.

Ordinance of Nullification, declaring the Acts of both 1828 and 1832 to be null and void. As described elsewhere, a compromise was arranged, and after that the tendency of tariff rates was downward until the Civil War created the need for additional government income.

Protectionists give three principal arguments. The issue of "free trade vs. protection" has been a continuing one in our political history since the War of 1812. This issue is usually thus briefly described but it would be both more fair and more accurate to speak of it as between a tariff for revenue only and one designed to protect cer-

tain industries. In spite of constant discussion, the arguments on both sides had all been clearly stated within less than a half century after peace with Britain, and nothing since that time has really been added.

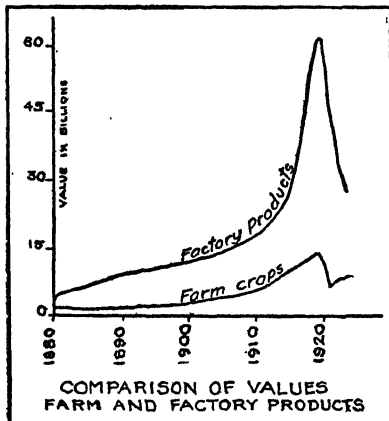
The three chief arguments in favor of protection have been: (1) that it should be used to build up "infant industries"; (2) that, by creating a large industrial population, a home market will be found to a great extent for our agricultural produce; and (3) that high duties are required to maintain the higher wage scale of American workmen as compared with those of other countries. All of these arguments have been used at once, but the first was the only one until the 1820's, when Clay and others introduced the second. The third was not much considered until about 1840.

A nationalistic spirit turns us toward manufacturing. We have already noted the situation during the Napoleonic wars, the Embargo period, and the second War with England. The conditions had been equivalent to very high or almost prohibitive duties. Not only had flourishing young industries come into existence in consequence but we had learned the discomfort and even danger of being so largely dependent on highly taxed imports for many necessary products. Moreover, although the result of our second war with England had been rather a draw than a victory, the nationalist spirit had been greatly quickened. We felt at last free of Europe and turned with immense enthusiasm to the development of our vast resources in the West. It was felt that we should no longer depend on other countries for such things as hemp, textiles, and iron.

We use tariff to protect "infant industries." The theory of protection for infant industries is considered a right one if industries proper or necessary to a country have to overcome certain difficulties in their beginning, but which, when well started, are such as can then stand on their own feet. This was true of most manufacturing in the first period. The lack of capital, high wages, scarcity of labor, opportunities for both capital and labor in other directions, and other factors, all made it seem wise to offer special helps to industrial undertakings in order to get them started and not allow them to fall off again under English competition.

An "infant industry," however, in the scientific protectionist sense, does not mean merely a new one. As far as the infant-industry argument is concerned, the situation in our highly industrialized America of to-day is quite different from that in the farming America of a century and more ago.

Henry Clay advocates the "American System." The second argument, that of building up a balanced agricultural-industrial nation, was advanced by Henry Clay, mainly from 1824 onward. Clay realized the growing sectionalism of the nation with North, South, and West. He believed two things were necessary to bind them together—transportation and community of economic interest. He thought he had found the solution in what he called the "American System." This theory, which stemmed straight from Alexander Hamilton, was that



by means of a protective tariff manufactures could be deliberately built up. This would make us to a much larger degree self-supporting and would provide employment for a large population which would have no connection with agriculture. The feeding of this non-farming population would, in turn, provide a rapidly growing home market for the produce of the rising West, which would buy Northern manufactures. The South would sell its cotton to Northern mills and also buy manufactures from that section. A large

part of the revenue to be derived from high duties was to be spent in developing transportation routes which would bind the sections together.

Conflict of interest gives rise to different views. The theory was alluring but did not allow for sectional and occupational antagonisms. The West was pleased with the prospects of better transport to the markets of the East, and already had some beginnings of manufacturing itself. It is often forgotten, however, that prices for agricultural staples are world prices. The South could get no more for its cotton in the North than in the great markets of England and France, and saw no reason why it should divert its sales to the North in order to help a system which would make it pay more for all its goods.

This conflict of interest between the agricultural and the industrial sections or groups has always existed and is likely to continue. As compared with our farm produce, only a small part of our manufactures is exported. The manufacturer has a protected market at home, but there is no way of protecting the farmer from a fall in world prices. Some farmers believe that protection does them harm by making them

pay high for all they buy without doing much to help them sell correspondingly high. The answer of the protectionist to this is that in spite of American initiative, ingenuity, efficiency, and all the rest, our manufacturers could not compete with the rest of the world. It is claimed they would have to go out of business or greatly reduce wages and the standard of living, in either of which cases the farmer would lose much of his home market.

Republican party becomes party of protection. In the Republican party, which was formed just before the Civil War, the protectionist interest was strong. The new party, which preserved the Union, was made up of many different elements and all had to be considered. In addition, the government needed additional revenue. Duties were raised and the manufacturers benefited. In modern times war always makes for intense industrial activity and high prices. Northern industry would have become enormously prosperous in any case. The higher duties helped, and after the war those who had benefited did not wish to lose any advantage they had gained. In addition, the South, which almost alone had demanded and had secured a lowering of duties since 1832, had no longer the same influence in Washington.

On the whole, the story of the tariff since the war has been that of "log-rolling" and steadily rising duties until they have now reached fantastic heights. Many duties approach 100 per cent so that it costs as much to get an article into America as the original price of the article abroad. It becomes increasingly difficult to reduce tariffs after great industries have been built up on the basis of them, and especially when their securities have gone into the hands of investors. But it has been pointed out that if we raise our duties to prohibitive rates and do not buy from foreign nations, it is quite evident they cannot buy from us.

2. Development of Our Banking System

The debtor class dislikes the creditor. The United States has long had the most unsafe banking system of any of the great nations, and there has been an unusual dislike of banks. There are several reasons for this. One has been our dual form of government. There is the federal nation but there are also forty-eight states forming it. There have thus been forty-nine governments and forty-nine different banking systems. Moreover, a frontier is always in need of borrowed money and in debt to some older settlement. When hard times come, the man of the frontier objects most strenuously to the suffering

entailed in paying the debt due to strangers in another part of the country. A natural antagonism grows up between the frontier and the older sections which supply it with capital. As we have already noted, the American mind is shot through and through with the emotions left by having lived on successive frontiers for three centuries.

Our sectionalism calls for many banks. Our country is also so vast in extent that much sectional feeling has developed and one section is jealous and suspicious of another. Not only does one section not wish to be dependent on another for banking facilities, but the feeling is so strong that it goes down even to villages. In 1929 there were approximately 25,000 independent banks. Banking is a highly technical business, and with so many separate institutions it is certain that many of them will not be well run. Finally, American business conditions have not all been such in the past as to develop that sense of trusteeship rather than personal profit which is essential to the sound handling of other people's money.

The state banks are on an unsound basis. In the early part of the last century, banks, with the exception of the First and Second Banks of the United States, were incorporated by the state legislatures, frequently as political favors to those wishing to start them. The laws regarding their incorporation and also their inspection were very lax. Each bank issued its own paper money, often far beyond any amount warranted by wise business. The rapid advance in developing the country, especially in the South and West, made constant demands for unsound loans. Between ignorance of banking, dishonesty, and favoritism, these small state banks were about as unsafe as could be conceived.

Our government establishes a national bank. Alexander Hamilton, as part of his fiscal policy for the new government, had wished to establish a national bank similar to the Bank of England. This was done in 1791. The Bank, of which the Federal Government owned one-fifth of the capital, was prosperous and performed many useful functions in addition to providing a safe place to deposit government funds. It had many enemies, however, and when its charter expired in 1811, Congress would not renew it.

A Second United States Bank was again chartered five years later but opposition continued. In the panic of 1819 the Bank had to foreclose many mortgages, especially in the West. It had also tried to keep the note issues of state banks within reasonable limits by sending them in for redemption, which annoyed the banks that wanted to keep an excessive amount of their currency outstanding, not to redeem any

part of it. The cry of a banking monopoly went up and when Jackson, who had been placed in the White House by the West, was nearing his campaign for re-election in 1832 he determined to prevent the rechartering of the bank in 1836.

Jackson destroys the United States Bank. The Bank prematurely applied for re-charter in July, 1832, and although Congress passed a bill permitting it, Jackson vetoed it in a message appealing to prejudice against banking. He then proceeded against the Bank, withdrawing all government deposits from it, placing them in "pet banks." This system was changed and the United States established in 1846 an independent Treasury and sub-Treasuries in which it kept its funds in coin. There has been no national bank since, such as most nations have.

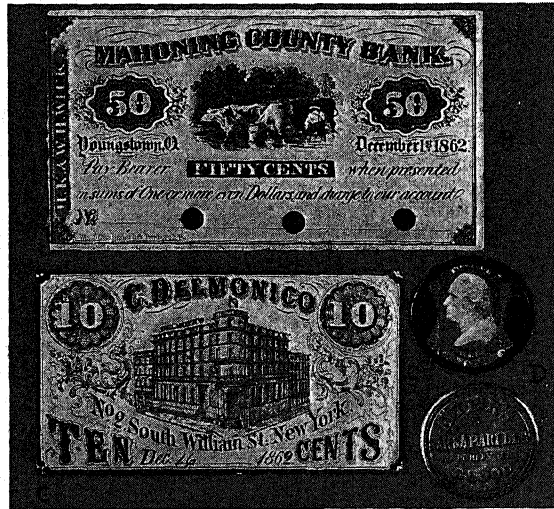
The closing of the Second Bank of the United States resulted in the springing up of multitudes of new small state banks and a great increase in the paper money issued by them. Wild speculation, largely in government land, followed as did also a mania of state government spending. For the lands it sold, the Federal Government was paid often in worthless bank notes, and in 1836 Jackson insisted that the government should be paid in gold or silver. People at once began to cash their bank notes and the panic of 1837, one of the worst in our history, followed.

Although many leading business men continued to work for the re-establishment of some central bank which could control the wild issues of paper money by the state banks, there was no further important legislation until the Civil War. By that time there were about 1600 banks which had issued about 7000 different kinds and denominations of bank notes which circulated at varying discounts. A ten-dollar note of one bank might be worth ten dollars, whereas a note of the same amount of another bank might be worth only three dollars. There were also about 4000 varieties of counterfeit notes in circulation.

We provide for the establishment of national banks. A very considerable advance was made under the National Bank Act of 1863, somewhat amended soon after. The Civil War was making huge demands upon the government for money. These demands were mostly met by taxation, the sale of government bonds, and the issue of paper money. The latter, called "greenbacks," was authorized up to the amount of \$450,000,000, though there were never more than \$400,000,000 of these notes out at any one time.

Paper money had driven gold and silver out of circulation. The currency was in very unsatisfactory shape. It consisted of the green-

backs, about \$50,000,000 of United States notes in very small denominations, as low as three cents, called "shin plasters"; and the paper money of the state banks. It was also desirable to increase the market for government bonds. The National Banking Act tried to cover these two points. Under it, "national banks" could be chartered by the Federal Government instead of the state governments. The amount of capital they had to have depended on the size of the town or city in which they were located, but none could have less than \$50,000.



KINDS OF MONEY IN USE DURING AND AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

B. Mahoning County Bank, Youngstown, Ohio, bill for fifty cents, 1862. C. Scrip issued by Delmonico's Restaurant, New York, 1862. D. Face of encased postage stamp money patented 1862, with reverse, which was used for advertising.

From the Chase National Bank Collection of Moneys.

This amount was lowered in 1900 to \$25,000 for communities of less than 3000.

These banks had to buy government bonds to the extent of one-third of their capital, and could then deposit these with the government and issue their own notes against them to the amount of 90 per cent of their market value. The banks thus got the interest on the bonds and also the interest on their notes which they put out in loans. The notes were receivable for all money owing to the government except customs dues. As they were uniformly secured by government bonds they were

as good as the credit of the government itself, and were everywhere accepted by business men. The depositor in the banks was also protected by periodical examinations of the bank's condition by Federal agents and by a liability of the stockholders up to twice the par value of stock held by them. In 1865 the government drove all state-bank notes out of existence by levying a tax of 10 per cent on them. The state banks have continued in business but the soundness of the currency was immensely improved by depriving them of the right to issue money.

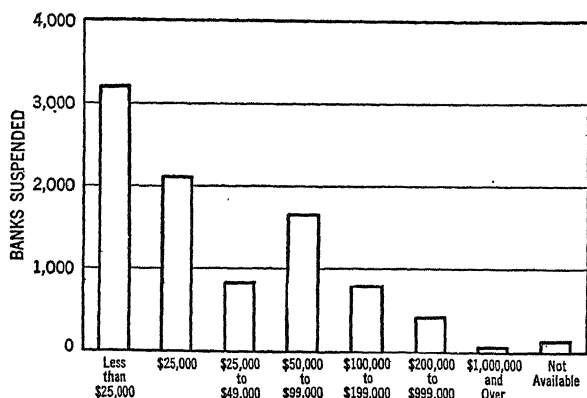
Our currency remains too inelastic. There were, however, serious defects remaining. One was that the amount of national bank currency was more or less rigidly tied to the amount of government bonds. Indeed if the government had been able to pay off its debt, as it had done in 1836, there would have been no bank currency at all. For this and other reasons, such as the fixed 25 per cent reserve which had to be kept, the currency could not be easily expanded or contracted to meet the seasonal and other changes in the needs of business. At some seasons money would flow into New York from the West and South, fostering speculation by being in greater quantity than business needed. Then when the crops had to be moved there would be a demand to draw it back again. The dangers of the system were clearly shown in the panic of 1907.

Aldrich-Vreeland Act gives more elasticity to currency. In 1908, as an emergency measure, the Aldrich-Vreeland Act was passed, which remained in force until 1915. Under this bill some further elasticity was given to the currency by allowing banks to issue notes not only against United States Government bonds but also against the securities issued by states and their political subdivisions. A national monetary commission was also appointed to investigate the whole question of banking here and abroad. This commission made a report in many volumes in 1912. The plan it proposed, however, was not satisfactory. President Wilson and his advisers pressed for a different one, which took form in the Federal Reserve Act of December 23, 1913.

The Federal Reserve Banking system is established. The chief objects were to make currency more elastic and to diffuse it more evenly through the country in accordance with local and seasonal needs. The country was laid out in twelve districts with a Federal Reserve Bank in each. The cities chosen were Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Richmond, Atlanta, St. Louis, Chicago, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Dallas, and San Francisco.

Every national bank was required to subscribe to the stock of these Federal Reserve Banks. State banks were allowed the same privilege. The Federal Reserve system is governed by a central Federal Reserve board of eight members in Washington appointed by the President. The Secretary of the Treasury and the comptroller of the currency are members ex-officio. This board governs the general policy. Under it each district Reserve Bank is governed by a board of nine, three of whom represent the interests of industry and agriculture, three represent banking, and three represent the member banks who own the stock.

The Federal Reserve Banks do no business with the public, except



BANK FAILURES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE CAPITAL STOCK OF THE FAILED BANKS

that they can issue bank notes secured by government bonds and commercial paper. These are direct obligations of the government. The relations to gold have, of course, been changed since we abandoned the gold standard. As these notes cannot be kept as reserves by individual banks

and one Reserve Bank cannot pay out the notes of another it was hoped that the new currency would expand and contract in accordance with demand. The Reserve Banks can also assist member banks by lending them money on government bonds and rediscounting commercial paper held by them, which should greatly relieve strain in times of emergency or panic.

Our banking system needs to be reorganized. Even with these improvements our banking system is still very inferior to that of most countries. The failure of thousands of banks not only in the years following the crash of 1929 but in the previous decade shows the need for alteration. Counting the states and the federal government, we have forty-nine systems. Even if the states were willing to give up their right to charter banks—which they are not—problems would still remain.

The new system of Federal deposit insurance, set up in 1933, protects depositors, but does not provide a uniform system of banking.

The superb strength shown through this century by the banks of Great Britain and Canada has been due partly to wise and careful handling and partly to the fact that those countries have only a few great banks which are managed by expert bankers true to their trust. The smaller communities outside the cities where the head offices of these banks are located are served by branches of the central institution and are certain of being protected by the strength of the entire system. There is much opposition to this plan with us owing to sectional jealousy, fear of centralization, and lack of confidence in the character, honesty, and ability of many of those who have in the past few years headed even our greatest institutions. The reorganization of our system, however, is, in the opinion of many of our people, one of our most pressing problems.

Congress passes the Banking Act of 1933. Early in President Roosevelt's term, Congress took steps to improve our banking conditions. It passed the Banking Act of 1933, approved June 16. This act: (a) Created the Federal Bank Deposit Insurance Corporation and provided for a deposit insurance fund of \$150,000,000. This money was to be raised by appropriations by the Federal Government and by stock subscriptions; (b) Provided for a temporary deposit insurance fund from January 1, 1934, to June 30, 1934, insuring deposits in banks to \$2500; (c) Provided that after July 1, 1934, deposits under \$10,000 were to be fully covered; the next \$40,000, 75 per cent; over \$50,000, 50 per cent; (d) Forbade member banks to act as agent in securing loans to brokers or dealers; (e) Provided that no executive officer should borrow from his member bank and that he must report to his board of directors concerning loans from another member bank; (f) Set forth the rules and regulations under which branch banking might be permitted in a city or a state.

Congress passes the Banking Act of 1935. In the summer of 1935 the so-called Omnibus Banking Bill passed both Houses of Congress and was signed by the President. The bill as introduced in the House was amended in the Senate, largely through the efforts of Senator Carter Glass of Virginia who made a determined fight to have a non-partisan Board of Governors. In this, however, the Virginia Senator was only partially successful.

The act is composed of three titles. Title I amends the permanent deposit insurance provisions of the Banking Act of 1933. Title II pro-

vides for a revision of the powers and functions of the Federal Reserve Board and the federal reserve banks. Title III provides for technical amendments to help make existing bank laws operate more smoothly. In contrast with the Banking Act of 1933, the new act limits the insurance of deposits to \$5000. The name of the Federal Reserve Board was changed to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. The Board of Governors consists of seven members, all of whom are appointed by the President of the United States for terms of fourteen years each. They are to be appointed in such fashion that one term will expire every two years. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency are dropped as *ex officio* members of the board. The salary of board members is fixed at \$15,000 per annum and no member is to be allowed to serve for more than one full term.

The act has not satisfied everybody and its critics point out that it does not afford adequate protection against a possible credit inflation. However, all agree that the Banking Act of 1935 was a constructive measure and a far better act than that of 1933.

3. *The Story of Our Currency*

Our early colonists use various kinds of money. In the early days of our country the colonists, especially the English of New England and the Dutch of New Netherlands, used Indian *wampum* for money. The unit of money was a belt of 360 white beads, called a fathom. Colored beads had a greater value than white ones but all *wampum* was accepted in payment for small debts. The southern colonists used tobacco and rice for money. Many of the colonists of the frontier districts used whiskey as a medium of exchange and other colonies made hand-wrought nails serve the same purpose.

As the colonies grew and prospered and carried on an expanding trade and commerce they had greater need for money and for a better kind of money than *wampum*, tobacco, rice, whiskey, or nails. Considerable colonial trade was carried on with the Spanish West Indies, and through them, with other countries. Spain had valuable silver mines in both Mexico and Peru and coined a vast amount of silver into *pesos* or "pieces of eight" which the American colonists called dollars. The *peso* was stamped with the figure 8 to show that it was worth eight *reals*, the money unit of Spain.

Today in some parts of our country we refer to one-eighth of a dollar as a "bit" or to a quarter as "two bits." For many years the Spanish dollar was used by the colonists to a greater extent than any other money, although coins of other nations circulated in the colonies—the English guinea worth about \$5, the French louis about \$4, the Dutch ducat about \$2.50, and the Italian sequin about \$2.25.

Besides the Spanish dollar and the other foreign coins of larger denominations, smaller coins of these nations circulated throughout the colonies. On account of the scarcity of gold and silver mines, the colonists coined very little money of their own. Massachusetts set up a mint in 1632 and coined small silver pieces, known as pine-tree shillings from the picture of a pine tree stamped upon them, valued at about one-sixth of the Spanish dollar. The Massachusetts mint, however, was soon closed by the English Government.

The colonists resort to the use of paper money. The coins that circulated throughout our colonies did not stay long for they were soon sent out to foreign nations to pay for colonial imports. As trade and commerce continued to increase, the colonists found themselves constantly in need of more money to carry on their business. They turned to the printing of paper money, each colony issuing its own supply and providing for its security in the form of rice or tobacco or land. The colonists printed excessive issues of paper and soon found that their money would not be accepted at face value either by foreign nations or by other colonies.

During the Revolutionary War and for some years afterwards, until our Federal Constitution became effective, the states and the Continental Congress continued to issue great quantities of paper money to pay the heavy expenses of the war and to carry on the government. Unable to control the output, and with no sound security back of it, the value of the paper money fell rapidly and the colonists refused to accept it.

To bolster up the value of their money, the colonists passed laws stating that a refusal to accept it, when tendered, extinguished the debt, and Congress stated that any one who refused to accept the money should be considered an enemy of his country. But the people did refuse to accept it and before the close of the Revolutionary War the continental currency became practically worthless, from which fact we got the expression "not worth a continental." In some of the state currencies it required five or six thousand dollars to buy a pair of shoes!

National and State banks issue bank notes. The Federal Constitution gives to Congress the power "to coin money" and "regulate

the value thereof" but denies to the states either the power to coin money or to issue paper money. The Fathers of the Constitution, remembering the sad experience which the colonies had had with paper money, did not specifically state that even Congress had the power to issue it. As a matter of fact three quarters of a century passed before Congress, in 1863, did issue paper money to any extent.

During the early years of our Republic the first National Bank, which had been established in 1791, issued bank notes which served the purpose of paper money. Opposition to the National Bank arose, and in 1811, when its charter expired, Congress let the bank die. State banks then expanded their currency and often made loans upon poor security. To help put the currency back on a sound basis, Congress in 1816 re-established the National Bank. Jackson, however, opposed the Bank and succeeded in destroying it, 1836. The government's money was then deposited in state banks. Throughout the period of speculation, which had started about 1820 and which lasted for some seventeen years, the state banks were called upon to make heavy loans, many of them bad ones. Money matters soon became strained, especially when European creditors, suffering from a financial depression, called upon us for repayment of the loans they had made to us. We were unable to pay and a heavy financial crash occurred in 1837.

Congress passes the National Bank Act. During the Civil War a vast amount of money was needed to equip armies and provide war materials. In the years 1862 and 1863 Congress issued \$450,000,000 of paper money—"greenbacks" as they were called from their color. The "greenbacks" were not secured by gold or silver and soon fell in value. At one time, when it appeared that the Confederacy might be successful, they were worth only 36 cents on the dollar. Prices of all goods rose, and, as a result, the cost of the war was increased over a half billion dollars. These inflated prices fell heavily upon the people, as the increase in their wages and salaries did not keep pace with the increased prices of the goods they consumed.

Many people had argued ever since the destruction of the second National Bank in 1836 that the re-establishment of such an institution would correct the evils of state bank notes of which there were 7000 kinds in circulation besides 4000 kinds of fraudulent notes. They argued also that a National Bank would do away with the violent contraction and expansion of the currency as the government would have control over its funds. The National Banking Act, passed in 1863, gave to the national banks the right to issue their own bank notes provided they

were adequately secured by government bonds. Soon the state banks ceased to issue notes as a prohibitive tax was laid upon them.

"Greenbacks" remain a part of our paper money. At the close of the Civil War some people thought that the "greenbacks" should be retired from circulation and that the government should resume specie payments, that is, pay coin—gold or silver—for the paper money. Some argued that the resumption of specie payments could be achieved only by reducing the volume of our currency; others advised the government to accumulate a gold reserve in order to raise the volume of "greenbacks"; still others said that the continued growth and development of our country would furnish a need for all our currency and that the "greenbacks" should be kept in circulation. Our government, selling its bonds for coin, built up a reserve and on January 1, 1879, offered to redeem all paper money with coin. Now since the "greenbacks" had become "just as good as gold" people preferred to keep them and use them because of the greater convenience in handling them. The "greenbacks" are still in circulation today—some \$300,000,000—passing at face value.

The paper money of our country consists of the following kinds: United States notes or "greenbacks," United States silver certificates, National Bank notes, Federal Reserve notes, and United States gold certificates. The latter certificates, after 1940, ceased to be in circulation but were held by the banks.

Congress coins our money and regulates its value. In harmony with the provision of the Constitution giving Congress power to coin money, that body passed the Mint Act in 1792 which provided for the minting of gold, silver, and copper coins. The ratio at that time between gold and silver was fixed at 15 to 1, that is, fifteen ounces of silver were worth one ounce of gold. A silver dollar which had about the same weight as the Spanish dollar, which had circulated so freely during the colonial period, was chosen as the unit, together with a gold dollar. Thus our first monetary standard was a bimetallic one, as we used both gold and silver as standards. At first we did not coin a great deal of gold on account of its scarcity but after its discovery in California in 1848 gold coins became common. These coins consisted of the dollar, the quarter eagle (\$2.50), the half eagle (\$5.00), the eagle (\$10.00), and the double eagle (\$20.00).

In January, 1934, our government fixed, for an indefinite period, the weight of gold for the dollar at 13.71 grains of pure gold or at 15 5/21 grains of "standard" gold which is 9/10 pure or fine, the other 1/10 being copper. Prior to this time 25.8 grains of "standard" gold were

considered equal to a dollar. A few months before this our country went "off gold" when Congress, in June, 1933, declared the government obligations would no longer be paid in gold but in other coin or in paper money. In the meantime President Roosevelt ordered our citizens to turn into the federal treasury all their gold coins, gold bullion, and gold stocks for which they received paper money in exchange. So gold no longer circulated as money nor was it coined into money, yet it was our standard money. Our stock of gold, which was half of the total monetary gold stock of the world—both that which has been coined into money and that which was in bullion form—has been kept in various places designated by the government—in the United States treasury, in mints, and in vaults. Much of it is stored away in specially prepared vaults at Fort Knox, Kentucky, San Francisco, California, and Denver, Colorado. Our gold may be used by the government to settle accounts with foreign countries but it is kept principally as a reserve against our paper money and other token money.

We mint several small silver and copper coins. Our early silver coins consisted of the dollar, half dollar, quarter dollar, twenty-cent piece, dime, half dime, and three-cent piece. The coinage of the half dime and three-cent piece was later given up as they were too small and thin to be handled conveniently. The half dime is now our familiar nickel, made of copper and nickel.

Our early copper coins were the cent and the half cent—the former larger than a quarter and the latter almost as large. The coinage of the half cent was soon discontinued and the one-cent piece reduced to its present size. For a while we coined a two-cent piece. These small coins were really not copper coins at all, as they were made of a mixture of copper, tin, and zinc, known as bronze.

Gold and silver have the best qualities for money. Metals have those qualities that make them the best material for use as money—for the purpose of money is to afford a convenient measure of value and a medium of exchange. Of all the metals gold and silver are best suited for such a purpose because (1) they have been and are scarce enough and have always been desired enough to have great value in proportion to their weight; (2) they have not changed frequently nor to any great extent in value as their production through mining has been fairly constant throughout the years; (3) they can be made into any size, are easily divisible, but are all but indestructible; (4) they possess the same uniform quality and are not variable after they have been refined.

All our money in circulation today is token money. As we have

seen, our nation started out to use both gold and silver as standards on a bimetallic basis but it was quite impossible to keep the two metals at the same ratio as there was a tendency for them to shift a little in value. Finally, we decided to have but one standard—gold. The standard of value of the gold dollar has been fixed by the government as a definite weight of gold of a given fineness (p. 715). Except when our government changed the number of grains of gold in a dollar any of our gold coins has had the same value as a commodity as it had as money. The gold in a dollar was actually worth a dollar. That was not true of our coins in circulation in 1940. They were token coins and did not contain metal equal in value to the amount stamped on them. The silver dollar did not contain a dollar's worth of silver but only about forty cents' worth. This was due to the fall in the gold price of silver since the silver was coined into dollars. Our government was able to have the token coins circulate at face value because it kept down the supply by refusing to the owners of silver the right to have their silver coined into money. There was no free coinage of silver or gold, as there once had been, and as a result the value of our coins was kept in line better.

Our paper money, as well as our silver money, is token money and while its commodity value is almost worthless yet it circulates at face value because the government limits its supply and has a huge gold reserve back of it. At the beginning of 1940 the government's gold stock was about \$17,640,000,000. During the year 1939 the amount was increased about \$3,130,000,000 as compared with \$1,750,000,000 in 1938. At this period our government was acquiring gold, for which we paid \$35 an ounce, faster than it was being produced throughout the world. About 90 per cent of the money in circulation in our country was paper money, accepted fully and freely by our people, and it will continue to be so accepted as long as our citizens have faith that the government will keep its issue within proper bounds.

When the government does not limit its token money and it gets out of bounds, the currency is said to be inflated. Inflation is followed by rising prices—a decrease in the purchasing power of the money, which, in turn, may call for still greater issues of money with the same disastrous effects. No nation has profited by the inflation of its currency but many of them have suffered untold hardships by trying to make people better off by an unregulated and uncontrolled currency. The opposite of inflation—the expansion of the currency—is deflation—the contraction of the currency. As an increase in prices follows inflation, so a decrease in prices follows deflation. Governments now endeavor to

keep their money sound, neither too "cheap" nor too "dear," not too much inflation nor too much deflation, but stable.

Bank checks are a kind of money. Besides the standard money—gold—and the token monies—silver, copper, and paper—there are two other kinds of money which we do not usually speak of as money at all—bank checks and bank deposits. Fully nine-tenths of the business of our country, which amounts to many billions of dollars each year, is done by means of bank checks upon the bank deposits. Since bank checks are generally accepted fully in payment for goods or services they are, in a sense, money—a medium of exchange. Usually, however, a bank check serves only one exchange and is then presented to the bank for collection. However, it is possible for a bank check to be exchanged two or more times by proper endorsements on its back. Thus a bank check, unlike government money, is limited in its circulation and in the number of debts or obligations it can pay.

Bank deposits are also a kind of money. The principal medium of exchange of our country is not the bank check but the bank deposit, generally called bank credit currency. Bank deposits are made in two general ways—by the money left in the bank by depositors and by the bank loans made by the bank to borrowers. Business men or manufacturers may need to borrow money at certain times and apply to the bank for the loan. The money lent them is usually not taken from the bank but placed to their credit, against which they issue checks. These checks are in turn deposited in the same bank or in some other bank with the result that the total bank deposits of the different banks are not reduced. By this process the bank deposits become much greater in amount than all the money in the bank. In fact the bank deposits are many times greater in amount than all the money throughout our entire country and thus greatly increase our medium of exchange. The more loans that the banks make the greater become their deposits and the greater the medium of exchange. When banks curtail their loans, their bank deposits decrease and the medium of exchange is lessened. Since banks may easily increase or decrease their bank deposits they have considerable to do with helping "booms in business" and in deepening depressions. Banks lend money more freely in "good times" than in "hard times" and under the former condition we find generally rising prices and under the latter falling prices. So prices tend to go up with the increase of bank deposits and down with their decrease.

Since prices affect all our people in the goods and services that they buy, the government is anxious that banks put forth every effort to keep

their bank deposits—medium of exchange—as stable as possible. To prevent banks from overextending credit, the government has placed limits upon the extension of loans that they can make. But this has not wholly solved our banking troubles nor has it prevented “runs” on banks nor occasional financial panics.

Many factors help to cause the change in prices. The market value of goods or services is what people who have them for sale will take for them and what people who want them will pay for them. These market values are expressed in prices and prices are measured in money. But prices change, so the value of money changes, too. There are many causes for the change of prices: Certainly prices are determined to a considerable extent by supply and demand. If the supply of goods or services is greater than the demand, the price will fall until it reaches a point where the supply can be disposed of. If the supply is scarce the price will be higher. If the supply is very scarce and the demand brisk, the price will be very high. However, such a condition will, no doubt, cause the supply to be increased which, in turn, will cause the price to fall. Prices of services and commodities will fall, too, when the demand for them has been satisfied. If after the demand has been fairly well satisfied and there are commodities still left unsold, they might be offered for sale at a lower price, which would tend to increase or stimulate demand for them.

The cost of production of any article enters into its price. Producers of goods must receive from their sale the cost of production plus a profit of some kind. If the cost of the materials and the labor that go into the manufacture of goods increases, the price of the goods to the consumers will also increase. If the price is too high and people refuse to buy, thus decreasing the demand, prices will fall. If they fall below the cost of production the manufacturers may lay off some of their workmen or reduce wages, or both, or even close their factories temporarily, thus hoping to stimulate demand and increase prices by reducing the supply or the cost of production. But the workmen who are thrown out of employment and those who have had their wages reduced are less able to buy goods and a situation is thus created that may actually decrease the demand instead of increasing it. So the cost of production must figure in the price of any article.

Another price factor is the volume of production of goods, not only in our own country but throughout the world. A large world volume of production in any line tends to lower the price while a smaller volume will increase it.

Another factor which causes prices to rise or fall is the rate of turnover of money or bank checks. Sometimes money and bank checks are transferred rapidly from person to person, thus paying many obligations. Again they may move slowly in business transactions. When the turnover is brisk prices will rise, when sluggish they will fall.

Perhaps one of the most important factors in determining the price level is the amount of money in circulation. There are two sources of money—the government and the banks. Before our country went “off gold” the government backed up its other monies with gold. On account of the scarcity of that metal a limit was necessarily placed on the issue of the other monies. But a nation off the gold standard may increase the amount of money in circulation beyond its gold reserve provided the people have confidence in the government, and the amount of money issued does not increase the price level above that of other nations. However, if the government issues too much money—inflates the currency too much—then the value of money falls, or in other words, prices rise. And so it is with bank deposits. When the banks increase their deposits by loans, demand is stimulated and prices rise. As the government is anxious to prevent prices from rising so fast as to cause economic distress by too much of its money being in circulation, so it is equally anxious to prevent this same situation from arising by the increase of bank deposits. So the government requires banks to keep on hand a certain per cent of their bank deposits as a reserve. An increase of bank deposits calls for an increase in the reserve.

Besides the issue and control of its own money and the regulation of bank deposits, the Government of the United States has passed many laws which directly or indirectly affect prices. Tariff laws, restricting the importation of foreign-made goods, may have a tendency to increase the price to the American consumers on the one hand and maintain a higher wage for the workmen on the other. Immigration laws, restricting the influx of foreign laborers, may keep up the price of labor to American workmen, by keeping down competition, and keep up the prices of the goods they make by reducing the volume of the supply or by causing the supply to cost more on account of the higher wages. The government determines the salaries of the hundreds of thousands of men and women in its employ. In granting franchises to public-service corporations it fixes the rate or price the companies may charge for their services. In granting patents and copyrights it gives to inventors and authors the right to fix the price at which their productions may be sold. It fixes the price paid for postage stamps and parcel-post packages. Dur-

ing the World War our government set the price that the farmers were to receive for farm products—wheat, corn, cotton, meat. In recent years, in order to help reduce the surpluses that have helped to cause farm prices to drop, the government has sought to decrease the amount of farm products raised. Farmers were paid for reducing the number of acres of certain crops, which would, in turn, reduce the surplus and increase the price. The increased prices that the farmer received for his produce were paid by the consumers of his goods.

The rise and fall of prices affect everybody. Men and women who buy insurance policies that are due at a certain date in the future or at their death would like to have the policies paid off in money that would have at least as high a value as the money that they have paid in. Fathers and mothers who lay aside money for the education of their children would like to have it have as high a value when it is spent for that purpose as it had when they put it aside. Nearly everybody would like to see our currency become stable and have a fairly even value throughout the years.

Our government, which in our democracy is the people, is especially interested in preventing either debtors or creditors from having undue or unfair advantages in money matters. Debtors stand to gain when prices rise, which means that the value of money falls, because they can get higher prices for what they have to sell and it takes less of their goods to pay their debts. Creditors stand to gain when prices fall, which means that the value of money rises, because they can buy more goods with their money. Most Americans are both debtors and creditors. As creditors, they may have insurance policies, bank accounts, bonds, own mortgages, and so on. As debtors they may have mortgaged their homes or farms, borrowed money for business, owe money for cars or other things bought on the instalment plan, and so on. So the same person may be both debtor and creditor with the balance one way or the other. Sometimes a group or class may consider their interests are those of debtors or creditors and demand or fear "cheap money."

Various plans are presented for the stabilization of the currency. To prevent the conditions noted above, our government is seeking means to stabilize the currency and to keep a fairly even price level. Many plans have been proposed but up to the present time we have not been able to make money behave as we would like to have it. Every once in a while we have business booms and then depressions—we have not been able to find or hold an even keel. It has been argued by many that these ends may be attained by proper control of the money

supply and that the best way to secure this is through the gold standard. This, they argue, will keep the supply of token money in proper bounds and an oversupply of it cannot be issued because the scarcity of gold would prevent it. Others, however, fear that the gold standard may make the money supply too stable and may prevent additional money from being put into circulation at the very time it may be needed most.

Some people maintain that real control of the money supply can never be secured as long as banks can create token money by bank loans, expanding and contracting the currency primarily for their own interests. These people say that the banks should be required to keep 100 per cent reserve in money against deposits on checking accounts and that no agency except the government should be allowed to issue token money.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Adams, *The Control of the Purse in the United States Government*; Bolles, *The Financial History of the United States*; Bullock, *Finances of the United States, 1775-1789*; Catteral, *The Second Bank of the United States*; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*; Dunbar, *Chapters on the Theory and History of Banking*; Hill, *First Stages of the Tariff Policy of the United States*; Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*; Muhleman, *Monetary and Banking Systems*; Noyes, *Thirty Years of American Finance, 1865-1896*; Sumner, *A History of American Currency*; Sumner, *Lectures on the History of Protection in the United States*; Tarbell, *The Tariff in Our Times*; Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States*; Thompson, *Protection to Home Industry*; Wells, *Practical Economics*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Benton, *Thirty Years' View from 1820-1850*; Calhoun, *Works*, II-IV; Clay, *Works*, V-VI; Gallatin, *Writings*, III; Hamilton, *Complete Works*, II-III; McPherson, *Political History of the United States during the Great Rebellion*; Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America*; Proctor, *Tariff Acts passed by the Congress of the United States from 1789-1897*; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*; Secretary of the Treasury, *Report on the Finances*; Webster, *Works*, III-V.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Burton, *John Sherman*; Hart, *Salmon Portland Chase*; Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton*; McCulloch, *Men and Measures of Half a Century*; Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris, Patriot and Financier*; Schurz, *Life of Henry Clay*; Stevens, *Albert Gallatin*; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*.

III. *QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT*

1. What was the purpose of our first tariff measure? 2. What caused our country to turn to a protective tariff? 3. Why did Calhoun and Webster change their views on the tariff question? 4. What was Clay's "American System"? 5. How did the Republican party come to be the party of protection? 6. Why as a rule does the debtor class dislike the creditor? 7. How did our sectionalism call for the establishment of many banks? 8. Why were our state banks on an unsound basis? 9. What services did our first and second National Bank perform? 10. Why did Jackson destroy the National Bank? 11. What was the National Bank Act of 1863? 12. Show how our currency has remained too inelastic. 13. What was the purpose of the Aldrich-Vreeland Act? 14. Describe the Federal Reserve Banking system. 15. How do you account for so few bank failures in England and Canada? 16. How do you think our banking system should be reorganized?

IV. *EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES*

1. **IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW:** The purpose of the tariff, our turning to manufacturing, the "American System," attitudes of the Republican and the Democratic parties on the tariff, how our sectionalism called for many banks, the establishment of the National Bank, Jackson's fight on the Bank, the National Bank Act of 1863, the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, the Federal Reserve Banking system.

2. **PROJECT:** Make a careful study of the Canadian banking system and compare it with that of the United States. Give to your class the findings of your study.

3. **PROBLEM:** How do you account for so many bank failures in our country in the early 1930's?

4. **DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED:** That our country thrives best under a protective tariff.

5. **ESSAY SUBJECT:** Clay, Webster, or Calhoun on the tariff.

6. **IMAGINARY LETTER:** Imagine that you were in business in Boston at the close of the War of 1812. The dumping by the English of their goods on our market was ruining your business. Write a letter to your congressman asking for a protective tariff.

7. **DIARY:** You lived in South Carolina in 1850 and were the proprietor of a large plantation. Year after year you felt that the tariff was forcing you to buy in a dear market and sell in a cheap market. You wrote down at that time your thoughts on the tariff question. Read some of them to the class.

8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Alexander Hamilton, Calhoun, Webster, Jackson.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1789, 1816, 1828, 1837, 1913.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Dumping of goods, "tariff of abominations," nullification, tariff for revenue only, protective tariff, "infant industries," log-rolling, fiscal policy, "pet banks," "greenbacks," "shin plasters."

11. MAP WORK: Draw a rough outline map of the United States and place on it the twelve cities that are the centers of the Federal Reserve districts.

12. GRAPH WORK: In some graphic way show the results of the inelasticity of our currency.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE FIRST UNITED STATES BANK: Conant, *History of Modern Banking*, 288-294; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, 67-98; Morse, *Life of Hamilton*, I, 333-347; Sumner, *History of Banking in the United States*, I, 22-57; White, *Money and Banking Illustrated by American History*, 258-262.

2. THE TARIFF OF 1816: Adams, *History of the United States of America*, IX, 111-116; Calhoun, *Works*, II, 163-173; Elliott, *The Tariff Controversy*, 137-192; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War*, IV, 319-343; Taussig, *Tariff History*, 29-31.

3. FINANCIAL MEASURES OF THE CIVIL WAR: Dewey, *Financial History*, chs. 12-13; MacDonald, *Select Statutes*, nos. 3-4, 10, 14; Rhodes, *History*, III, 559-578; Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, II, ch. 13; Taussig, *Tariff History*, 155-170.

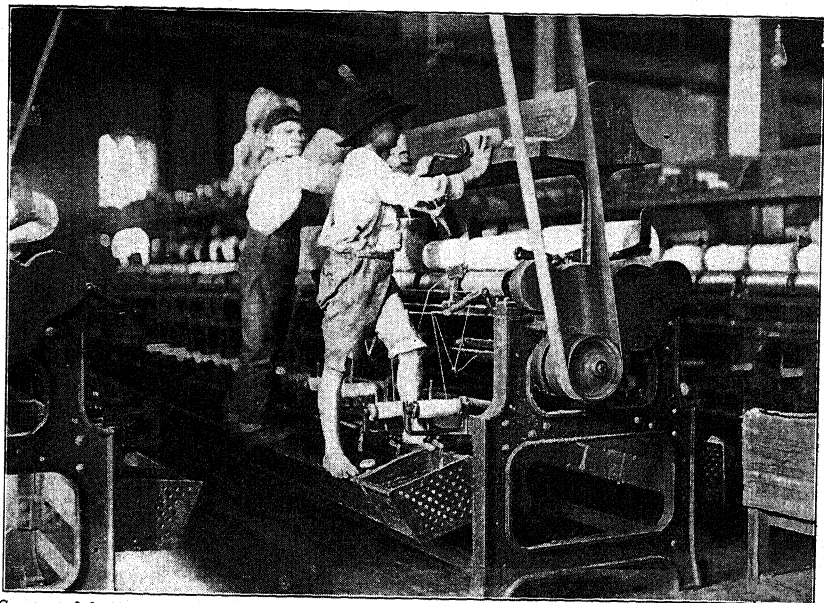
4. THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANKING SYSTEM: Faulkner, *American Economic History*, 507-513; Hart, *Contemporaries*, V, no. 73; Ogg, *National Progress*, 228-232; Muzzey, *The United States of America*, II, 546-555; Willis, *The Federal Reserve*, chs. 1-8.

5. ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF: Arnold, *Problems of American Life*, 148-153; Faÿ, *Elements of Economics*, 401-411; Hughes, *Problems of American Democracy*, 262-267; Moley, *Aspects of the Depression*, 112-119; Riley, *Economics for Secondary Schools*, 192-198.

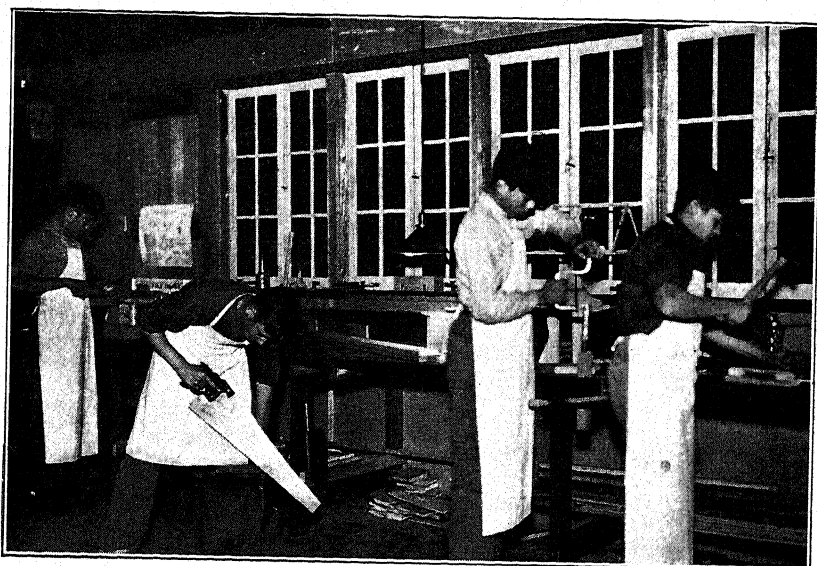
UNIT VIII

UNIT VIII tells the story of how our great nation has struggled to establish and maintain democracy and to secure social justice for its people. It shows how in early colonial days the frontier struggled against the tidewater, how the radicals fought against the conservatives before and during the Revolution, how the Revolution brought democratic changes and how in turn our Federal Constitution, framed by conservative forces, held the radical democracy in check, and how Jefferson and Hamilton founded two schools of thought in their interpretation of the Constitution. The unit traces the extension of the suffrage from the time when but a few of our people voted to the day of universal suffrage. The aims of the social reformers from 1830 to 1860 are set forth as are the demands of the laboring classes of farm and city. The story of the democracy of the West is told as is that of the social ideals of the Progressive party.

The unit shows how the World War has brought changes to American life and the serious problems that these changes have given us to solve—problems of European debts, of mass production, of the serious plight of our farmers, of unemployment. It names some plans for social readjustment in our land.



Courtesy of the National Child Labor Committee



AN IMPORTANT PHASE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

Top: Young boys in a textile mill, working under bad conditions and deprived of an education. Scenes like this are rapidly being abolished by our Government.

Bottom: Young boys in an up-to-date high school learning a trade in connection with their studies, to fit them for a vocation.

UNIT VIII

HOW THE MARCH OF DEMOCRACY AND THE SEARCH FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE HAVE TAKEN PLACE

TOPIC I

WE START OUR BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To show the social distinctions in our country in early days.
2. To set forth the changes brought about by the Revolution.
3. To show how the Constitution gave a set-back to the radicals.
4. To understand the political theories of Jefferson and Hamilton.
5. To know the significance of the reforms from 1830 to 1860.
6. To understand the social changes brought about by the Civil War.

1. *Democratic Elements in Colonial Life*

Distinct classes are found in the colonies. America after the French and Indian War was far from being peopled only by those who lived in the big Georgian houses and dressed in brocades and satins and lace. We need not here speak of the several hundred thousand slaves. They were so submerged in the scale as not to require thinking about at that time except for the fear, constant in many a plantation owner's heart, of a possible insurrection. But there were some hundreds of thousands of Americans who were to be of immense importance in the next twenty-five years.

It is true that the general economic and social level of the entire white population was higher in the America of 1763 than anywhere else in the world. But the American, whether he was a recent immigrant or a descendant of an early settler, had become something different from what he or his ancestor had been in the Old World.

Social lines are drawn early in the colonies. Most of the American colonists were poor. The first had come here fleeing from intolerable conditions at home, in England, Ireland, Germany, or elsewhere, lured often by fantastic hopes. On the voyage over, the immigrants had usually suffered almost unspeakable hardships, sometimes two-

thirds of them in a vessel in the early eighteenth century dying on the way. Often cruelly fleeced by business sharks on arrival, the new-comer settled down or started for the frontier with anger and the grim determination to make his way.

In the early beginnings of any of the settlements there was always a struggle for existence. There had been distinction even in earliest America between the rich and poor, but that distinction had been steadily increasing. While the rich had progressed from the first rough cabins to the Georgian houses, there had been no such advance for the poor. In a new country where land was the prime source of capital even when not its final form, the rich and favored of the governor's set had been securing their huge holdings by means denied to the poor and socially low. There had been practically no improvement in agricultural implements, and the work of tilling an original grant of fifty acres or so had become no more profitable and no less back-breaking in a century and a half.

In New England the favorites of even the Puritan legislatures could manage to get grants of townships and farm lands by the 10,000 acres, and gradually become rich merchants in the seaboard towns or "Lords of the Valley" along the Connecticut. We have already noted the huge grants and landholdings of the favored in New York and the South.

Slavery draws the class lines more closely. With the increasing scale of business operations the small man found it more and more difficult to compete, whether in the size of boats for trading or in the size of crops to be marketed. In the South the great increase in slavery in the century had brought its special problems. The planter who at the beginning could afford to buy slaves had a tremendous advantage in control of power to develop his land over those who could not. As the numbers of black laborers rapidly increased after 1700 and racial pride became more evident, the poor white farmer found himself not only poor but working on a level with the negro slaves.

The frontiersman is looked down upon. In the early days, when land had been plentiful, a man could find land for his sons not too far from his own home. But as population grew and land became scarce, the young generation found themselves more and more forced out to the frontier. For a time the frontier had been at every one's door and all had shared its hardships. But now, with the settled life of the seaboard, the frontier was not only far off and open to dangers long past in the old settlements, but the frontiersman was beginning to be looked down upon as an ignorant, uncouth fellow.

The frontier is denied political equality. When a man did go out to some new town which land speculators had opened for settlement, he often found that the favored owners had retained all political rights in their own hands. Sometimes the settler found, too, that he had nothing to say about taxation, the building of roads, or other matters in the town which he himself was building for the benefit of the speculators.

Although the suffrage was much more widely extended than it was in England, it was limited even in the old settlements by qualifications which excluded the vote from many growing classes, such as servants, artisans, small shopkeepers, and others.

The frontier counties in practically every colony, however, had a special grievance in this respect. For example, in Pennsylvania when Lancaster was erected as an outlying county in 1729 it was allowed only four votes in the assembly instead of the eight which each of the older counties had. Although the population grew rapidly, no new counties were created for twenty years. When they were created, they were given only two votes each. When, with the further spread of population, it was necessary to create two more counties, these received only one vote each.

By one such method or another, in all the colonies, the frontier was largely disfranchised, and the control of the politics of the colony was retained by the old settlements. In all of the colonies a few families were usually in political control. John Adams said that six or a dozen at most ruled Connecticut in company with the clergy. In New York it was the Smiths, Duanes, Schuylers, de Peysters, and a few others.

The frontiersmen resent being denied their rights. Family influence, the alliance of business with the legislatures, the growing power of the rising class of lawyers, favoritism of the governor—all these and other forces seemed to be restricting the power and opportunity of the common man. In 1763 there was special discontent. The dislocation of the economic life, due to the French and Indian War, had created much debt and distress.

There were thus two marked cleavages beginning to show in the life of the period. There was a growing conflict in the older settlements between rich and poor, voters and non-voters. And against those older settlements as a whole was ranged the entire frontier from Maine to Georgia, becoming angrily resentful over the denial of its rights.

From time to time there were armed clashes here or there, and both aggrieved classes, in old and new counties everywhere, were beginning

to find leaders from among themselves to voice their anger and their hopes. The dwellers in the Georgian houses, solidly conservative, were doing no little worrying all along the coast, as to how these radical ideas among "the people" could be curbed.

2. Radicals and Conservatives before and during the Revolution

East and West are separated by physical barriers. The interests of the new communities were, as we have pointed out, largely distinct from those of the East. The settlers rightly considered their future possibilities of development as boundless. But the barrier which separated them from the seaboard is shown clearly enough by the fact that it was easier to ship produce from the Ohio River to Philadelphia by way of New Orleans than it was direct by the few hundred miles of rough and rocky road which wound over the mountains.

Moreover, the East cared little about the new West. In fact, many conservatives on the seaboard intensely feared its growth, with the threat of radicalism and eventual shift in the balance of political power. In 1786, John Jay even proposed to Spain that we consent to the closing of the Mississippi for twenty-five years in exchange for new privileges in her ports in Europe. The West felt that its vital concerns were not safe in a government controlled by Easterners.

The West is full of intrigue. Both Spain and England realized the loose nature of the bonds which united the two sections of the new nation. They played for time, until the West might become independent or fall into their several hands. Thus, while England retained military posts which should have been evacuated in the North, Spain likewise encroached on our territory from the south. She maintained garrisons at Natchez and elsewhere, and opened the river to the Western traffic as a grace and not as a treaty right.

Some leading Westerners were in Spanish pay and were intriguing to secede from the United States with the thought, however, of founding an empire of their own which might come to include a good part of Spain's American possessions. The whole section was covered by a tangled network of intrigue in which no one trusted any one else, not even those in one's own pay.

The East fears its own radicals. If conservative Easterners feared the West, they also had an ample supply of anxieties in the East itself. We have seen how, as the Revolution advanced, control had fallen more and more to the radicals. The catch-words of the move-

ment—the talk about tyranny and slavery, the slogans about “no taxation without representation,” the declaration that “all men are created equal,” that “governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed”—had all, combined with the constant mobbing, the tarring and feathering, the Tory confiscations, given a tremendous impetus to what were considered radical ideas and to the demands of the common man.

Some states draft conservative and others draft radical constitutions. The conflict between conservative and radical was well displayed in the drafting of the new state constitutions. Some of them proved over-conservative, as in South Carolina, and others over-democratic and radical, as in Pennsylvania. In the former, the large planters of the seaboard strongly entrenched themselves in control. The new constitution perpetuated the old under-representation of the western counties. It established a fifty-acre freehold as qualification for the suffrage, an estate of £2000 for election to the senate, and £10,000 for election to the council or governorship. Pennsylvania went to the other extreme. All qualifications for the suffrage were abolished except payment of a state tax, thus giving the western counties control of the state. There were no governor and no Upper House in this new super-simplified democracy.

3. The Revolution and Democratic Changes

The Revolutionary War brings about democratic changes. Although the new state constitutions thus varied greatly, in general there was a broadening of the suffrage and a liberalizing of the fundamental laws in all of them. In Virginia, within a few years, primogeniture, entails, and the slave trade were abolished. In Jefferson's Statute of Religious Liberty a complete separation was established between church and state. What few relics remained of feudalism, such as quit-rents, were everywhere swept away.

The strong feeling against anything resembling an aristocracy or class distinctions was shown in the violent opposition to giving the officers of the army half pay for life. It was also shown in the alarm which was raised when those who had taken part in the Revolution formed an association, the Cincinnati, to perpetuate the friendships and memories of their service. On the other hand, few or none in the upper classes had any confidence in the ability or honesty of the lower classes in political matters.

Massachusetts conservatives protect themselves against radicals. In Massachusetts, in spite of the talk of the radicals, such as Samuel Adams, in the twenty years of controversy and war, the governing class had always insisted upon a narrow suffrage and the right of the "wise, the rich, and the good," or in John Adams's phrase, the "well born," to rule. In the new constitution adopted in 1780, the property qualifications for the franchise had been doubled, just when Vermont was abolishing every restriction and New Hampshire was giving the vote to every male over twenty-one who paid a poll tax. Now that the war was won, "no taxation without representation" was considered radical doctrine. The propertied classes were looking about for safety from the possible attacks of those who had no property. By 1786, 40 per cent of the entire revenue of the state was being raised by the poll tax alone.

Serious conditions arise in Massachusetts. Meanwhile, the feverish and unhealthy prosperity of the close of the war had come to an end everywhere in the colonies. The fictitious wartime prices for farm produce collapsed. The new manufacturing enterprises suffered from British competition. The currency was in confusion. Enormous purchases had been made of British goods, for which it was impossible to find exchange to pay. The debtor class now found itself in unexpected difficulties. As always, under such conditions, there was a strong demand for "cheap" or paper money. The general crisis was most clearly marked in Massachusetts. The whole state appears to have been in trouble. In Groton every third or fourth man between 1784 and 1786 suffered from one to a dozen suits for debt. In Worcester County there were 4000 suits in one year in a total population of 50,000. Farms could not be sold for enough to satisfy the owner's creditors. In 1785 the legislature laid no taxes; then the next year levied them so heavily that they could not be borne. In June the town meeting of Groton chose a "committee of correspondence" as in Revolutionary days, and conventions were held to consider the grievances of the people.

Daniel Shays heads a rebellion. A "reform" legislature, when elected, did nothing. Then open rebellion broke out under the lead of Captain Daniel Shays, who had had a good record in the war. The mass of revolvers were farmers, mechanics, and laborers, numbering, it was reported, in the western part of the state, one-fifth of the population. Among their grievances, the various conventions reported that the "rebels" objected to the mode of taxation and of paying the state debt; the method of representation; the existence of the state senate;

lawyers and their high fees; and the lack of a circulating medium.

Nothing was done to remedy the real abuses, and even Samuel Adams joined the reactionaries in Boston in denouncing the right of the people to voice their grievances! The court calendars were overflowing with suits for debt, which meant ejection of the owners from their farms or shops. Failing to obtain justice, the next step of the "rebels" was to close the courts. This was done by armed crowds in the autumn of 1786, at Northampton, Great Barrington, Worcester, Concord, and elsewhere.

Samuel Adams, of all men, began to denounce the mobs. At a mass meeting in Faneuil Hall, he refused to consider the demands of the people, claiming that the trouble was caused by British emissaries. Without touching the real troubles, the legislature temporarily suspended the sitting of the courts.

The rebellion in Massachusetts is put down. At Mount Vernon, Washington was deeply troubled at the growing anarchy. His advice to investigate the grievances, and, if they proved real, to remedy them, or if unreal, to put down the movement by force, was not acted upon. At the beginning of the next year the situation was worse. Convinced that neither the legislature nor the "wise and good" would make any move to remedy the distress, the insurgents grew more violent. At last the governor put a force under General Lincoln in the field against them. Within a few weeks, "Shays's rebellion," as it was called, was crushed, the leaders were captured or fled. Having had a thorough scare, the legislature at last took some action on the people's complaints.

The governor who put down the rebellion was defeated for re-election. Shays was pardoned and later received a government pension for service in the Revolution.

4. How the Constitution Gave a Set-Back to Radical Democracy

The framers of our Constitution favor conservative republic. Radical ideas of democracy had steadily developed in the colonies due largely to the influences of the frontier and new settlements, as already described. Both before and during the Revolution the impassioned oratory of such radical leaders as Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry had done much to increase the expectations of those at the lower ends of the social and economic scales. The members of the Constitutional Convention were fully aware of the general restlessness among the

masses and recent lessons in such disorders as Shays's rebellion in Massachusetts had impressed them.

On the whole the members were well agreed that means must be found in the new republic about to be formed to curb this excessive radicalism and to protect not only life but property in a stable society. It is wrong to think of most of them as deliberately trying to depress any class or as seeking their own advantage at the expense of others. In the preceding twenty years they had learned how easily a mob could be raised and how readily it could get out of hand. They knew that a debtor class always wishes to get rid of its debts. Moreover, they had little faith in the ability of the people as a whole to maintain self-control and wisdom in government. They had no confidence in the man without property and it must be remembered that in a country where it had been comparatively easy for almost any hard-working man to accumulate a little property, either real or personal, a man who had failed to do so would be regarded as shiftless, lazy, or incompetent, and not deserving a voice in the government of others.

In drawing up the Constitution for a new government the framers therefore tried to make it as conservative as possible, to retain power in the hands of those who were least radical, and to set obstacles in the way of radical mob action.

Constitution provides checks against the popular will. Nearly all the states then required a property qualification for the suffrage, and the new Federal Constitution did not change it. A voter in a national election must still have all such qualifications as his own state required him to have in order to vote for a member of the most numerous branch of the state legislature. Those who may have looked for a lowering or abolition of property qualifications were thus disappointed.

There were other impediments placed in the way of the full expression of the popular will. The voters in each state were indeed allowed to vote directly for members of the lower branch of Congress, but Congress had been divided into two chambers. The members of the upper, the Senate, had to be thirty years old (five more than a representative), and were to serve for six years instead of two. The people, even in the limited sense of those then allowed to vote, were to have no direct voice in their election. Senators were to be elected by the state legislatures, which were expected to be more conservative than the people at large. As legislation could not be enacted by Congress without the approval of both Houses, the Senate was intended to be a check on hasty or radical action.

As a further check the President was given the right to veto legislation unless passed a second time by a two-thirds majority. He also was not to be elected by the people but by the bodies of electors chosen in each state as its legislature might direct.

Another check on radicalism was intended to be placed in the system of Federal courts, though nothing was said in the Constitution as to the Supreme Court having the right to pass on the constitutionality of laws passed by Congress. Even so, the system of Federal courts was a distinct bulwark for property rights.

Special safeguards are provided against radicalism. A few dangers were specially guarded against. The scant consideration which the more extreme radicals had shown for contracts and the frequent demands they had made for paper money were taken care of in the clauses which provided that no state could make anything but gold or silver legal tender or pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts. With keen recollection of the recent disorders in Massachusetts, it was also provided that the President could send troops into any state when called upon to do so by the state authorities. Finally, the clause which permitted Congress to make all laws "necessary and proper for carrying into execution" the powers granted to it was full of possibilities for opposing radical action.

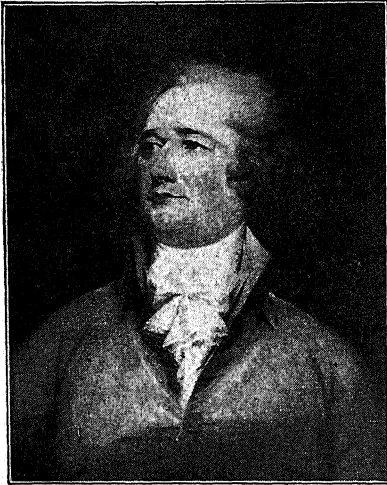
The nation had as yet only a brief and not very successful experience in carrying on a united government. It had been through seven years of war, and war is always disorganizing to society. The war had been not only a revolt against England but had partaken much of the nature of a social and economic revolution at home. The rising in Massachusetts against the state government subsequently had alarmed conservatives in all the states. Much of the country was still in a frontier stage, and the frontier stretched along the entire western boundary. This new West was bound to grow rapidly and it was feared it might soon overwhelm the older portion of the Union.

Democracy on a large scale was then new in the world. It was a startling experiment. Much of the electorate was illiterate. The previous government had been so weak that America had been faced with dissolution and anarchy. On the whole there was ample reason why those engaged in forming a new government should try to protect society from the dangers they feared. Selfish motives always have influence with us, consciously or unconsciously, but there is no cause for believing that the men who toiled at making a new Constitution during the hot summer of 1787 were thinking primarily in terms of the particular

form of property they may have owned. Nevertheless, the Constitution, the adoption of which was secured only with difficulty, was considered as dashing the hopes of a large and radical part of the population.

5. *Hamilton and Jefferson on Government*

Hamilton is an aristocrat of the aristocrats. Hamilton, thirty-two years of age at the time of the Convention, was born in the West Indies and had come to New York for his education. As a youngster he had eagerly espoused the cause of the Revolution. Handsome and brilliant, he had secured a place on Washington's staff. Although his career as a soldier was not distinguished in the field, he had won the affection and respect of Washington, who employed him as aide, and he had led one of the storming parties at Yorktown. Less than a year before, he had married the daughter of General Philip Schuyler, and had thus become allied socially and politically to one of the most powerful families in New York. There, at the end of the war, he became one of the leading lawyers.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

From a portrait by John Trumbull
painted in 1792.

Hamilton, who had reached America as a poor boy, and who by his own abilities had risen to high position and become a member of the ruling caste, became, as often happens in such cases, more of an "aristocrat" in his views as to government than the "aristocrats" themselves, if that was possible. Those views of Hamilton are of great importance, for he is one of the half dozen or so men who have most conspicuously moulded not only the nation of his day but that of our own. His fundamental thesis was that most men are not good and wise and are not to be trusted. Government cannot rely upon their good qualities but must depend upon careful manipulation of their passions.

Hamilton has little faith in the common people. For these reasons, he believed in the necessity of a strong central government,

which should have power to control both the people and the states, which should be kept as far from democracy as possible, and which should derive its strength from the rich. Basing government on men's passions, he found the two most influential passions to be ambition and self-interest. Give men a large financial stake in the maintenance of a form of government and they can be counted upon to support it, he thought. Ownership of government securities would be one such incentive.

The larger the moneyed class the more stable would the government become. The farmer, with no interests outside his own acres, or the town artisan, might easily be led to revolt. Not so the owner of government bonds, the manufacturer, the banker, and all those who in one way or another received special favors from government. A privilege of any sort binds a man closely to him who confers it.

Hamilton was not an orator and his style was diffuse, but his mind was brilliantly clear and logical. He believed that democracy had always failed, that the people were incapable of self-government, that they must be governed, that for this a strong government was essential, and that its strength must be derived from those with heavy stakes of self-interest.

Jefferson has faith in the common man. Jefferson's views were the opposite of these. Born in 1743, in the Blue Ridge section of Virginia, he had been brought up among the best of the frontier yeomanry of that state. Married at twenty-seven to a beautiful and rich young widow, he built Monticello on its hilltop near Charlottesville. No one can visit that delightful estate without realizing that, whatever his political views might be, its owner was, in the best sense, an aristocrat to his finger tips.

Jefferson, however, unlike his New York opponent, had a deep and abiding faith in the common man, or, rather, the common man as Jefferson then found him in the America of his day. Jefferson knew London and Paris and some of the other cities of Europe. He had no faith in the common man when living under such crowded and unsatisfactory conditions, "steeped in vices" which such situations bred.

But American conditions he considered entirely different. So long as we could keep the simplicity of our life, the door of opportunity open for every man to own his own home, and the chance to make a comfortable living, he believed the American common men could safely be trusted to govern themselves and others. Looking westward, he thought he saw sufficient free land for the maintenance of such

conditions for a thousand years ahead. This was before the age of steam railroads, and almost all modern inventions.

Jefferson wishes the government controlled by the people. This then was Jefferson's major premise—belief in the common man. From it he deduced his views on government. He wished as little of it as possible. Later, in his first inaugural as President he was to define what he considered "the sum of good government," as "a wise and frugal government that shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned." He feared the power of wealth, the change from agriculture to manufactures, the creation of a strong central government. He would keep all matters of government, even the selection of those who should administer justice, as close to the people as possible.

Hamilton thought from the Federal government downward; Jefferson from the parish or county upward. Jefferson was for free trade and no special privileges for any one. Although we may call him an idealist as contrasted with the realist Hamilton, there is no question that he incarnated the dream that we Americans have always dreamed. Jefferson voiced the peculiar hope and aspiration of the people of that time and place as he had done in the Declaration of Independence. For Hamilton that document was war-time propaganda; for Jefferson it was a living faith.

Jefferson and Hamilton interpret the Constitution differently. The conflict between Jefferson and Hamilton now clearly emerged in the contest over the creation of a National Bank. The former stood by the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution which provides that "all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." He said that the power to charter a bank had not been expressly given to the Federal Government in any of its clauses.

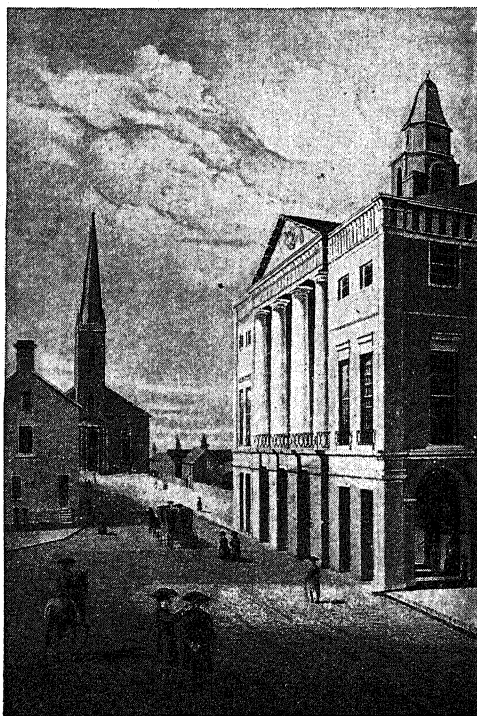
On the other hand, Hamilton claimed that the Federal Government was "sovereign," and that the clause authorizing Congress "to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the enumerated powers" would cover the case. In other words, he invoked the doctrine that there existed "implied" as well as "enumerated" powers.

Opinion will always differ as to the merits of the two sides of this controversy, which has run throughout our national history. There would seem to be no doubt, however, that Jefferson expressed the will

of the people. The ratification of the Constitution had almost failed and it could never have been brought about, had the Hamiltonian doctrine of implied powers been put forward as the way in which the Constitution would be interpreted if adopted. Washington was convinced by Hamilton, nevertheless, and signed the bank bill.

Hamilton favors a protective tariff. In December, 1791, Hamilton went a step further and presented to Congress his celebrated report on manufactures. It contained practically every argument which has since been used in favor of a high protective tariff, and its author's purpose was clearly expressed. This was in part to protect "infant industries." Hamilton had, in fact, a political, quite as much as an economic, end in view in his tariff policy. That was chiefly to gain another large body of citizens who would be linked to the new government by the strongest ties of economic self-interest.

The vigorous handling of the national finances by Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, and the rapid rise in the price of government obligations induced a period of speculation. There was as yet no organized stock market but people everywhere sold government scrip from hand to hand, and its enormous advance, with the attendant easy profits, soon led the speculation into other channels, notably land. Business in general had been getting better since about 1786. This, with the speculation in national securities, probably helped greatly to float the new government safely. Recovery from the temporary crisis of



WALL STREET, THE HOME OF THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE

As it looked in 1789. Federal Hall, on right, and Trinity Church, in background. *From a print in the New York Public Library.*

1791-92, our first panic under the Constitution, was rapid. Hamilton's measures seemed to be vindicated.

Hamilton and Jefferson are far apart in their political views. The differences between Hamilton and Jefferson, and the schools of thought they represented, were, however, becoming more marked as the Secretary of the Treasury rapidly pushed his policies. Hamilton, young, brilliant, and successful, took little pains to explain his views or to conciliate Jefferson and the opposition, whose convictions were derived from quite different political bases. Jefferson, Madison, and many others felt that Hamilton was twisting the new government into a shape that had never been contemplated. Not only did they disagree with him on fundamental constitutional interpretation, but the sectionalism and class favoritism of his policies also repelled and alarmed them.

Both manufacturing and the ownership of liquid capital in government or other securities were for the most part concentrated in the Northern seaboard communities. The South and the frontier West were agricultural. They began to dread the rapid rise of a powerful Northern moneyed interest which might control banks, manufacturing, tariffs, and the form of taxation. Hamilton himself took no pains to hide his belief in the advantage of a monarchical form of government. His view of the art of governing may have been the practical one, and Jefferson's a seemingly impossible dream, but Jefferson did represent the hope and belief of the common man and many who were far above that level. These men began to see little difference between government as advocated by Hamilton and that of George III. Before the end of Washington's first administration, the rift in his Cabinet had become dangerously wide.

6. *How All Men Acquired the Right to Vote*

England and the colonists hold different views. The transfer of Englishmen to America radically changed their views as to both the franchise and what representation in a legislature meant. Most settlers in America would have had no vote in England. The English idea of representation was that if the class or group to which a man belonged had some representation in Parliament, then he was represented, whether he had a vote himself or not. Even some large towns might have no votes but so long as many towns were represented, it was considered to make no difference if particular towns were not.

Two things tended at once to change this in America. Many of the

first settlements were regarded as commercial ventures. Those who owned stock in them or, soon, those who owned land, voted almost on the theory that they were voting as a stockholder of a company votes to-day. In addition, in the little communities which sprang up, the affairs of common interest had to be talked over, as in the New England town meetings. In the beginning almost every head of a family owned his land and home, and it would have been difficult to exclude any large number of these from having some voice in what the community did. New England imposed some moral qualifications, such as character and membership in the church, but in general in the colonies what gave a man the right to vote was "having a stake in the community," that is owning property, usually land.

Ownership of personal property suffices for the franchise. At the time of the Revolution all the colonies required a property qualification, but six of them had allowed personal property of varying amounts instead of real estate, four of them being in New England, where the supply of good land had become scarcer. The amounts of land or personal property varied greatly, not only from one colony to another, but from town to country. There was almost no change made in the qualifications during the Revolution, but the property test for voting had already been doomed. The first break in the land test had been the substitution of personal property, and the next was to be that of taxpaying as equivalent to ownership of property.

White manhood suffrage is attained. After the Revolution taxpaying began to be the test instead of property in some of the states entering the new Union, though Vermont was the only one which had manhood suffrage and no tax or property test. New Hampshire followed in 1792 as did also Kentucky. Gradually the theory developed that natural law gave men the right to vote simply in virtue of their being human beings. As the Western states were admitted, they came in with a much-extended franchise. Ohio, admitted in 1803, had a markedly democratic constitution, and all white men over twenty-one were allowed to vote provided they had paid or "were charged with" a state or county tax. Mississippi, in 1817, demanded that the voter be either a tax-payer or a militiaman. With these two exceptions, every Western state adopted white manhood suffrage.

The effect of this on the Eastern democracy was clearly felt, and between 1818 and 1821, manhood suffrage was practically adopted in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, and New York. Except for the free negro, it had become almost universal by 1828.

Efforts are made to enfranchise the free negro. There was, of course, no question that the negro slave was excluded from the franchise everywhere. In a few states at different times the free negro, however, had been allowed to vote. As their numbers increased in the North, some even of the states which had formerly allowed them to do so, later excluded them from the polls, Pennsylvania in 1837 being the last state to take this step.

After the freeing of all the slaves by the Civil War, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted in 1868, which gave them citizenship and tried to give them the vote by declaring that the representation in Congress of any state refusing to allow them at the polls would be cut down. In some of the Southern states the negroes outnumbered the whites, and especially under post-war conditions, it was natural that the whites should not wish to be outnumbered as voters. Even where there were comparatively few negroes, many Northern states, such as Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, refused them the franchise which the same states were trying to force the South to give them.

In theory all men have the right to vote. In 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified declaring that the right to vote should not be denied on account of color, race, or previous condition of servitude. The United States and the several states had at last taken the position that all male citizens over twenty-one, regardless of race, color, or property, should have the right to vote. In practice, however, in many states educational and other tests were imposed which limited the right, chiefly as concerned negroes. Each state has the right to limit the suffrage as it shall see fit, provided that it does not do so along the line which the Fifteenth Amendment prohibits.

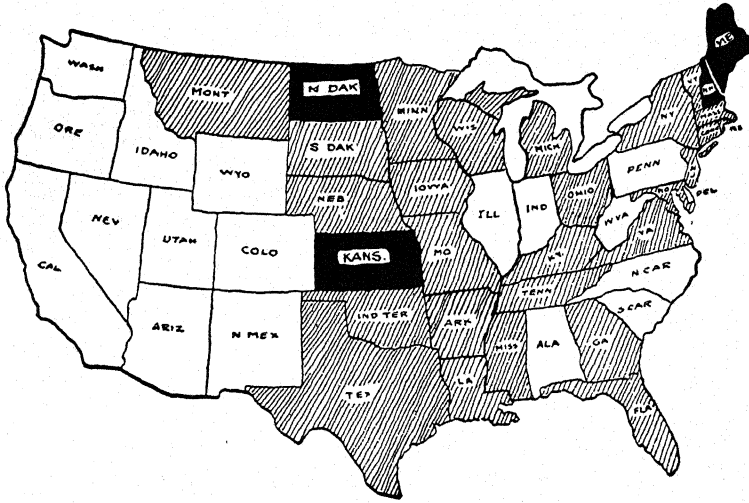
7. The Aims of the Social Reformers from 1830 to 1860

A wave of reform comes over our country. The period from about 1830 for some decades was one of immense optimism and of profound belief in human nature. Science and the West seemed to open infinite possibilities of happiness to man, and his lot seemed capable of indefinite improvement. In Europe it was a time of mental ferment and almost all the movements found their way across the sea to us. We carried them on with great energy, which was aided by our optimistic democracy.

There were strong crusades against both the death penalty and unusual punishments. The hangings of criminals were then still fre-

quently carried out in public on the theory that the sight might keep others from committing crime. In some states, lashings with whips, branding on the face, and other relics of barbarism were legal punishments. These were fought and to a considerable extent abolished by the reformers.

The treatment of the insane was unbelievably cruel. Their cause was pleaded in state after state by Dorothea Dix, one of the most modest, noble, and efficient women our country had known. In eight



PROHIBITION HAD MADE LITTLE HEADWAY BY 1900. ONLY THE STATES IN BLACK WERE COMPLETELY DRY. THE SHADED ONES WERE PARTIALLY DRY

years she travelled over 60,000 miles, visiting all the states but three. In many of them she secured great reforms simply by presenting the facts as she had found them.

Societies are organized to promote temperance. The eighteenth century had been notably one of hard drinking. Even in the period of which we are now speaking not only drinking but drunkenness was common among all classes. Whiskey was considered a necessity for workmen and laborers while working, and clergymen often took a drink before preaching. Lawyers of national reputation were sometimes intoxicated when pleading cases as also were leading senators in the Senate chamber at Washington.

Temperance societies had been formed in many places and much

work had for many decades been done by temperance lecturers. The great attack on the evil came towards the middle of the century. In 1830 Ohio passed laws for partial prohibition. In 1846 Neal Dow secured the passage in Maine of the first complete state prohibition law. Before 1857, thirteen states, all in the North and West, had enacted legislation regulating drinking and the liquor traffic. On the whole the aim was temperance and not total abstinence. Indeed, the Washington Society, then the leading organization, was opposed to prohibitory laws.

The reformers fight for greater personal liberty. Before 1830 occasional efforts had been made to abolish imprisonment for debt. As a result of reform efforts, state after state from 1835 took action against the old laws. Indiana forbade the imprisonment of women for debt and Maine forbade the imprisonment of any one owing less than ten dollars. In varying forms similar restrictions or total abolition of the penalty was enacted by Ohio, Vermont, Connecticut, Louisiana, Delaware, and other states.

There were innumerable reforms of all sorts, but we may note that there was one common characteristic of most of the reformers of that day. They fought for greater liberty for the individual. They wanted the individual to govern himself and have greater opportunity to expand his life.

The reformers attack the slavery system. Among the many efforts at reform the problem of slavery naturally was attacked. There had long been a certain amount of agitation against it, and the Quaker, Benjamin Lundy, had published from 1812 to 1836 his journal called *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. This was too conservative for the fiery temper of one of his assistants, William Lloyd Garrison, who in 1831 started a paper of his own in Boston, the famous *Liberator*.

Garrison demanded the immediate abolition of slavery without any compensation to the slave owners. In 1832 the New England Anti-Slavery Society was formed, followed the next year by the American Anti-Slavery Society. There were many local societies also. The abolitionists varied from comparatively conservative people to the more prominent leaders who indulged in violent denunciations of the South and cursed the Constitution of the United States. They demanded that the Union be broken if slavery was not abolished at once. The words of the abolitionists created the most intense bitterness between North and South. They did not succeed in either of their objects

—breaking the Union or immediate emancipation. War did not come for another generation, and even then emancipation came as a war measure only.

On the whole, the reforms of this most active period did accomplish an enormous amount of good. Although not a few absurd things were undertaken the reforming zeal was for the most part sanely directed. As a result, America became a better and happier place in which to live.

8. Social Changes Resulting from the Civil War

The Civil War abolishes slavery. Passing from the more local conditions and effects of the Civil War in the two sections, we may consider some of the broader influences stemming from the conflict. Chiefly these were the abolition of slavery, the tremendous impulse given to the forces of nationalism, and the subtle influence on our political thought.

Of the moral effect of abolition it is not necessary to speak at length. With almost negligible exceptions, practically all Americans, like all the world, had felt no qualms about the righteousness of slavery during the seventeenth and at least the early eighteenth century. But in the world of the nineteenth it had become out of date.

During forty years it had been increasingly evident that the Union could not endure half slave and half free, Lincoln's "house divided against itself." No real Union could have been lastingly achieved had the South merely been conquered, and its "peculiar institution" remained to make the same trouble in the future that it had in the past. In that sense, abolition was a Union measure even more than a war measure. Although few doubted in our earlier history that slavery was morally just and no one could rightly affirm, not even Lincoln, that it was not constitutionally legal and protected, yet it had been extirpated by war.

The Civil War destroys the theory of peaceful secession. The original states in 1787 would never have formed the constitutional Union if they had explicitly understood that under no conditions whatever could they ever free themselves from it. That question also was settled by war. In the seventy-odd years since 1787 the political emotions of the larger part of the American people had changed as to the permanent nature of the Union. The majority and the minority had found argument a futile weapon at last. The questions had to be decided, and it was from the mouths of rifle and cannon that the decision

was rendered. After 1865 no state of the United States could dream of peaceful secession.

The Civil War helps to increase the feeling of nationalism. The mere settlement of the question of the permanency of the Union in itself came, in course of time, to increase national sentiment. It was not only in the eyes of Europe that the United States, having survived a disastrous civil war, assumed a new power and greatness. For our own citizens, also, there came a new sense of the nation, no longer constantly trembling on the brink of dissolution, but one and indivisible forever.

Apart from the military decision, there had been many influences at work during the war to turn our minds from localism or sectionalism to nationalism. Slavery, the greatest breeder of sectionalism, had gone. On the other hand, under stress of war necessity, the Federal Government had made great strides in enforcing the obedience and gaining the supreme loyalty of all citizens, regardless of state or section.

For four anxious years the fate of the nation and of every citizen had depended on the acts of that government, and it emerged, with Lincoln at its head, with vastly enhanced prestige and power. Just as the firing on the Stars and Stripes at Fort Sumter in 1861 had revealed in a flash the unsuspected sentiment for Union in the North, so the years of war had developed the emotion of nationalism.

Civil War breaks state lines for both capital and labor. War-time conditions in business had also contributed strongly to the nationalizing of our minds. The rapid increase in the use of machinery, the greater interdependence of the different sections, the increasing scale of business, the improved transportation, the wider markets, all tended toward nationalization. Labor found that with manufacturing developing almost as actively in Ohio as in Massachusetts, local unions would no longer serve. So the first national organization of labor as did the first national organization of employers resulted.

The telegraph had brought the different sections of the nation into instantaneous communication with each other since S. F. B. Morse had invented it in 1844. But it was only during the war that the Western Union installed the first transcontinental line. It was also during the war that the consolidation of all the telegraph companies took place so rapidly that by 1866 the Western Union had absorbed practically all the other companies into one national system owning 75,000 miles of wires. Similar tendencies were at work in the many consolidations of

local railways into larger systems, and, indeed, in countless ways throughout the business world.

Our business leaders turn from local to national affairs. The vast increase in private fortunes also contributed indirectly to nationalism. By the end of the war it was stated that there were several hundred millionaires in New York City alone, and several worth some scores of millions. A. T. Stewart, in 1863, was paying an income tax on over \$1,800,000 a year income, and Cornelius Vanderbilt and W. B. Astor on approximately as much. Such aggregates of capital sought employment on a scale which could no longer be confined to business in a single locality. All the units in the economic system increased in size—fortunes, incomes, the capitalizations of corporations, the spheres of operations.

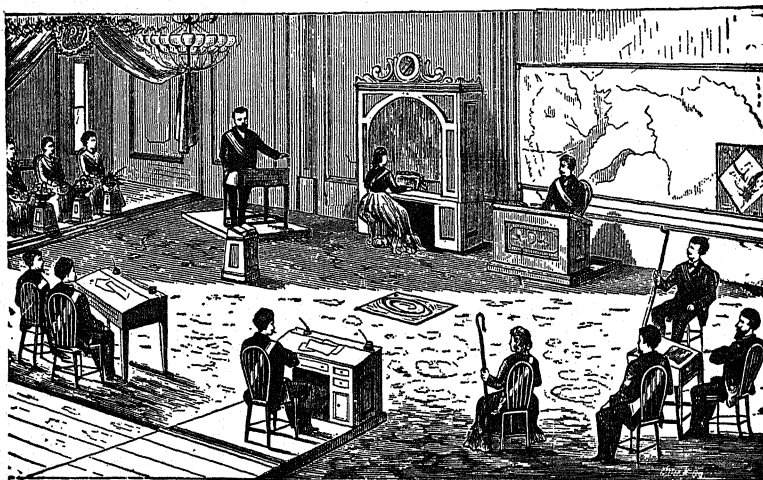
The business leaders were almost forced to think in national terms. The more aggressive owners of local concerns, almost by force of circumstances, found themselves striving for a national monopoly. The owners of local railways began to dream of "trans-continentals." Partly because of the closing of the Mississippi at the beginning of the war, one-third of the meat-packing business of the entire West had been quickly concentrated in Chicago, where the great Union Stock Yards were established. There the number of hogs slaughtered rose from 275,000 in 1861 to 900,000 in the last year of the conflict. Concentration and consolidation came about naturally—indeed, inevitably—from the conditions, and both meant that the business men must think in terms of the nation instead of a locality.

Nationalism brings standardization. The first step toward standardization had been taken when the South was forced to make its labor system, and its own peculiar type of social and economic life, conform to what prevailed in the rest of the nation. The South had insisted upon individualism, which meant its right to continue to think along the old lines even if the North, and the rest of the world, had begun to think differently. Its theory of secession and states rights was an assertion of individualism against nationalism and enforced uniformity.

The Civil War does violence to our theory of government. The last of the many effects of the war to be mentioned was upon our political thought. Our theory of government had always insisted that all just governments derive their power from the consent of the governed. There had, indeed, been awkward difficulties with the theory, such as Indians, women, and slaves. But the world had not yet troubled

itself very much, politically, with any except men, and men who were white. Difficulties had been brushed aside.

What, however, became of that theory when the country insisted upon governing, with their consent given unwillingly, if at all, and only as a result of conquest by force, five or six million whites who had fought for four years to govern themselves? They were not of



THE OFFICERS IN POSITION AT A MEETING OF THE GRANGE
From *The Grange*, published under direction of William Saunders in 1874.

alien race. They were not minors and they formed more than a quarter of the population of our nation.

9. *The Demands of the Farmers*

Industrial laborers and farmers have grievances. Both the industrial laboring class and the farmers had been hard hit by the deflation following the close of the Civil War, and by the great business depression which set in with 1873. In each case, national organizations were formed which were to be of considerable influence. The industrialists formed the Knights of Labor, and the agriculturists the secret organization known as the Grange. By 1874 the Grange had a million and a half members and was daily increasing. Industrial labor had open to it the weapons of the strike. Although the farmers could

not go on strike, their grievances were no less acute than those of the railroad and mine and factory employees.

The farmers of the West are faced by serious conditions. In spite of prosperity during the war, and the help of the labor-saving machinery of which we have spoken, the life of the Western farmer in the 1870's was for the most part one of comparative poverty, hardship, deep anxiety, and bitterness. The great mass of our Westerners belonged as little in the romantic picture of cowboys, train robbers, or lucky prospectors and cattle kings as did the great mass of antebellum whites in the old South with the aristocratic owners of vast plantations and troops of slaves.

Our Western farmers were people who had trekked west with little or no capital, to scratch a living out of the boundless prairie. The hard work, loneliness, forlorn living conditions, and the usual hardships of the pioneer, fighting droughts and blizzards, had been bad enough in the boom time when prices were high. But when, after the temporary rise during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, wheat appeared to have fallen permanently to a price that did not permit a profit, there seemed no hope at all. In 1874 in Kansas and Nebraska the plague of locusts completed the destruction.

The farmers turn to politics. The farmer felt that he was fighting for his life not only against poverty and nature but against the capitalists of the great centers. The stocks of the railways had been watered on a vast scale, and dividends were paid on capitalizations that to a great extent represented speculative profits to favored insiders. The owners insisted upon earning their dividends by charging rates which often deprived the farmer of all chance to pay the interest on his mortgage and to keep his farm. Corn selling at seventy cents a bushel in the East might bring the farmer in the Middle West only eighteen cents or less.

The railroads bribed legislatures to allow them to do as they pleased. But if the farmer could not go on strike, he decided he could attack the enemy if he could secure control of the legislatures. This he proceeded to do. In 1871 the farmers won control in Illinois and passed a law aimed against both high rates and discrimination. Other states followed, and a great cry was raised by the railroad men and the East that radicalism was in the saddle and capital was unsafe.

The rapidity with which the Grange increased its membership further alarmed them. That organization, by arranging for co-operative buying, greatly reduced the farmer's costs and cut out the middle-

men who had been making huge profits. Feeling himself to be the primary producer of the basis of the nation's wealth, working hard and fighting against heavy odds to keep himself and his family from being dispossessed, the farmer watched most of the profits from his toil go to men whom he pictured as rich and luxurious, fattening on his labor. For the next twenty-five years, American politics was to be influenced largely by the economic ideas of the West.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Beck, *The Constitution of the United States*, chs. 8, 15; Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton*, chs. 2, 5; Bowers, *The Party Battles of the Jackson Period*, ch. 3; Channing, *History of the United States*, IV, ch. 9; Corwin, *John Marshall and the Constitution*, chs. 1-3, 5-7; Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom*, ch. 2; Farrand, *The Fathers of the Constitution*, ch. 8; Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*, chs. 4, 7; Ford, *Washington and His Colleagues*, chs. 3, 8-9; Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*; MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, chs. 1-3; Macy, *The Anti-Slavery Crusade*, chs. 4-5, 7; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, I, chs. 2-3; V, 379-394; Nicolay, *Our Nation in the Building*, chs. 1, 8; Ogg, *The Reign of Andrew Jackson*, ch. 9; Sparks, *The Men Who Made the Nation*, ch. 9; Wilson, *History of the American People*, III, 161-177.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Harding, *Select Orations*, 39-46, 52-121; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, nos. 40-41; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 51, 81-84; *The Federalist*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Atherton, *The Conqueror*; Ford, *Alexander Hamilton*; Muzzey, *Thomas Jefferson*; Scudder, *George Washington*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 270-272.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Show that we had social classes during the colonial period. 2. How did slavery draw the social lines more closely? 3. What animosity existed between the frontier and the tidewater region? 4. How were the East and the West separated by physical barriers? 5. What fear did the East have of radicals in its midst? 6. What democratic changes did the Revolutionary War bring about? 7. Describe the unrest in Massachusetts. 8. What was the significance of Shays's rebellion? 9. Why did the framers of our Federal Constitution create a conservative document? 10. How does the Constitution not provide for full manhood suffrage? 11. Why were the radicals disappointed with the Constitution? 12. How was Hamilton an aristocrat? 13. What kind of government did Hamilton wish? 14. What faith did Jefferson have in the common people of America? 15. What kind of

government did Jefferson want? 16. What opposing interpretations did Hamilton and Jefferson give to the Constitution? 17. Why did Hamilton favor a protective tariff? 18. What different views did England and the colonists hold on the franchise and on representation? 19. What different qualifications have been required for the suffrage? 20. How was white manhood suffrage attained? 21. What is the Fifteenth Amendment? 22. Show that a wave of reform came over our country from 1830 to 1860. 23. What attack was made on the slavery system? 24. What two questions did the Civil War settle? 25. How did the Civil War help to increase the feeling of nationalism? 26. How did the Civil War bring on consolidation of capital and labor? 27. How did nationalism bring forth standardization? 28. What grievances did industrial laborers and farmers have? 29. Describe the work of the Grange.

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. **IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW:** Class lines in colonial times, discriminations against the frontier, intrigues in the West, the democratic changes of the Revolutionary period, Shays's rebellion, the conservative attitude of the makers of our Constitution, the teachings of Jefferson and Hamilton, how men acquired the right to vote, the social reforms from 1830 to 1860, the attack on slavery, social results of the Civil War, grievances of the industrial laborers and the farmers.

2. **PROJECT:** Make a careful study of the political philosophy of Jefferson and Hamilton and show how their teachings still dominate our political thoughts.

3. **PROBLEM:** How do you account for the struggle between rich and poor, conservative and radical, tidewater and frontier, Jefferson and Hamilton, East and West, North and South, county and city, employer and employee that is recorded in this topic?

4. **DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED:** That Hamilton's theory of government is more nearly correct than that of Jefferson.

5. **ESSAY SUBJECT:** Social reforms from 1830 to 1860.

6. **IMAGINARY LETTER:** Imagine that you lived in the early days of our Republic and were in sympathy with Jefferson and his teachings. Write a letter to a friend explaining the Jeffersonian democracy.

7. **DIARY:** You lived in Massachusetts at the time of the Shays rebellion. You kept a diary of the confused state of affairs in that commonwealth. Read your diary to the class.

8. **PERSONS TO IDENTIFY:** Schuyler, Daniel Shays, Dorothea Dix, Neal Dow, William Lloyd Garrison, S. F. B. Morse.

9. **DATES TO IDENTIFY:** 1787, 1831, 1846.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: "Lords of the Valley," "the people," primogeniture, entails, "well born," "cheap" money, Monticello, "implied" powers, "enumerated" powers, "infant industries," government scrip, "peculiar institution," the Grange.

11. MAP WORK: In a map talk locate the following places and state their historical importance: New Orleans, Natchez, Northampton, West Indies.

12. GRAPH WORK: *a.* By means of graphs show the political philosophy of Jefferson and Hamilton. *b.* In some graphic way show the social changes resulting from the Civil War.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE DOCTRINE OF IMPLIED POWERS: Bancroft, *Plea for the Constitution*; Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, I, chs. 33-35; Jefferson, *Writings*, VII, 555-561; Marshall, *Writings*, 164-178, 295-307; Morse, *Alexander Hamilton*, I, ch. 12.

2. HUMANITARIANISM IN THE YOUNG REPUBLIC: Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man*, ch. 12; Forman, *Side Lights on Our Social and Economic History*, 457-461; Hunt, *Life in America One Hundred Years Ago*, chs. 18-20; Nicolay, *Our Nation in the Building*, ch. 20; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, ch. 33.

3. DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, 1820-1860: Adams, *History*, IV, chs. 8-10; de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*; Hart, *National Ideals*, chs. 3, 10-12; MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, ch. 1; Schouler, *History*, III, ch. 13.

4. THE GRANGE MOVEMENT: Andrews, *Our Own Time*, ch. 11; Darrow, *Patrons of Husbandry*; Kelley, *Order of Patrons of Husbandry*; Martin, *Grange Movement*; Pratt, *Organization of Agriculture*, ch. 18.

TOPIC II

DEMOCRACY ESTABLISHED

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the steps taken and the measures passed in the establishment of democracy in our country.
2. To know the social legislation proposed by the Progressives.
3. To see how women gained their rights.

1. *The West and Democracy*

The West demands democratic control of government. The "West," which had risen successfully under Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln, had failed under Bryan, as we have already noted. The genuineness of the popular movement which Bryan had led was nevertheless shown by the wave of democracy that flooded the country in the next fifteen years. The people, discontented with the government, were determined to get it more closely under their own control. They made sweeping changes and most of these originated and were carried out by Western states. In the quarter of a century following the apparent defeat of the West, twenty-four states had adopted some of the new innovations but only six of these were east of the Mississippi. This does not apply to the popular election of senators which is now nationwide.

The West introduces the initiative and referendum. Two devices which spread rapidly in the West after their first introduction in 1898 were intended to give the people more direct control over legislation. One was to enable the people to initiate or pass laws; the other to allow them to veto them. The first is called the initiative; the second the referendum. All the new devices varied in detail from state to state. In general we may say that the initiative allowed a certain percentage of the voters, even as low as five, to force a desired measure to be placed on a ballot and voted upon. If the vote was favorable, the measure then had to be acted on by the legislature or, in some states, by the people. By a similar use of the referendum, a percentage of the

voters could require that a law already passed by a legislature be submitted to popular vote for approval or rejection.

The new system was most used in Oregon, one of the states specially adapted to direct democracy. Such devices, however, require much of the voter. He must have knowledge and wisdom. He must fully understand the laws he wishes to enact or repeal and their effects. He must be willing to attend more frequent elections. He must, indeed, be willing and able to take on many of the duties of a member of the legislature in addition to his normal duties as a man and citizen. There has been much question as to the success of both these devices, especially where there may be large city or foreign populations. Less is heard of them now than in the Theodore Roosevelt period.

The recall of officials is another democratic weapon. Another device provided for the recall of public officers. This was intended to make them more directly responsible to the public, but some people question whether the slower way of impeachment in case of serious wrong-doing is not better. We know how waves of popular feeling and resentment may suddenly rise and then fall. If an official fears removal at any moment because of such a sudden wave, he may become a mere rubber stamp to register the whims of a large part of the electorate and have no independence of judgment left. This is especially dangerous in the extension of the theory to the judiciary. At one time, Theodore Roosevelt advocated the form of recall applied to the decision of judges.

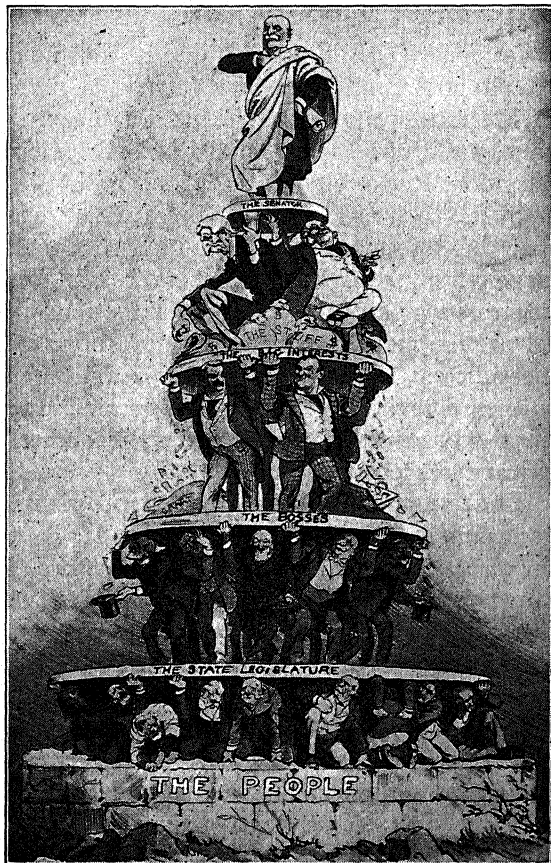
United States senators are now elected by direct vote. Still another effort to bring the people into closer control in this period was the final passage of the constitutional amendment providing for the popular election of United States senators. As we have seen, the election of senators by legislatures instead of by the people had been one of the ways in which the original framers of the Constitution had hoped to keep legislation by Congress conservative and prevent hasty action. For many years, however, before the amendment was declared in effect in 1913, the West made determined efforts to secure direct election, placing the members of the upper house in the same relation to the public, as those of the lower, except for their longer term of office. They succeeded when the Seventeenth Amendment was ratified in 1913.

All these several efforts to bring the government closer to the people have made our representative form of government more and more a direct democracy. Can a direct democracy of 140,000,000 people function in a country of over 3,000,000 square miles?

2. *The Progressive Party and Social Reforms*

The West feels the evils of the corporations. As has been indicated in the preceding topic, the early part of this century was one in which the form of our government was being attacked on every side and efforts were being made to bring it closer to the people. It remained to gather into a national party those who believed in the new ideas. The West was not only always more democratic than the East, but the evils connected with the rapid rise of the trusts had been felt more acutely by the Western people. This was especially true in their long fight against the railways for reasonable rates. In the course of it they had come to understand and realize how these corporations had entrenched themselves with legislators and judges and how very hard it was to get at them.

The Progressives organize a league to promote popular government. Taft, although he had been active in "trust-busting," was considered too much of a conservative. During his term a group of Western representatives in Congress, notably Mur-



THE MAKING OF A SENATOR

The feeling that big business interests controlled the political parties and offices is shown in this cartoon from *Puck* of November 15, 1905.

dock of Kansas and Norris of Nebraska, frequently fought against Taft's program. This group came to be known as Progressives. Senator LaFollete of Wisconsin both in his own state and in national politics had long been known as a leader in the movement we have noted in the preceding topic. He soon came to be the recognized head of the new Progressive party.

In January, 1911, at his house in Washington, the National Progressive Republican League was formed. Senator Bourne of Oregon, one of the most progressive states, was chosen president of it, and such men as Gifford Pinchot and Louis Brandeis joined in the movement. Theodore Roosevelt was asked to join but declined to do so.

In the declaration of principles which was drawn up, it was stated that the object was the promotion of popular government. This had largely been strangled, it went on to say, by the trusts and big business interests which controlled the nominations and machinery of the political parties, and through these legislatures, congressmen, and even Cabinet officers. This was shown by the failure of the people in their efforts to secure revision of the tariff, fair railway rates, laws dealing with trusts, conservation of our natural resources, and revision of the banking and currency laws.

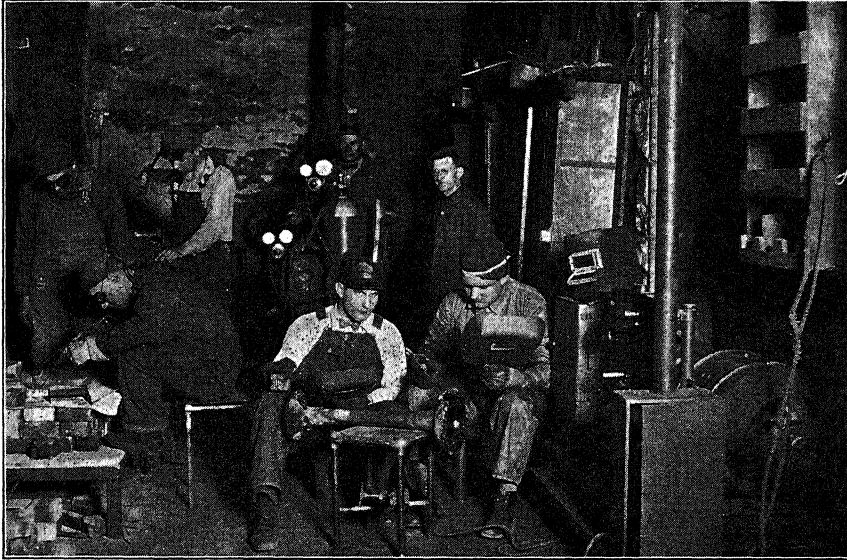
The Progressives set forth a program. In order to bring the government more closely under popular control, the League advocated the direct election of United States senators (afterwards accomplished); direct primaries for the nomination of all elected officials; direct election of all delegates to national party conventions; amendments to state constitutions providing for the initiative, the referendum, and recall; and a thorough corrupt practices act.

At first only a league within the Republican party, the Progressives nevertheless wished to swing the party over to their principles. If that should prove possible, Taft would hardly be an eligible candidate for President. Everything pointed to LaFollette as the logical man, and he was heartily endorsed at a Progressive convention held in the autumn. The split in the Republican party at the national convention the following summer, the withdrawal of Roosevelt, and the turn from LaFollette to Roosevelt, are told elsewhere.

3. Social Legislation under Wilson

Wilson carries out program of Progressives. We have already seen how Wilson was elected by the split in the Republican party. We have also discussed a number of the measures passed by him, such as

the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, the Farm Loan Act, the Seamen's Act, and others which had a direct bearing on social reorganization. Certainly the cause of the Progressives had lost nothing by his election. We may here speak of certain additional legislation which he was able



ONE OF THE TRADE COURSES GIVEN AT THE DENVER OPPORTUNITY SCHOOL,
DENVER, COLORADO

The school, a tax-supported institution, has been very successful in adult education.

to place on the statute books before the World War put an end to our own domestic social program.

The government gives attention to child welfare. In 1912 the Children's Bureau was created for promoting the "welfare of children and child life." The condition of children, both in the large city slums and in factories, had long cried aloud for attention. Many states had laws prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen but others, especially in the South, had not. A Federal law was considered unconstitutional as interfering with the rights of legislation by the states. A law was passed in 1916 prohibiting the products of child labor from interstate commerce, but this also was declared unconstitutional. The bureau rapidly developed, however, and accomplished much for its wards.

The Department of Commerce and Labor was divided in 1913 into two separate departments. The result has been that the government has been able to give closer attention to the problems of commerce and labor.

The government gives aid to education. As we shall see later, adult education had been advancing with rapid strides at this time. Extension courses and other activities placed new burdens on the funds of educational establishments. These, however, were most important means of diffusing education among the people. In 1914 the Federal Government through the Department of Agriculture undertook part of the cost in so far as concerned what were known as the "land grant colleges." Three years later, through a newly created Federal Board of Vocational Training, the government agreed to help the states in teaching agriculture, commerce, domestic science, and industry, appropriating one dollar for each dollar appropriated by a state.

If we add to these advances those mentioned in an earlier topic, it is clear that very considerable progress was made in progressive policies and that greater progress would have been made had we not been finally drawn into the mad conflict in Europe.

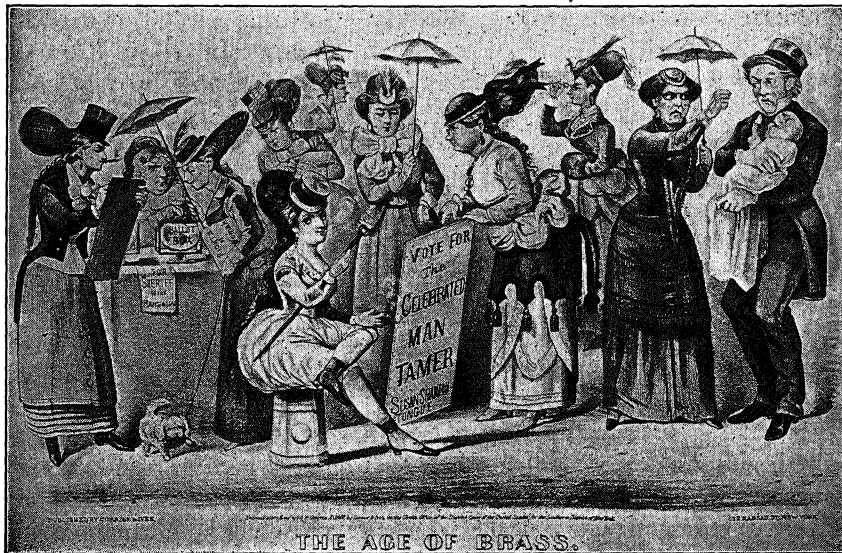
4. How Women Gained Their Rights

The women of colonial days have considerable freedom. From the beginning women in America had a somewhat more independent position than in the Old World. This was due in part to conditions in the new country. Not only were women often few on the frontier as compared with men, but the life, in which both worked and shared the dangers, made for a somewhat different relation. Women, who in the absence of the men had sometimes to defend the homes against the Indians, acquired a certain self-confidence and self-reliance.

The colonial woman of the household was hard-worked, as was the man. In general, housekeeping and the rearing of children were considered to be the woman's work. On the other hand, the colonial woman below the higher social scale was freer than is often thought. She could, like Madam Knight in 1704, take long journeys unaccompanied. Many were in business, often widows who carried on the shop or tavern after their husbands' death. In a number of the colonies the property rights of women were considerably enlarged from those in England, as were rights of inheritance when no will had been made.

Women have a long struggle to secure their rights. It was not until the nineteenth century that any great change took place in

their condition. The period after 1830 was, as we have seen, one of great intellectual ferment and of reforms of all kinds. In these women took a prominent part, though they often encountered difficulties. When eight American women attended the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London, they were not allowed to take their seats because they were women. In 1837, the General Association of the orthodox



A CURRIER AND IVES PRINT REFLECTING POPULAR FEELING IN 1869 TOWARD WOMEN'S RIGHTS

From the Library of Congress.

churches in Massachusetts condemned the noble work of the Grimké sisters on behalf of the slaves as "unchristian and demoralizing." When, in answer to this, the New England Anti-Slavery Society voted that women might take part in the meetings, eight clergymen at once resigned.

Women leaders, such as Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Margaret Fuller, fought to secure a larger measure of civil rights, and did succeed in getting laws passed in seven states, giving them control, even when married, over their own property. They also began to insist upon their right to attend colleges. In 1848 the first Woman's Rights Convention was held at Seneca Falls, N. Y. At this meeting

resolutions were passed demanding the vote, and equality with men in education, before the law, and in earning their livings. Annual conventions were held thereafter until the Civil War called for more immediate service.

Women enter the fields of medicine and law. Meanwhile the progress had been continuing. In 1833 Oberlin College was founded which made no distinction of sex. Four years later Mary Lyon had established the Mount Holyoke Seminary to bring a college education within the reach of girls of moderate means. In 1849 Elizabeth Blackwell became the first graduate doctor of medicine in the United States, after a course at Geneva College. Three years later her sister graduated with the same degree from Cleveland Medical College. In 1857 the first woman's hospital in the world was founded in New York, soon followed by others in Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago.

Woman's entry into law was a little later than into medicine. In 1869 Arabella Mansfield was admitted to practice in Iowa, and, after a decision by the Supreme Court, Illinois admitted women to the bar by statute. From 1879 onward many women have been permitted to practise before the Supreme Court itself in Washington.

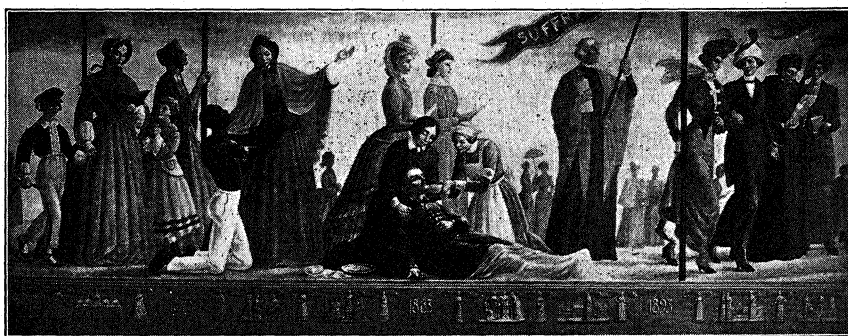
Women are given equal suffrage with men. The same year the American Woman's Suffrage Association was formed, which later united with another similar organization and became the National American Woman's Suffrage Association in 1890. Susan B. Anthony, for fifty years an active leader; was its president.¹ Meanwhile, the women leaders had drafted a short amendment to the Constitution giving the vote to women, and secured its introduction into Congress, though no action was taken on it. From that year the fight for the vote continued. National suffrage was slow in coming but long before it was won women had secured the right to vote with regard to school matters, in municipal elections, and in other elections in many of the states. In Wyoming from 1870 women had the same right of suffrage as men.

The West was in advance in demanding the widest extension of democracy and the franchise, and in the 1890's Colorado, Utah, and Idaho followed Wyoming in giving the full franchise to women. Before 1915 they were joined by Washington, Oregon, California, Kansas,

¹ Curiously and unintentionally, the New Jersey constitution adopted during the Revolution did not restrict the right to vote to men, and a few women were reported to have voted there during the thirty years before the provision was changed. Of course, however, such a practice was not encouraged; but New Jersey may be given a certain priority.

Arizona, Nevada, and Montana. It was not, however, until 1920, as a result of the war, that the constitutional amendment was declared effective giving the franchise to women. Since then women have gone into politics more actively. They have become members of Congress, governors of states, and Cabinet members. Miss Perkins, as Secretary of Labor under Franklin D. Roosevelt, has so far been the only woman to attain a position in the President's Cabinet.

The women enter the field of industry. As we have noted else-



A SECTION FROM THE MURAL PAINTING "WOMEN THROUGH THE CENTURY" BY HILDRETH MEIERE EXHIBITED AT A CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXPOSITION IN CHICAGO

Pictured, *left to right*, are women's efforts in behalf of temperance and the abolition of slavery; Clara Barton and the organization of volunteer nurses in the Civil War; Susan B. Anthony, the pioneer for woman's suffrage; the formation of women's clubs which started in 1833.

where, the Industrial Revolution brought many women into factory work. The fact that these girls, largely farmers' daughters, left their homes to work, not in other homes but in business enterprises, was a novelty in America. From that beginning the advance of women into all lines of business continued. It has been much helped by many inventions, such as the typewriter and telegraph, and the more extensive use of shorthand. In spite of prejudice, those who have shown ability have gradually come to occupy important business positions until woman is now to be found in almost every kind of business.

During the Civil War, when so many men were called to the front, women were needed to teach the schools. To-day a very large majority of the teachers of our schools are women.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Barnett, *The Operation of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall in Oregon*; Beard, *Women's Work in Municipalities*; Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era*; Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*; Croly, *The Promise of American Life*; DeWitt, *The Progressive Movement*; Faulkner, *The Quest for Social Justice*, chs. 2-4; Harper, *Life of Susan B. Anthony*; Haynes, *Social Politics in the United States*; Howland, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Times*, chs. 7-8, 12-13; Howe, *Privilege and Democracy*; Lippmann, *Drift and Mastery*; Mangold, *Problems of Child Welfare*; Munro, *The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall*; Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, chs. 12-13; Rubinow, *Social Insurance*; Sinclair, *The Jungle*; Stanton, Anthony, Gage, and Harper, *The History of Woman Suffrage*; Sullivan, *Our Times*, II, chs. 22-25; Walling, *American Labor and American Democracy*; Weyl, *The New Democracy*; Wilson, *The New Freedom*.
2. SOURCE MATERIAL: *American Federationist*; Beard and Schultz, *Documents on the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall*; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, no. 191; V, nos. 96, 98; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 181, 201; Shaw, *Messages and Papers of Woodrow Wilson*.
3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Dodd, *Woodrow Wilson and His Work*; LaFollette, *LaFollette's Autobiography*; Lindley, *Franklin D. Roosevelt, a Career in Progressive Democracy*; Norris, *The Octopus*; Payne, *The Money Captain*; Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt, a Biography*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What is meant by the initiative and the referendum? 2. How is the recall of officials a democratic weapon? 3. In what way did the West feel the power of the corporations? 4. What measures did the Progressives propose? 5. What social legislation was passed during Wilson's administration? 6. What freedom did the women have in colonial days? 7. Show how the women have had a serious struggle to secure their rights. 8. In what industries and occupations do we now find women at work? 9. Tell of the battle for woman suffrage.

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Introduction of the initiative, referendum, and recall, election of senators by a direct vote of the people, the social reforms advocated by the Progressive party, social legislation passed under President Wilson, the woman suffrage movement.
2. PROJECT: Make a study of the social legislation under Wilson. Report to the class the results of your study.

3. PROBLEM: Why has the West taken the lead in enacting much of our progressive legislation?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the recall of public officials is a better plan than that of impeachment.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: How women gained their rights.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you attended the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. You witnessed the refusal of the convention to seat eight American women just because they were women. Write a letter to a friend describing this scene in the convention.
7. DIARY: You were very much interested in the woman's suffrage movement and attended many of the meetings held to promote that cause. You wrote down extracts of the speeches you heard. Read some of the extracts to your class.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Bourne, Pinchot, Brandeis, La Follette, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Margaret Fuller, Mary Lyon, Susan B. Anthony, Frances Perkins.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1833, 1890, 1912.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Direct democracy, "trust-busting," corrupt practices act, "land grant colleges."
11. MAP WORK: In a map talk point out the states that early initiated democratic and progressive legislation.
12. GRAPH WORK: In some graphic way show the effects of women in industry.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT: Catt and Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, chs. 1, 6, 10; Hart, *Contemporaries*, V, no. 119; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VIII, 116-121; Porter, *History of Suffrage in the United States*, 228-254; Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, 137-158.
2. PROGRESSIVE POLITICS: Beard, *Contemporary American History*, ch. 12; Latané, *America as a World Power*, ch. 13; Roosevelt, *The New Nationalism*; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, II, chs. 3-4; Wilson, *The New Freedom*.

TOPIC III

DEMOCRACY ON TRIAL

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To show how the World War has wrought great changes in American life.
2. To understand the economic condition of the farmer and to set forth the causes of unemployment in the cities.
3. To see the efforts made for national planning.

1. *The World War and American Life*

The World War disarranges our society. Great modern wars appear to have certain effects common to them all. Real capital is destroyed on a large scale, but the temporary demand for many goods at extravagant prices creates for a time a false prosperity. So many men are withdrawn from their ordinary pursuits that the remaining labor supply gets very high wages. Even though the purchasing power does not keep pace with the rise in wages in terms of dollars, the workman who gets double, triple, or more, than he has been getting starts in to spend extravagantly. Profiteering always goes on among vast numbers of those who have things to sell or make. Farmers sell their produce at soaring prices. The World War made 17,000 new millionaires and multi-millionaires in America, though their wealth was largely to be swept away again after 1929, if not before.

A wild orgy of spending, lax morality, scandals among high officials in public life and business leaders followed the World War just as after the Napoleonic wars and our own Civil War. In many of these and other respects the decade after the war was no different from that after the Civil War. To those who could not remember the earlier period or know little of it from history, it seemed as though a great and perhaps permanent change for the worse had come over the American people. This is unlikely, and there are now signs that the madness of the post-war decade is already passing and that soberness is returning.

We become a great creditor nation. There are other changes, however, that may prove more lasting and profound in their effects. For one thing, we had been during our whole national life a debtor

nation. That is, we had always been borrowing money from Europe to develop our resources, just as the West had always been borrowing from our East. We had from time to time to pay back the principal of these debts and always had the interest to pay. We also had to buy many things abroad which had to be paid for. Our task as a nation was to sell enough goods abroad to get the foreign currency with which to pay the sums we owed.

Suddenly with the war this situation was completely reversed. It has been estimated that between 1896 and 1914, we had increased the amount owed by us abroad by \$1,000,000,000. Between 1914 and 1922, foreign nations, allowing for all items, had come to owe us over \$19,000,000,000. The change was colossal. Of this amount over \$10,000,000,000 was represented by the war loans which foreign governments had got from our government. Money owing to us from abroad to 1933 increased about \$800,000,000 more.

As long as we had been debtors, we had tried to buy as little as possible and sell as much as possible to the rest of the world so as to pay our debts. Our tariff, our industrial plant, and our whole economy were fitted to that scheme. It is clear, however, that now we, as creditors and not debtors, must reverse the scheme if there is any chance of our getting paid, not merely the war debts but all money which is now and shall become due to us. Before the war we could not have paid the \$4,000,000,000 we owed in gold. We had to do it in the course of trade. Certainly the rest of the world could not pay us \$20,000,000,000 in gold. They will have to be allowed to do so in trade, as we did.

The difficulty is that if we suddenly allow them to follow our precedent and sell far more goods to us than they buy from us, the whole structure of our agriculture and industry will be in danger, for it has all been built up on a scale to permit us to sell in large quantities while buying much less. Hitherto the greatest creditor nation had been England, but she had built up her position during three centuries and by a slow process of experience and adjustment.

It is difficult to see the results of mass production. The change outlined above is one of the greatest made for us by the war. Another, somewhat connected with it, is the problem of the future of our mass production. Before the war this was beginning to appear to be the road not only to wealth but to a better distribution of property among all. Mass production was counted on to lower the prices of goods made and to raise the wages of those making them. The war and the greatly increased demand for our goods made enormous profits for the

mass-production plants. It now seems evident, however, that within any industry there is a limit to the lowering of prices and the raising of wages and the amount of goods which can be sold. The end of the war brought a suddenly lessened demand for our products. The world cannot buy our goods and pay us its debts if we do not buy their goods on a vast scale. It is difficult to see how this can be done when our prosperity and the hope of a still higher standard of living are based on expanding markets for our mass-production industries. The huge plant is there. Our money is invested in it. Our labor demands the chance to work and make wages in it. But the markets are not there.

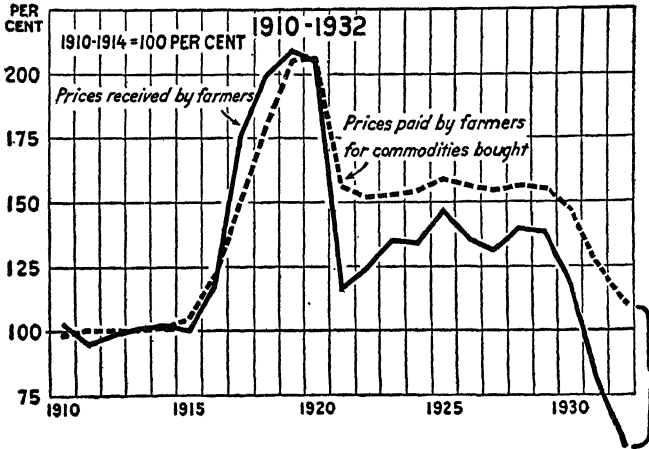
These two results of the war are perhaps the most far-reaching when we consider all the changes which may be involved in them before we can become adjusted to the new conditions socially, economically, politically, and internationally.

2. The Farmer and Social Justice

The farmers increase their mortgage debts. During the war, the farmer, like every one else, received high prices for his produce, the average price for all farm products having more than doubled between 1913 and 1919. Unfortunately like many other classes the farmer did not use his war-time earnings to clear his debts. Among the farms worked by their owners, who may be considered the most thrifty, there were only a little more than 2,000,000 farms without mortgage in 1920, whereas there had been over 2,500,000 in 1910. Moreover the larger part of the farms were probably in the possession of the same families in 1920 that had owned them ten years earlier. There was, therefore, no reason why the increase in the total amount of mortgage debt should have risen to the same extent as the market value of the land. Yet it rose faster. It would seem that innumerable farm owners, instead of paying off debt, had for some reason taken advantage of the war-time land prices to increase their mortgage debt to the extent of even more than the fictitious rise in the price of their land.

The prices for their products decline. Their plight soon became serious. The demand for their products, as for those of all industry, dropped suddenly in 1920, as did prices. The farmer had to borrow more while the value of his land declined and his ability to pay grew less. Between 1910 and 1925 the ratio of mortgage debt to total capital of the railways had remained practically unaltered, but the mortgage debt of owner-operated mortgaged farms had risen from 27

per cent of their value to 42 per cent. In addition, farmers had gone heavily into other debt for all sorts of things bought on the instalment plan. The country had also abandoned itself to an orgy of public spending, and even sparsely settled rural districts had bonded themselves far beyond their capacity for building schools, roads, and other improvements, resulting in great increase in taxation. Industry had suffered with the farmer in 1920, but, whereas industry picked up and



GRAPH SHOWING THE DIFFERENCE IN PRICES RECEIVED BY FARMERS FOR THEIR PRODUCTS AND THOSE PAID BY THEM FOR GOODS BOUGHT

was in some lines exceedingly prosperous in the next eight years, the world level of farm prices steadily declined.

Many factors work against the farmer. The farmer's plight was due to many causes besides his debts. Owing partly to the conservation and reclamation programs and partly to the bringing into cultivation of lands of poor quality during the high-price period, there had been a great over-expansion of producing land in America. Agriculture had also become more efficient by means of fertilizer and machinery. There was much greater competition in the world markets, while the world also had less money with which to buy. The general level of prices had worked against the farmer in costs of labor, shipping charges, storage, and other items. The rising tariff had hit him in his purchases of manufactures. He had also changed his method of farming in many cases and become much less self-sustaining.

Since 1920 many efforts have been made by the government to help

the farmer, but no permanent plan has been worked out. The farmers themselves have had their organizations but they have not achieved a high degree of coöperation. That problem, common to many countries besides our own, is still unsolved. In the United States alone there are over 6,000,000 farms. How many tens of millions there may be in the world cannot be known. It seems practically impossible, though we have tried, to regulate production to meet the world demand.

If the individual small farm remains, farming cannot be brought under even such degree of control as can the great industries. Yet as the standard of living rises, it is natural that the farmer should demand his share in it. But there seems no way to raise the price of farm produce alone without the prices of things that the farmer buys being raised. And the scope for increasing profits by economies in production on a small farm is very limited, as it is in any very small business.

The farmer can be subsidized, a method which has also been tried. Unfortunately, however, the farmer seems to occupy a changed position in our economic system. This is another result of the war. So long as we were a debtor nation we needed our great agricultural surplus to sell abroad to help pay our debts. Now all that we sell abroad, rather than buy, tends to prevent our debtors from paying us. If we subsidize the farmers, all of us may pay more for our food than if we bought it abroad, and we may be preventing ourselves from receiving the payments due us by foreign nations. The buying power of the farmer has been most important. One-quarter of all Americans engaged in gainful occupations are connected with the soil. No other group, except the somewhat larger one in manufacturing, at all compares with it in numbers. The problem is perhaps the most difficult of all forced upon us by the changes wrought by the war.

3. Unemployment in This Machine Age

Wars and business depressions produce unemployment. The vast numbers of unemployed in almost every country have concentrated attention on this problem. It is not a new one. At least in older countries there has always been a more or less permanent unemployed class, fluctuating in both numbers and personnel. It has been made up of persons who, for one reason and another, either temporarily or permanently in individual cases, have not been able to fit into the social order. It is the unusual number at present which has made the problem appear startlingly new.

In the past, two kinds of crises have always produced unemployment

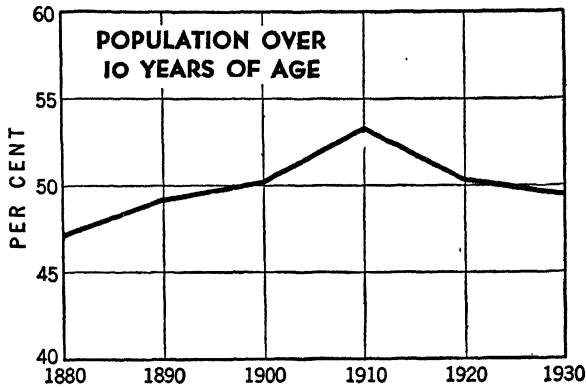
on a large scale—wars and business depressions. As a comment on the subject of this and the preceding topics, we may quote a passage from Green's *History of the English People*, published in 1874, in which he describes the conditions in England in 1815 after the end of the war against Napoleon. He speaks of the "pressure of heavy taxation and of the debt . . . embittered by the general distress of the country. The rapid development of English industry for a time ran ahead of the world's demands; the markets at home and abroad were glutted with unsaleable goods; and mills and manufactories were brought to a standstill. . . . Society, too, was disturbed by the great changes of employment consequent on the sudden return to peace, and by the disbanding of the immense forces employed at sea and on land."

Cessation of war throws millions of men back into civil life. If unemployment has been on an enormous scale in much of the world since the peace of 1919, we must recall that in this war of peoples, instead of the former wars of professional armies only, over 65,000,000 men were enrolled in the forces of the belligerents. If we deduct the rough figure of 10,000,000 for killed and missing, it means on the sudden ending of war 55,000,000 men had to find jobs in civil life again. Such a vast readjustment would in itself entail prolonged and unusually large unemployment.

Many factors help to cause the great depression. In the United States we had the business boom after 1921 to take up a large part of our own unemployed, but in the world at large business remained bad. It was only when the bubble of our false prosperity broke that we found ourselves in the same situation as the other nations. Just as the war was the greatest in history, so this post-war depression has been the greatest. In searching for a remedy the first thing to do is to find the cause of the evil. A very large part of world unemployment at present is clearly due to the fact we have not yet adjusted ourselves after the war. The great destruction of capital in war, the overproduction called for temporarily while it lasts, the abnormal instead of normal state of business, and many other causes always bring on a deep depression after every great war. It takes about half a generation to clear away the débris and begin to build up business again. This time, moreover, so many nations were involved and the ordinary business relations in foreign trade have been so completely broken down that that trade has almost ceased.

Technocrats try to show that the machine increases unemployment. The machine has also played its part, though the

danger of permanent unemployment on account of it may seem to be less than many would have us believe. When our unemployment had reached the alarming figures of about 12,000,000, a group of men, who called themselves "technocrats," tried to show how with the increase of labor-saving devices unemployment was bound to increase rapidly. At first glance it would seem that if one man by the use of a machine could do what it had taken a hundred to do without it then ninety-nine would lose their jobs. But it has not worked out that way.



THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED FROM 1880-1930

From statistics of population and occupations collected by the U. S. Census Bureau.

To use a simple example from an earlier day, when the shoe machine was invented which could make 2400 pairs of shoes in the four days which it had taken one man to make one pair, it did not mean that 2399 men in the country were thrown out of work. It meant that shoes could be made cheaper and that a great many more would be bought than had been

dreamed possible before. Also, instead of the shoemaker making them in his own or his customers' houses, factories had to be built. That meant work for carpenters and masons, the people who supplied the material, the stone cutter, the brick maker, the men who cut and sawed lumber. It meant work for people in transporting the shoes to distant markets. It meant managers and clerks in the business. It meant more factories where the machines were made, with the above circle going round again. It meant soon another industry, the making of paper boxes to sell the shoes in, with the same circle starting all over again of building new factories and so on.

The machine forces readjustments to new work. Of course labor-saving devices do mean that many engaged in doing the work in the old-fashioned way have to adjust themselves to a new kind of work. That is not always easy, and many shoemakers were undoubtedly

thrown out of work. But as far as the country as a whole was concerned, there were many more men set to work in various ways than there were shoemakers temporarily out of a job. Take the more recent case of the automobile. Its invention lost jobs for many livery-stable keepers and harness makers, but on the other hand it is estimated that it made jobs for about three and one-half million Americans.

If the machine were rapidly throwing people out of work, we should expect to find fewer and fewer people employed in manufacturing. The advance in labor saving was rapid between 1880 and 1920 yet while the number engaged in farming dropped from about 49 per cent of the total to 27 per cent, the number in manufacturing and mining rose from 25 per cent to 33 per cent and the number in transportation, trade, and clerical work from 12 per cent to 24 per cent.

It is true that we are advancing rapidly in devising labor-saving machinery and may do so even more rapidly in the future. The matter is unquestionably a serious one and there are many who believe that what the "technocrats" say about the machine will happen.

As we draw out of this depression and as there is some return of world trade and even a moderate degree of prosperity, much of the unemployment due to machinery will disappear. There is what has come to be called "technological unemployment" due to labor-saving machinery, but it is a fair prophecy that science, especially chemistry, will steadily produce new industries which will provide employment not only for factory workers but all along the line, such as salesmen and clerks. New products, such as lately cellophane, are being steadily created in the research laboratories. Think of the numbers employed directly or indirectly by every one of the major inventions—the telephone, automobile, radio, motion picture, and innumerable others. The airplane industry is still in its infancy, perhaps also television. There is no reason to believe that science and invention will produce nothing but *labor-saving* devices. They will also produce *labor-employing* devices.

Social adjustments will have to be made. One of the social adjustments is the shortening of hours. It is only recently that the steel trade consented to employing three men on eight-hour shifts instead of two for twelve hours. As economies in operation result from improved methods a large part of the saving certainly should be passed on to labor in the form of both increased wages and shortened hours. The possibility of this and the rapidity with which it can be put into practice will vary with the advance in efficiency of different industries. This increased leisure will not only result directly in larger employment in

many cases but indirectly also. The workman who, instead of working fourteen hours as in the old days, may work only six will spend some of his time in such a way as to employ others. Much may also be expected from the national employment agencies, set up by the Federal Government and intended to bring the worker and the job together by knowing the conditions and opportunities not merely in one community but throughout the nation.

Social legislation helps the ills of unemployment. Another method, not so much of reducing unemployment as of lessening its effect, is by unemployment insurance for those who are able to work. Whether this is possible or not on a business basis is doubtful. The uncertainties are far greater than for any other form of insurance and it may easily run into a mere system of dole. An interesting plan has been tried by one concern which guarantees forty-eight weeks employment by the year to all employees who have been with it more than six months, who receive less than \$2000 a year, and who own its stock to the market value of one year's income. The cost is charged to production. Other companies have experimented with the same object in view. Unemployment insurance is thus receiving attention, as are old-age pensions, already established by many states. Unemployment due to sickness or accident has already been taken care of to some extent by insurance or employers' liability laws.

If business cycles continue, unemployment in the future, provided the world even partially recovers from the present condition, will probably come from business depressions at intervals or from a temporary running ahead in invention of labor-saving instead of labor-employing machines. The encouraging feature of the situation is that society is now realizing that it must so order industry and its profits as to take care of the willing worker. The economic system must be so reorganized, if possible, as to give at least a minimum of economic security to all who are willing to contribute to the joint product of all.

4. Some Proposed Plans for Economic Readjustment in America

Americans turn their attention to planning. American society has always been readjusting itself to new conditions. There have always been groups or sections which have tried to readjust it more to their own particular satisfaction. In one sense "planning" is nothing new. The fight against the trusts in the last generation was an effort to reorganize our economic life. The extent of the collapse since the

War, however, has challenged man to endeavor to regulate national economic life on a far larger scale than the mere correction of certain abuses. It is claimed by those in favor of planning that if men and producers of all sorts of goods, such as farmers and mine owners, are free to carry on their own affairs without any general system of control, there will be no satisfactory relation between supply and demand, and that our periodical crises will continue to recur.

Many plans are proposed. These suggested plans range from the simple creation of a National Economic Council, which shall assist industries to develop policies and to keep different industries in touch with each other, all the way up to a complete change in the form of government. Some plans are directed merely at stabilizing employment. Others aim at trying to keep production and consumption always nicely balanced. Others, again, deal with the agricultural situation alone. Some are made for reorganizing a particular industry, some for groups of industries, some for co-ordinating every department of life in the whole nation.

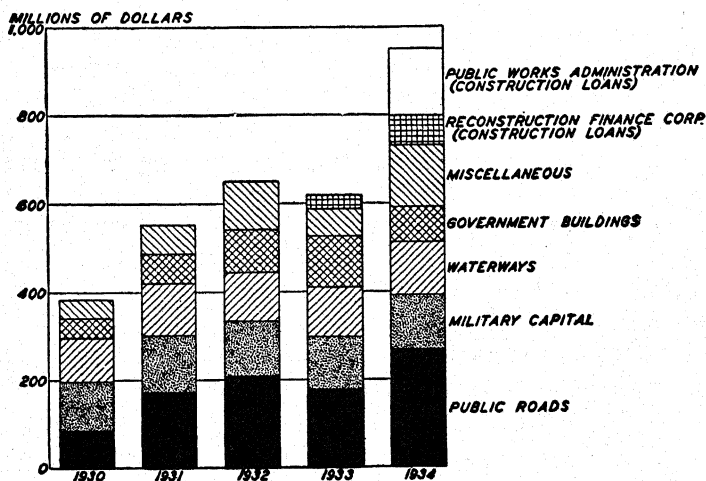
Most of them are complicated and hard to explain in a few words. The NRA was an example of a partial plan put into action. Its chief idea was to relieve business of all sorts from the evils of unregulated competition so that fair prices could be charged and fair wages paid. At the same time it has tried to regulate combinations so that prices shall not sky-rocket.

Many difficulties have to be solved in national planning. The hope that we might plan our national life so that all should have plenty and so that, instead of periodical periods of wild prosperity and deep depression, we should move steadily along toward greater well-being is very alluring. The difficulties in the way, however, are great. As the American Federation of Labor reported, "we do not yet know enough to plan the agencies or chart the functions of economic control." The United States has probably the most complex organization of any large modern nation, unless we except what is now the loose aggregate of nations called the British Empire.

No two planners have agreed yet as to what sort of central bodies of control should be set up, but if we do create such a machinery the all-important question then arises as to what men have the ability to run it. The problems of even the greater units in a single industry are getting almost beyond the power of one man or group of men to solve. When one thinks of running not a Steel Corporation or a Union Pacific Railway or a Federal Reserve Bank, but of a small group trying to run

all the business of the nation, farming, manufacturing, banking, and all else, as a unified and co-ordinating machine, the task appears beyond our capacity as yet. Neither politicians nor business men have shown leaders capable of it, and our economists notably disagree among themselves over theories and policies.

National planning would seem to require the surrender of liberty. There is another point. Any broad plan, as we discovered



Courtesy of the Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution

CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION FINANCED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, 1930-1934

under the NRA itself, must have the power to coerce those who do not obey. It would be impossible to control national production if individual manufacturers, farmers, or miners, still had the right to produce as much as they wished. Even supposing that we could find men so extraordinary as to be able to judge just what consumption in a coming year would be, and then co-ordinate every process of production in every industry so as just to meet that demand, their plans could not be carried out unless they could control every one engaged in production. There would always be what President Franklin Roosevelt called "chisellers," men who would go their own way for their private interest regardless of set prices or production. Even dictatorial states, communist, socialist, or fascist, in which all power is lodged in a few hands, have found difficulties in planning on a national scale. Such planning would seem to be certain to require such a large surrender of

liberty as would make America entirely different in life and government from what we know.

Some kind of planning seems necessary. On the other hand, we may look forward to efforts to plan wisely on a large scale. The abler capitalists as well as labor are awake to the necessity. The larger industries which are dominated by comparatively few units, such as steel and railways, would offer a good field for co-operative planning. These could plan not only within themselves but with each other. Working together through some National Economic Council and with some modified form of codes, much could be done to stabilize the business cycle. Although a single great plan for the nation has the charm of apparent simplicity on paper, it is more likely that we shall make progress by organizing one industry after another and slowly co-ordinating them. Planning on any scale will depend upon our ability to plan and on how much liberty Americans will be willing to surrender in order to get other possible benefits.

We extend the field of national planning. In recent years our government has felt the necessity of extending national planning into Western Hemisphere planning. More and more we realize the need of the economic and political solidarity of the Western World. For some years we have established and maintained the "good neighbor" policy with the Latin-American countries to the south; we have sent high government officials and other influential citizens to meet and become acquainted with their peoples. We have fostered trade relations with them and have encouraged the extension of reciprocal dealings in economic matters; we have lent them money to aid in the development of trade, industry, and agriculture. We have also shown a deeper appreciation than ever before of the cultural achievements of the Latin peoples, and have put additional stress upon the teaching of Spanish in our schools. In the Pan-American Conferences we have made it clear that the Western Hemisphere should stand apart and aloof from the political and economic intrigues of the Old World; our major concern should be the advancement of the interests of our own hemisphere and this can be brought about by a better understanding and a truer co-operation of our American nations.

While our government has been laying the foundation for a true and deep friendship with our Latin neighbors south of the border, it has in nowise neglected our Anglo-Saxon neighbor on the north. America and Canada have many things in common—the same language, the same culture, the same belief in the worth of man and in his ability to govern

and control himself, the same general belief in democracy and in the right of liberty and freedom for all peoples. President Roosevelt has stated time and again what concerns Canada concerns us; what is Canada's welfare is our welfare; and that the United States can never stand aside and see a foreign power invade Canada. In 1941 the President took steps to bring the two nations closer together in a military and economic union. He has also set forth his desire for closer economic co-operation with Canada by favoring the building of the St. Lawrence waterway.

While our country has always advocated a better understanding and a closer friendship among the nations of the Western World, it has doubled its efforts to achieve this purpose since the beginning, in 1939, of World War II. Our government realizes that the principles of totalitarianism of the nations of continental Europe are so wholly different from and hostile to the political and economic beliefs of the American Republics that they must not be allowed to gain a foothold in this hemisphere. To prevent this, our government is taking the lead in urging a "new democratic and economic order" in the Western World to offset the "new totalitarian order" threatening the Old World. But in hemisphere planning, as in national planning, we may be expected to give up some of our liberty; perhaps more than extreme nationalists would be willing to surrender.

5. Our Gains in Political, Social, and Industrial Democracy

The Dies Committee makes its report. In 1938 Congress ordered an investigation of the un-American activities in our country and placed Congressman Martin Dies of Texas in charge of it. Beginning in mid-summer of that year and continuing through 1939 the committee heard witnesses and took evidence concerning the actions of radical groups, especially Communists and Fascists. The committee made its report to Congress on January 3, 1940, in a 15,000-word summary. It stated that not more than a million Americans had been seriously affected by the subversive activities of foreign groups. It said, however, that the leadership of a quarter of the C.I.O. unions was "more than tinged with Communism" but that the leaders of that organization were making efforts to remove the influence of the Communists. It stated that the Communist Party "bores from within" and worked through "front" organizations, and then enumerated a long list of those "fronts." It said that both the Communist Party and the German-American Bund in the

United States were agents of foreign powers and should be placed under control, adding that the loyalty of every American Communist would be with Russia in case of conflict between that nation and ours. The investigation did, without doubt, stir up considerable resentment against these and other radical groups and the dislike thus engendered was deepened by the Russo-German understanding which took place just before the outbreak of the European war in 1939.

Those Americans, who felt they had reason to believe the Communists and Fascists were making a determined effort to destroy our democratic government and supplant it with their own, heartily approved the findings of the Dies committee and encouraged the continuation of the investigation. On the other hand, many citizens objected not only to the investigation but more especially to its method of procedure, claiming that persons and organizations were given no chance to offer testimony in rebuttal, that the investigation was instigated by conservative groups, and that it degenerated into a "Red" hunt. The attitude of the House of Representatives itself was shown by its voting to continue the committee for one year.

Our citizens hold different views on the influence of the foreigners in our midst. Nevertheless, many thoughtful Americans believed that our democracy faced a grave danger. Some, no doubt, feared the activities of the aliens to such an extent that they would have liked to see them deported from our land. A great number of our people feared, too, that should our nation become involved in a long and devastating European war, our democratic society would not be able to withstand the strain it would have to undergo and that we, like some of the European states, would be controlled by a dictator. Such people, believing that foreign influences and propaganda were at work to force us into war, hearkened to the report of the Dies committee and to similar statements made by individuals and organizations against alien activities in our midst.

Other Americans were sincere in believing that drastic actions taken against foreigners would not only not solve the problem but might aggravate it and make it more acute. They thought that the government should do more to cure the evils of which the aliens and the radicals complained. They wished to see a greater amount of social justice secured for the underprivileged. They would have liked to reorganize our social order in such a way as to eliminate, as far as possible, complaints against its unfairness and its injustice. They wanted to make happy and contented citizens of all our people by giving them employ-

ment at fair wages. They feared that if more effective steps were not taken to secure these social gains for those who should have them there would be danger ahead for our democracy.

We are warned to guard our political ideals. All Americans who have thought about the question know that democracy is on trial in the world today. Germany, Italy, Russia, Japan, never really democratic, have accepted the belief that people cannot govern themselves and have placed their destinies in the hands of dictatorial rulers. In such states individualism has given way to totalitarianism—the interest of the individual being submerged in the supposed interest of the state, while in our democracy the government exists primarily for the welfare of the individual and not the individual for the welfare of the government.

The freedom that people have and the standard of living that they enjoy are measures of the true worth of their government. In the United States, we are guaranteed by the Bill of Rights freedom of religion, speech, the press, assembly, and petition. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused is assured of a public and impartial trial, and “excessive bail shall not be required,” “nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.” These rights and privileges are denied to the citizens of a totalitarian state.

America has the highest standard of living of any country in the world. In 1938 an hour's wages in the United States would buy 2.83 baskets of food; an hour's wages in Germany would buy only 1.02 baskets of food; in Italy, .65; and in Russia, .40. In this country an hour's wages would buy 4.4 pairs of socks; in Germany, 1.5 pairs; in Italy, .5; and in Russia, .6. We want to make our standard of living still higher, through work, but in our impatience for the ideal let us not forget that under our democratic form of government we enjoy more of the good things of life than do the people in any of the totalitarian states.

Many Americans believe that the conditions which brought on Communism and Fascism in the Old World might bring them on in the New World. Knowing the struggle which our “Founding Fathers” had to establish our form of government, then unknown and untried in the world, conscious of the efforts which we have put forth to keep alive the ideal that man can govern himself, and realizing that “eternal vigilance is the price of liberty,” Americans are urged to guard against all forces which tend to undermine or destroy the principles of our democratic government.

Some Americans have no fear of Communism or Fascism.

These Americans believe that there should be no fear of Communism or Fascism gaining much headway in our land. They point out that the founder of Communism, Karl Marx, was mistaken when he predicted that his teachings would strike root in industrialized nations. Today they are really a threatening force in only one country and it is the most backward of all European lands—Russia. It is utterly unthinkable, they say, for an enlightened nation like ours to endorse in any serious way the doctrine of Communism. They feel the same way about Fascism, stating that such a political philosophy can take root only in a country where the people have never known party government. Fascism is, they claim, a one-party government and in nations like America and England, which have a number of political parties, Fascism can never be a serious contender. Such people believe the ideals of democracy are so firmly rooted in us that there can never be, except in emergencies—as in the World War—any individual about whom the people would rally to such an extent as to make him a dictator or to whom they would give those powers necessary to set up a totalitarian state.

We are making gains in social democracy. While Americans may hold different views as to the possibility of Communism or Fascism gaining a foothold in our country, they almost all have a common faith in the goodness and soundness of our political democracy. Our citizens are having an ever greater concern for the achievement of social democracy. The amendments, passed by Congress in 1939, to the Social Security Act of 1935, provided that old age benefits should begin in January, 1940, rather than in January, 1942, as was stated in the original act and that security should be provided for the family unit rather than for the individual alone. To be eligible for old age benefits the person had to be at least sixty-five years old, must have been employed for at least six calendar quarters since the law went into effect, January 1, 1937, must have earned at least \$50 in each of the six quarters, and must be retired from employment. The amount of benefits varied with the average monthly wages that the individual had received and ranged from \$20.60 to \$41.20 a month.

The law provided also for monthly benefits for wives and widows who were sixty-five years of age or older and for children in school up to eighteen years of age. The wife and each child were entitled to benefits equal to one-half of that received by the husband, and a widow to three-fourths. In no case, however, could the total amount paid to a wage-earner's family exceed twice the amount of his basic benefit. It

was estimated that during the first year of the law's operation \$100,000,000 would be distributed to 1,000,000 persons.

Other parts of the Social Security Act had already been put into effect and everywhere throughout our country the needy old people, the needy blind, dependent children, and jobless workers had received public assistance. We were striving for social justice.

We are contending for greater industrial democracy. In a real democracy there must be more than mere political freedom—the right to vote, to hold office, to participate in the government—and more than social democracy or social justice secured through social security; there must be economic or industrial democracy. In such a democracy men who invest their money must have the feeling that their business enterprises will be reasonably safe, that they will be protected by their government, and that it will take no steps detrimental to their welfare. In such a democracy men who invest their labor must have the feeling that their jobs will be reasonably secure and that they will be protected by their government in any fair action which they may take to advance their cause. Recognizing these principles our government has given to the laborers the right to organize unions for the purpose of bargaining collectively with their employers and it has passed laws, such as tariff acts, for the protection of the men who have ventured their capital in various enterprises.

In some business enterprises the laborers invest their money and thus become part owners and have a voice in the management. In others they purchase stock and become stockholders in the business in which they work. In still others they receive additional salary for the increase in business that they are able to secure. Under all these conditions men take a greater interest in the work they do, for not only are larger salaries and dividends forthcoming in money but there comes a deep satisfaction in earned success. Such conditions remove the haunting fear of unemployment and the suffering and agony which that may mean. Governments can do nothing of greater moment than to strive for economic stability and independence for both those who invest their money in industries and for those who toil and labor in them. It is right and just that employers have a reasonable return on their money invested and it is also right and just that the laborers have a living wage and reasonable security.

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, popularly known as the Wage and Hour Law, is designed to improve working conditions and to insure a decent standard of living. The law provides minimum wages and maximum hours for employees engaged in interstate commerce or producing

goods for interstate commerce. Many workers do not profit by the law, because they are engaged in occupations that are exempt from its provisions.

That we are making some headway in the solution of the problem of capital and labor can no longer be doubted. Many social reformers argue that we must have a fairer distribution of the wealth created. Other reformers argue that we must work out some plan to stabilize the currency and have a safer control of prices. Some doubt whether these goals can ever be attained—but there was a time when most men doubted whether a democracy could be established, or if established, whether it could long endure. We have answered that question. There was a time when most men doubted the wisdom or the advisability of social reforms. We have answered that question—and the coming years, no doubt, will see it answered in a more effective way. We doubt not that America will work out, as it is now trying to work out, a satisfactory answer to the problem of economic or industrial freedom.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Adams, *Our Business Civilization*, chs. 5–6; Arnold, *Problems of American Life*, ch. 32; Bogart, *War Costs and Their Financing*; Groves, *The Drifting Home*; Howe, *The Confessions of a Reformer*, chs. 11–14; Howland, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Times*, ch. 5; King, *The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States*; Lightner, *Business Cycles and Unemployment*; Lightner, *History of Business Depressions*; Merz, *The Great American Bandwagon*; Munro, *The Government of American Cities*, chs. 1–2; Orth, *The Boss and the Machine*, chs. 9–10; Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities*; Towne, *Social Problems*, chs. 11, 13; Wallace, *America Must Choose*; Wiggam, *The New Decalogue of Science*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Hart, *Contemporaries*, V, nos. 94–98; Lapp, *The First Chapter of the New Deal*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Archer, *America Today*; Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters*; Bennett, *Your United States*; Charnwood, *Roosevelt*; Klein, *America of Tomorrow*; Robinson, *The Twentieth Century American*; Wells, *The Future in America*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How has the World War disarranged our society? 2. How are we affected by being a creditor nation instead of a debtor nation? 3. Is it possible for Europe to pay the debts she owes us? 4. Shall we be able to

continue our mass production in the future? 5. Show that the farmers increased their mortgage debts from 1910 to 1920. 6. What has caused the farmers' plight to become so serious? 7. Would it be wise to subsidize farming? 8. What kinds of crises in the past have caused unemployment? 9. What factors have helped to cause the great depression? 10. What statements do the "technocrats" make about the causes of unemployment? 11. What do you think about their statements? 12. How does the machine force us to make readjustments to new work? 13. May we expect science in the future to produce labor-employing devices as well as labor-saving devices? 14. What social adjustments do you think our people will have to make? 15. What social legislation aids in the alleviation of unemployment? 16. Show how our nation is turning to "planning." 17. What different kinds of plans have been proposed for social readjustment in America? 18. What difficulties will have to be solved in national planning? 19. How will national planning require of us the surrender of much individual liberty? 20. Do you think some kind of planning is necessary? Why?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: How the World War disarranged our society, how we became a creditor nation, the European debt question, subsidies for farming, unemployment in the machine age, the teachings of the "technocrats," the enactment of social legislation, national planning.
2. PROJECT: Show how unemployment is related to the machine age.
3. PROBLEM: Would the farmer's condition be so serious if he returns to a self-sufficient home economy?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: Resolved: That America's interests would be better served if the European debts were cancelled.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: Plans for social readjustment in America.
6. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Mass production, "technocrats," "technological unemployment," labor-employing devices, national "planning," "chisellers."
7. MAP WORK: On an outline map of the United States, color blue the states that might be classed as agricultural states and color red those that might be classed as industrial states. Tabulate the population of these two groups of states using the 1930 census.

V. FLOOR TALKS

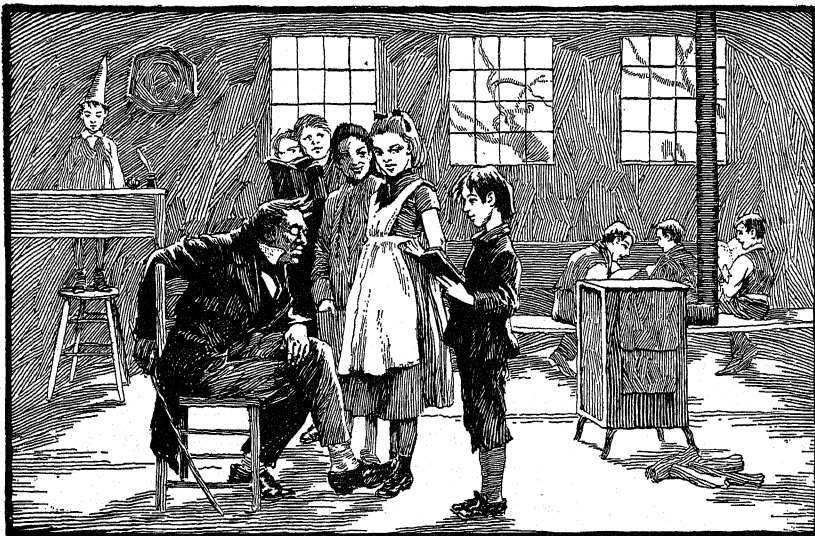
1. OUR SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY: Addams, *Twenty Years in Hull House*; Brooks, *Social Unrest*; Peabody, *Approach to the Social Question*; Seager, *Program of Social Reform*; Tolman, *Social Engineering*.
2. FARM PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY: Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, 512-545; Hart, *Contemporaries*, V, 332-347; Nevins, *American Press Opinion*, 576-577; Slichter, *Modern Economic Society*, 428-448; Slosson, *The Great Crusade and After*, 190-218.

UNIT IX

UNIT IX tells the story of the development of our educational system and our art and literature. You will see how our early schools were established and that deep-seated religious motives were back of our educational system. You will meet in passing our great educational leaders and writers—Franklin, Mann, Logan, Edgar Allan Poe, Whitman, Parkman, Longfellow, Thoreau, Emerson, Agassiz, Mark Twain—and many many more.

You will read of the establishment and growth of our newspapers and magazines and how these have affected the reading public. You will see how the pageant of America is illustrated by architecture and how architecture has closely followed the changes in American life.

You will realize how we of to-day have much leisure time and how our society of the future may have a greater amount of it. One of our great problems is that of the right use of leisure time, which all agree is one of the chief aims of education.



From "The Hoosier Schoolboy"



Top: A typical early American schoolroom where lessons were learned by rote.
Bottom: A group of young people from a modern progressive high school get practical information on present-day farming by visiting farms and government projects as part of their regular class work.

UNIT IX

HOW WE HAVE GROWN CULTURALLY AND INTELLECTUALLY

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To set forth the development of our public school system.
2. To understand the influence that free education has had on American life.

TOPIC I

OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

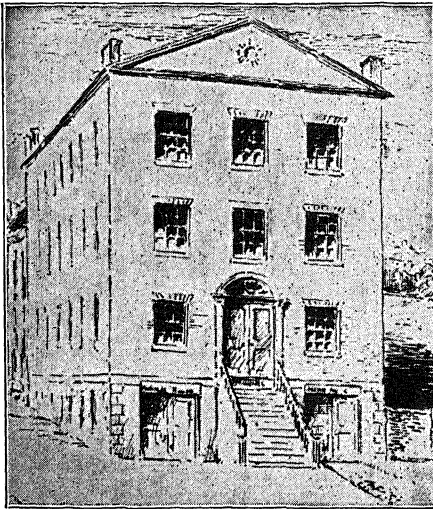
1. *Early Elementary Education*

Our colonies establish different types of schools. There were three kinds of common schools established in our country during the colonial days—the New England compulsory type, the Middle colony parochial type, and the Southern non-interference type. In New England the Puritans, in control of affairs, would permit no other religion but their own. They considered state and church as one and passed laws establishing schools and compelling parents to send their children to school. In the Middle colonies no religious sect was able to control affairs, so each church established its own school. Thus there grew up in New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey many parochial schools, each doing much as it pleased. In the Middle colonies education was left to the churches until about 1835. In the Southern colonies it was the general belief that education was not the business of the state as in New England nor of the church as in the Middle colonies, but of the parents. So in the South the richer colonists employed tutors in their homes to teach their children or sent them to England for education. For the poor white children, pauper and apprentice schools were established while the negro children received little or no education.

The early schools were of a religious nature. In all the colonial schools much emphasis was placed on religious instruction and this is especially true in New England. The textbooks were the Catechism, Psalter, and Testament. Most of the towns established the Latin grammar school that taught Latin and a little Greek to boys to prepare

them for admission to Harvard or Yale when they were to study for the ministry.

We establish our democratic school system. As time went on, the colonists began to see that the Latin grammar schools with their



THE FIRST FREE HIGH SCHOOL IN AMERICA STOOD AT DERNE AND TEMPLE STREETS IN BOSTON

It was erected about 1821. (From sketches by former pupils.)

narrow curricula no longer filled the needs of the people. They wished to establish a school to teach the practical subjects, so a new type of school—the academy—came into existence. The first of these new schools was the Franklin Academy, established in Philadelphia in 1751. But the academy was not a free school, so people began to say that a free public school should be established, supported by the taxes of all the people. Under such leaders as Horace Mann and Henry Barnard the people continued their struggle for a free, democratic, non-sectarian, tax-supported school system and were at last successful but only after a long and bitter fight.

2. *Our High Schools*

Our country holds a unique position. The first public high school was opened in Boston in 1821. The movement spread in the next decade into Maryland, South Carolina, Rhode Island, Ohio, Connecticut, and elsewhere, and went steadily onward until interrupted by the Civil War. After the war it once more gained headway and in 1874 the supreme court of Michigan affirmed the right of a board of education to establish such schools even when no special law provided for them. Until then it had been a question whether taxpayers' money could be used for the purpose.

The general public school system, especially after the Civil War, had steadily broadened its field until it had come to be the concern of the whole people. In course of time, the most characteristic part of it

became the high school. It is certainly the chief feature in which American free education differs from that of other countries. There are other nations which are more successful, perhaps, with their elementary schools at the bottom. America has no better universities at the top than many other lands, but in the middle range there is no country in which such a large proportion of children receive secondary education.

Development of high schools has been rapid. The private secondary schools, such as the old academies, had aimed at a somewhat classical education, and to a considerable extent the later private schools have continued the tradition of liberal arts. The high school has provided this kind of course, preparing for college, but also what may be called a more practical course of study, that is one more directly fitting the pupil for entering immediately upon his life work.

The high school has rapidly out-distanced the development of private schools. Up to 1880 less than half the secondary school pupils were in high schools. By 1890 the proportion between the two types had been reversed. Since then the growth of high schools has been amazing. In 1900 there were about a half million high school students in the entire country. At the beginning of the World War there were three times that number, and by 1926 there were 4,000,000, which was sixteen times the number of pupils of the same ages in private schools.

3. Our Colleges and Universities

Our early colleges are founded for religious reasons. By the end of the colonial period, eight of the colonies had their own colleges, Harvard in Massachusetts (1636), William and Mary in Virginia (1693), Yale in Connecticut (1701), Princeton and Rutgers in New Jersey (1746), University of Pennsylvania (1751), Dartmouth in New Hampshire (1754), Kings (Columbia) in New York (1754), and Brown in Rhode Island (1764). Some of these institutions were, it is true, but the germs of the later ones, but the beginnings are noteworthy of what was to be a continuous growth. The original object aimed at in American education had been to make good Christians. William and Mary College in Virginia, like Harvard and Yale in New England, had been founded to train up a godly ministry.

Our state universities are democratic institutions. Another characteristic feature of our educational system is the state university. It is essentially a democratic institution and had its chief development,

if not its origin, in the democracy of the West, though the University of North Carolina dates back to the year of the beginning of the National Government. Michigan had the first of the Western state universities. When Indiana adopted its constitution in 1816, it provided for a "general system of education ascending in regular grada-



NASSAU HALL AND THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE, PRINCETON, 1764

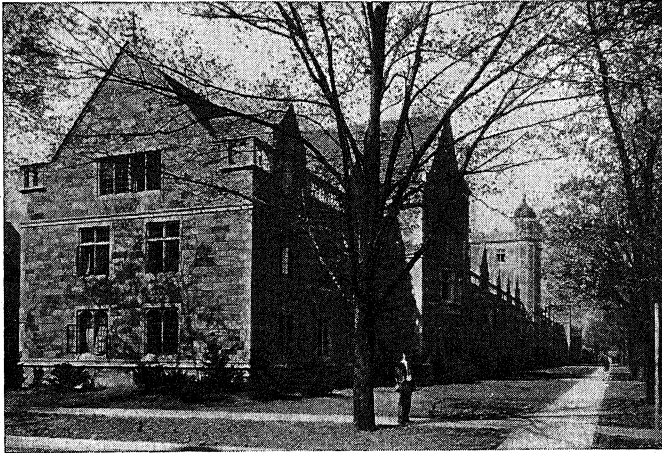
From an engraving in Princeton University Library, after the painting by James Parker.

tions from township schools to a State University, wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all." Nothing could better express the American democratic ideal of equal opportunity.

It is difficult to over-estimate the influence which these state universities have exerted. As they soon became co-educational, all boys and girls who went through the lower and secondary schools had the chance to continue study if they desired. Although there may have been many idlers, as in any college, the opportunity of continuing into higher institutions, and being urged to do so, has unquestionably brought to light much ability which might otherwise not have been discovered. They have also enriched life for countless students who could not have afforded a higher education on other terms.

There has been some danger in the close relation between the people

and the state universities, such as conforming the ideals and outlook of the universities to those of the people instead of building up institutions which would modify or raise them. On the other hand this relationship has also tended to make the state university flexible. The ideal which the people have imposed is that the work of a university should be serving society as a whole rather than benefiting a select group of



THE LAW COURT'S BUILDING AND THE LAWYER'S CLUB AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

individuals. Out of this has grown the development of many courses which were rather scorned at first by the more conservative private universities. The idea, however, has spread, and to-day the universities provide instruction in almost anything which the daily life of man calls for. In so far as some of them have developed into institutions rivalling in scholarship and research any institution of America or the Old World, they have traveled on established lines. Their chief influence has been in extending the higher educational opportunities.

Our universities educate thousands of our citizens. With the mental ferment after the war and with the prosperity temporarily following it, our 975 colleges and universities were swamped by numbers of students. In 1928 there were 920,000 attending such institutions and professional schools. This was nearly three times the number in 1910, and a large part of the increase went to the state universities. The consequent strain on the teaching staff and the demand for new qualified teachers in great numbers brought about serious problems.

The depression has considerably lessened the numbers for the present but in the words of the historian who better than any other has understood the West and the frontier, F. J. Turner, these state "university watch towers should flash from State to State until American democracy is illuminated with higher and broader ideals of what constitutes service to the State and to mankind; of what are prizes; of what is worthy of praise and reward."

4. *Our Churches*

The "Great Awakening" stirs the colonists. By 1763 our religious life was very different from what it had been a couple of generations earlier. Even in New England the first fervor of the original refugees had been cooling. Everywhere in the colonies, the people were deprived of much that had afforded color and emotional outlets in the customs and surroundings of the Old World, rich in human experience and accomplishments. The great mass of colonists had become emotionally starved in their narrow, dull, and hardworking lives. Over these, whether in the Anglican South or Puritan New England, the extraordinary years of revivalist meetings, known as the "Great Awakening," swept like a forest fire.

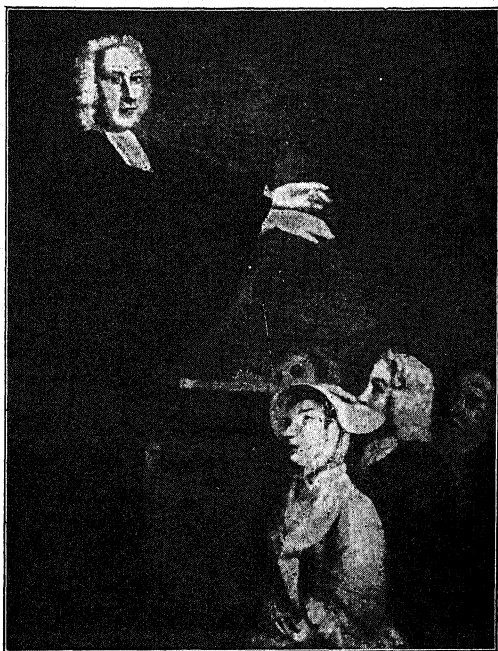
A number of preachers, such as Gilbert Tennent and the great Jonathan Edwards, had been preaching in a way deeply to stir the religious emotions of their hearers. There had been minor revivals in the colonies before George Whitefield came over from England in 1738. As he and lesser preachers toured the colonies, awakening the repressed emotions of their hearers, they wrought congregations to frenzy.

Our religious life undergoes a change. Under the lead of the evangelists, churches were split into what were called "Old Lights" and "New Lights." For the first time all of the colonies were caught up in the wave of a common movement. There was intense bitterness mixed with the emotions which broke congregations in twain. But when the excitement subsided about 1744, American religious life had undergone a profound change. The complete domination of the ministers of the old sects had been broken, and the influence of the conservatives who had opposed the movement had weakened. It was in a sense a popular uprising, and the new evangelists of all denominations felt themselves bound closer to one another than to the conservatives of their own sects. Francis Asbury, sent over by Wesley in 1771, gathered many of them into the new Methodist fold, especially along the frontier.

Whitefield, like John Wesley who came over in 1735, was as much interested in pure humanitarianism as in religion. After the first reaction of indifference following the surges of emotion, the whole movement left Americans with a greater interest in education and humanitarian reforms. It also left them with greater independence toward the individual clergyman, against whom they had asserted their own views. This was notably true even throughout Puritan New England. In that section the old ideal of the theocratic state had passed, and everywhere the field of secular interests had widened as religion had become more personal.

America is to-day a religious country. Although under our theory of government there had been a complete separation of church and state, and toleration for all forms of religious beliefs, America has continued to be, among the great mass of the people, a distinctly religious country. In the years since the panic of 1929 the

increase in church membership has been notably large. Although golf, motoring, and other causes have tended in many cases to break down the old and practically universal habit of church-going of the earlier days, religion is still one of the major forces to be reckoned with in American life and culture. This is true of political life as well as of the inner life of individuals, and many important movements can be traced to the separate or combined influences of the almost innumerable sects and churches. Many intellectuals make the mistake of disregarding this important factor in contemporary life.



GEORGE WHITEFIELD PREACHING

From the portrait by John Woollaston in the National Portrait Gallery.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Andrews, *Colonial Folkways*; Boone, *Education in the United States*; Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*; Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States*; Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*; Dewey, *Schools of Tomorrow*; Dewey, *The School and Society*; Dexter, *A History of Education in the United States*; Draper, *American Education*; Earle, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*; Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man*; Flexner, *The American College*; Hunt, *Life in America One Hundred Years Ago*; Johnson, *Old-Time Schools and School Books*; Knight, *Education in the United States*; Lewis, *Democracy's High School*; Moore, *What Is Education?*; Parker, *History of Modern Elementary Education*; Ross, *Changing America*; Rowe, *The History of Religion in the United States*; Slosson, *Great American Universities*; Slosson, *The American Spirit in Education*; Small, *Early New England Schools*; Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*; Thwing, *A History of Higher Education in America*; Weeks, *The People's School*; Winship, *Great American Educators*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Education; Cubberley and Elliott, *State and County School Administration*; Forman, *Side Lights on Our Social and Economic History*; West, *A Source Book in American History*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Dickens, *American Notes*; Dix, *The Making of Christopher Ferringham*; Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*; Nevins, *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers*; Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Describe the three types of schools established in the colonies. 2. Show that the colonial schools were of a religious nature. 3. Why were high schools established? 4. Discuss the growth of the American high school. 5. For what purpose were our early colleges founded? 6. What influence have our state universities had on American life? 7. What was the "Great Awakening?" 8. How had American religious life undergone a profound change by the middle of the eighteenth century?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The establishment of colonial schools, the purpose of our high schools and colleges, the founding of the colonial colleges, the influence of the state universities, the "Great Awakening."

2. PROJECT: In your public library you will no doubt find books describing our colonial schools. Make a study of these books with a view of contrasting the books and methods of teaching used in colonial days with the textbooks and methods used in your school.

3. PROBLEM: How do you account for the emphasis that was placed on religious instruction in all the early colonial schools?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That it is no longer possible to give a free education to all boys and girls who apply for admission to our public high schools and that tuition should be charged them.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The "Great Awakening."
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: You lived in colonial days and attended one of the early academies. Write a letter to a friend describing your life at the academy.
7. DIARY: You attended many of the religious meetings held by George Whitefield and kept a record of many of the things he said in his sermons and of the reactions of the congregations. Read your diary to your class.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, John Wesley.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1636, 1751, 1816, 1821.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Classical education, liberal arts, the "Great Awakening," "Old Lights," "New Lights."
11. MAP WORK: In a map talk show the location of the colonial colleges and trace the spread of the high school movement.
12. GRAPH WORK: By means of bar graphs show the number of high school students in our country in 1900, in 1914, and in 1926.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. COLONIAL SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES: Andrews, *Colonial Folkways*, chs. 6-7; Crawford, *Social Life in Old England*, ch. 1; Earle, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*, chs. 7-8; Slosson, *The American Spirit in Education*, chs. 1-4; Wertenbaker, *The First Americans*, chs. 4-5.
2. EDUCATION IN THE YOUNG REPUBLIC: Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man*, ch. 10; Forman, *Side Lights on Our Social and Economic History*, 416-424; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V, 49; Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America*, ch. 10; Slosson, *The American Spirit in Education*, chs. 15-16.
3. HIGHER EDUCATION IN OUR COUNTRY: Eliot, *Education for Efficiency*; Flexner, *American College*; Slosson, *Great American Universities*; Snedden, *Problem of Vocational Education*; Thwing, *Education Since the Civil War*.

TOPIC II

AMERICAN ART, LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To develop an appreciation of our art and literature.
2. To set forth the importance of our newspapers and magazines.
3. To see how the pageant of America is illustrated by our architecture.

1. *Art, Literature, and Science Before the Civil War*

Cotton Mather writes many books. This drift in the spiritual life of the colonies, spoken of in the preceding topic, is exemplified in the character of the literature produced in them as the century advanced. In 1705 Robert Beverley in Virginia had published his *History of Virginia*. Three years later "Ebenezer Cook" in Maryland produced a satiric poem of genuine interest and power called *The Sot-Weed Factor*. Boston unquestionably held the primacy in intellectual matters in the period. For sheer bulk of writing probably no American author has ever equalled Cotton Mather, then the leading clergyman in the New England metropolis. He is credited with over 400 titles. His *Diary* and his most celebrated work, the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, have much historical and antiquarian value. Judge Samuel Sewall of Boston wrote his *Diary*, which is a mine of information for the life of the time.

Jonathan Edwards is our greatest theologian. Jonathan Edwards, pastor of the church at Northampton, was to prove in the mid-century the greatest theologian New England or possibly America has produced. But it is noteworthy that unlike Mather he neither sought nor possessed any influence on political life. No one has ever carried out with more faultless logic the Calvinistic theology. His great treatise on the *Freedom of the Will* is one of the books of world importance published in America.

His theory, however, of the utter depravity of the human soul did not suit the growing optimism and comfort of the times. Dismissed by his congregation and then made president of Princeton, he well illustrates the passing of the old theology from popular to mere academic interest.

Benjamin Franklin writes for the common man. The man who

in both his writings and his life best exemplifies the new preoccupations of the colonists was Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia. In the sayings that he scattered through his enormously popular *Poor Richard's Almanac*, such as "God helps them that help themselves," he struck a chord to which the people responded as they no longer would to the divines. In his *Autobiography*, not published until after the Revolution, he not only gave for the first time the story of the rise from poverty to riches and power of a typical American, but did so in words that went home to the simplest understanding.

The colonies produce noted scientists. Franklin was to be our most noted scientific philosopher of his day. But even before the middle of the century Colden in New York, James Logan and John Bartram in Philadelphia, all had European reputations for their botanical studies. In Virginia, John Mitchell was writing the first American treatise on the principles of science, and throughout the South Mark Catesby had been carrying on his researches in natural history. In Charleston, Doctors John Lining and Lionel Chalmers were studying problems of weather and the only man in America, Doctor William Bull, who had a genuine degree as Doctor of Medicine (from Leyden), was established in that town.

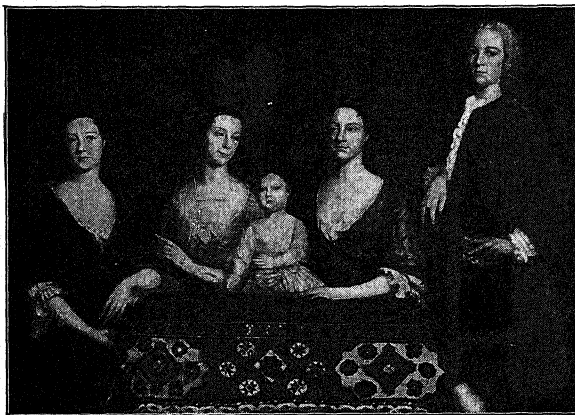
The colonists establish libraries and found newspapers. The public-library movement, which has been one of our notable contributions to civilization, got under way in this period. Of the seventeen subscription libraries started between 1745 and 1763 not only was the most important one founded by Franklin, in Philadelphia, but one-third of the whole number were in Pennsylvania.

Massachusetts had led the way in journalism with the publication of our first newspaper, *The Boston News-Letter* in 1704, but by 1763 the best papers were all published south of New York. The most influential was *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, but *The South Carolina Gazette* published the best original verse in America.

New York was notable not only for *The New York Gazette* published in that city by William Bradford, but also for the important struggle carried on there for the freedom of the press by Peter Zenger. It was a little early yet for magazines, but a dozen, all short-lived, had been started, of which four had met their deaths in Boston and eight in the Middle colonies.

The colonies produce many painters. In the middle of the century B. Roberts, Alexander Gordon, and Jeremiah Theüs were all painting portraits in South Carolina of the leading families there. In

Virginia, Charles Bridges was painting the wealthy planters with their wives and daughters. Hesselius in Maryland, Robert Feke in Newport, and John Smibert in Boston, were among the other portrait painters, of whom each colony had its favorite. Copley was perhaps the most fashionable, and Benjamin West, who was to become President of the Royal Academy in London, was beginning his career. Landscape painting



A PAINTING BY FEKE OF ISAAC ROYALL, FOUNDER OF THE ROYALL PROFESSORSHIP IN THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL, AND HIS FAMILY

From the original now in Harvard University.

was also becoming popular, and in 1757 there was an exhibition in New York of work which was entirely that of Americans.

The large towns have good music and drama. Music was cultivated and in the larger towns there were frequent concerts of the best compositions of the time rendered by orchestras capable of playing operatic overtures and symphonies. In

1759 the first music society, the "Orpheus Club," was organized in Philadelphia, and in 1762 was founded the well-known "Saint Cecilia Society" in Charleston after a less formal existence during the preceding quarter of a century. Both musicians and actors from Europe usually went first to the rich and luxury-loving West Indies, and thence to America by way of the South Carolina capital, where there were probably more and better drama and music to be heard than anywhere else in the colonies. New England still forbade "stage plays," but from New York south there was ample opportunity to hear the works of Shakespeare, Addison, Congreve, and others, among the best or most popular dramatists of the day.

By 1763 there was in the colonies a well-established cultural life conforming to the eighteenth-century English pattern. So shrewd a man as Franklin considered that the country was completely settled, and the richer classes had become conservative in their outlook on

what they considered to be a properly organized and well-stratified society.

The Southern states give us Poe and Simms. After drifting to the Middle and Southern states, the intellectual activity of the nation in the decades before the Civil War had unquestionably returned to the neighborhood of Boston. The South seemed to be more and more cut off from the main streams of thought that were influencing the rest of the world. The South in this period gave to the nation no great religious thinkers or scientists. When we compare the names

An Address from the Society called *Quakers*, was presented to the House and read, setting forth, that they have, with real Concern, heard that a Company of Stage Players are preparing to erect a Theatre, and exhibit Plays to the Inhabitants of this City, which they conceive, if permitted, will be subversive of the good Order and Morals, which they desire may be preserved in this Government, and therefore pray the House to frame and present to the Governor, for his Assent, a Bill to prohibit such enflaming and irreligious Entertainments.

Ordered to lie on the Table

A PROTEST OF THE QUAKERS OF PHILADELPHIA AGAINST THE APPEARANCE OF
DAVID DOUGLASS AND HIS PLAYERS IN 1759

From the original Journal of the General Assembly, in the Genealogical Society,
Philadelphia.

of its chief writers with those of New England the difference is too obvious to need comment. Its most notable writer, William Gilmore Simms of South Carolina, left behind him eighty-seven volumes, mostly of novels. He has been compared to Cooper but there was more virility in Simms's robust realism than in Cooper's idealizing of the frontier. When, however, we have noted Simms, the now forgotten Paul Hayne, and the minor poet Henry Timrod, both also of South Carolina, we have almost exhausted the contribution of the South. The life of the South was becoming more and more unreal, a romanticism, an insistence upon holding to the past, yet it produced in Simms probably the greatest realist in letters of the period. The North, which was from the Southern point of view all too practical and materialistic, produced almost no realism. Its literature in great part was romantic or transcendental.

One of the writers, universally recognized, was Edgar Allan Poe, a product of the South. He was the most individualistic as well as possibly the greatest of the American romantics, and the greatest artist in pure verbal sound whom we have produced. He was famous not only for his verse but also for his short stories. And probably no American author is considered superior to him by foreign critics.

New York gives us many men of letters. In New York there was an assemblage of talent which was diversified and variegated. Bryant, who was just beginning his career in the period before this, was to live on until 1878, serving for fifty years as editor of *The New York Evening Post*. None of his later work, however, reached the height of the slender volume of poems which he published in 1821 and which included "Thanatopsis" and "To a Waterfowl."

In fiction, James Fenimore Cooper left us a long list of novels. Aside from his literary influence and international reputation, Cooper did much to make America conscious of itself. Writing in a romantic vein, he made the Indian an impossibly noble savage, but in his "Leather Stocking" series he not only drew a long list of characters of both races which typified the American frontier and life, different from anything which had yet appeared in literature, but brought his readers to revel in their own American scenes and life instead of looking for romance in the setting of the European past.

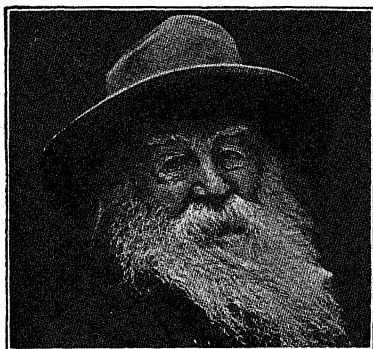
Washington Irving died in 1859, eight years after Cooper. Parts of his *Sketch Book* and *Bracebridge Hall*, chiefly because of their delicate charm, have become American classics, and will probably remain a living part of our literature. With no great depth of either thought or emotion, Irving's work will long outlast most of that of the rest of his fellow New York men of letters with the exception of Herman Melville and Walt Whitman.

Melville, quite misunderstood and largely ignored in his day, has at last come into his own. His finest work, *Moby Dick*, is now recognized as one of the masterpieces of American literature. With the most passionate nature of any of his contemporaries in letters, he reacted more deeply than did any of them against the conditions of American life. Pouring himself into his books, notably *Moby Dick*, he cloaked his thoughts in a romanticism to which most of his contemporaries found no key.

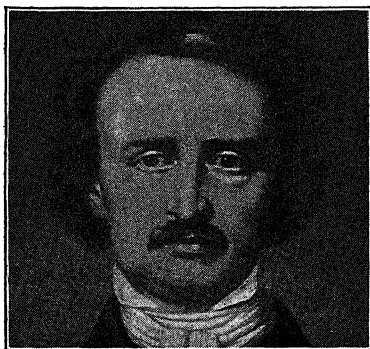
Whitman spans both this period and the next but had published two editions of his *Leaves of Grass* by 1856. He was the most profound believer in the democracy of American life. Choosing as his medium a form of verse which lacked stanzas, rhyme, and sometimes even regular metre, he had, like Melville, to wait his time for recognition. But no one has given better expression to the gusto and faith of tumultuous democracy.

Massachusetts produces a remarkable group of writers. In Boston arose a distinguished group, Ticknor, Prescott, Motley, Palfrey,

Parkman, Hildreth, and Bancroft. Palfrey wrote a *History of New England*. Ticknor's chief contribution is a *History of Spanish Literature*. Prescott wrote gorgeously of the conquests of Mexico and Peru, of the lives of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of Philip II. Motley wrote the *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, *History of the United Netherlands*, and *John of Barneveld*. Bancroft wrote a comprehensive *History of the United States*, as did Hildreth. Greatest of all was Parkman. His



WALT WHITMAN



EDGAR ALLAN POE

magnificent series of volumes, among the most delightful of all American histories to read, dealt almost solely with the duel between England and France for the continent.

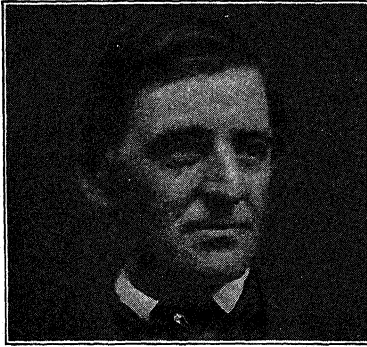
Lowell gave us seven volumes of literary essays in addition to his poems. Whittier, in the four volumes of his poems, wrote on New England life and the sectional conflict over slavery. Holmes, too, wrote on New England themes. The most popular of the poets was Longfellow. Hawthorne wrote many novels. In his classic, *The Scarlet Letter*, he struggled with the problem of sin in the setting of the Puritan colony. Many have regarded him as the greatest American novelist of the century.

Under the leadership of a group of cultured men, of whom perhaps the chief was William Ellery Channing, the old Calvinistic theology, with its stress on the essential vileness of man, gave way to belief in his goodness. By the mid-century the Calvinism of the Bostonian churches had been transformed into Unitarianism, which became the religion, not of the masses, but of Boston society.

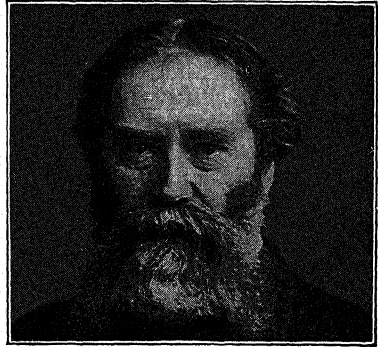
In Concord, Thoreau, whose career extended far into the next period,

but who had published his possibly best-known volume, *Walden*, in 1854, was living a solitary life in his hut on the shore of Walden Pond, a rebel against tax-paying and modern society.

Near him lived Emerson, the most widely known representative of New England, and one of the greatest forces of American idealism. Beginning as a clergyman, he had resigned his pastorate to become a lecturer. Through him passed in full measure the optimism of his period. Almost untroubled by any suspicion of evil in the universe, he



RALPH WALDO EMERSON



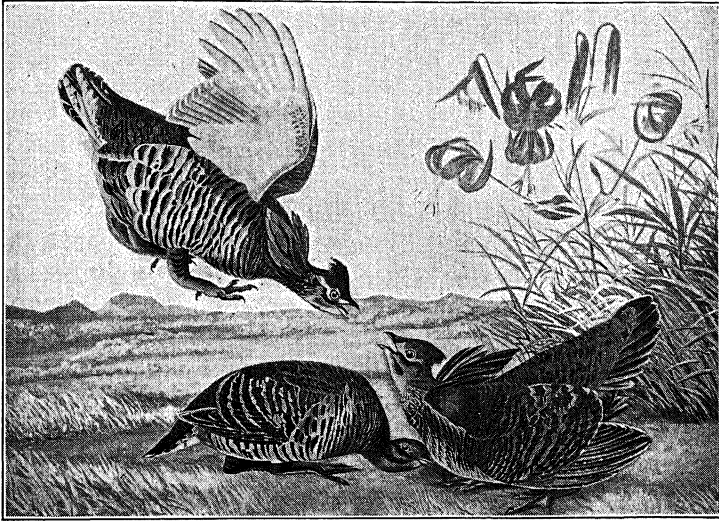
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

preached the highest idealism which has been the heritage of Puritan New England. Stressing both the worth and the unlimited possibilities of the humble individual, his was a trumpet voice calling to each to raise himself to the plane of the noblest. The mass of his writing, as also innumerable detached sentences, stir the young reader to an extraordinary self-reliant endeavor after the nobler things of life.

We do not make great progress in painting, sculpture, and music. In the arts, literature was the only one which was flourishing in these decades. In spite of the founding of the National Academy of Design in New York in 1828, painting, which had seemed to be in its Maytime in America just after the middle of the eighteenth century, had slipped back. Even portrait painting had greatly degenerated, and the invention of the daguerreotype gave a blow to the feeble successors of Peale, Copley, and Stuart. Both painters and sculptors tended more and more to escape to Europe, and the cult of Italy and Germany began. Not a single sculptural work of first-rate

importance was produced in this period, which was mainly concerned with practical matters far remote from the arts.

There was little interest in music, although an Academy of Music had been established in Boston in 1832, where Lowell Mason was doing more than any one else to elevate the American taste. The only music which found its way to the hearts of the people was the accom-



A PICTURE OF ONE OF AUDUBON'S MANY PRINTS

paniment to songs, and the words were even then perhaps the greater attraction.

Stephen C. Foster published in 1850 his "Old Folks at Home," one of the most popular songs of our literature. It is to him that we owe also "My Old Kentucky Home," and other negro melodies.

Grand opera was organized in New York a little before that date. But it was mainly, as it has always to a great extent remained, a high-priced adjunct to society instead of filling the needs of a genuinely music-loving people. In the theatre there had been no advance in the century since 1750, and perhaps a retrograde movement, so far as repertories were concerned. The stage was mainly supported by actors from abroad, though a few Americans, notably the great figures of Edwin Booth and Charlotte Cushman, were becoming internationally celebrated.

We make rapid gains in science. While the public interest in the arts was tending to become sentimental and political, interest in science was tending to become practical. Such men, however, as Benjamin Silliman in geology, J. J. Audubon in ornithology, J. R. Agassiz in zoölogy and geology, Asa Gray in botany, and others, as well as those who were doing exploratory and descriptive work in government departments, were making distinguished contributions to the national culture.

2. *Art, Literature, and Science Since the Civil War*

Our great writers write little on the Civil War. The Civil War has left us a comparatively scant legacy from the men of letters. Thoreau died in 1862, his *Maine Woods* and *Cape Cod* being published after his death in 1864 and 1865. Hawthorne died two years after Thoreau, leaving nothing but one bit of journalism on the war. Longfellow published his *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, and devoted himself to his translation of Dante. Motley, serving as minister to Austria, was writing his *History of the United Netherlands*. Holmes published his novel *Elsie Venner* in 1861, and then was silent except for a few war verses. Melville wrote some war poems, far below the level of his best work. William Dean Howells, having at twenty-three years of age written a campaign life of Lincoln in 1860, had received the post of American consul in Venice and remained there until peace came in 1865. Whittier was touched by war but his war pieces are far from his best. Lowell revived his dialect preaching in a new series of *Biglow Papers*. His *Commemoration Ode* was written after peace came and under the inspiration of the death of Lincoln. Of the leading men of letters, the one who rose to a new height was Whitman in his succession of war poems gathered together in 1865 under the title *Drum Taps*.

Our war literature is written by minor writers. The war literature of the people was mostly the work of minor figures, many of them now little read if even known—Henry H. Brownell, E. C. Stedman, Lucy Larcom, G. H. Boker, and a host of others. Of minor verse, the many songs for the soldiers have lasted longest. Julia Ward Howe's *Battle Hymn of the Republic* has real literary quality, but this never took the popular fancy as did *John Brown's Body*; *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching*; *Marching through Georgia*; *The Battle Cry of Freedom*; or more sentimental songs such as *When This Cruel War Is Over*, and Walter Kittredge's *Tenting on the Old Camp Ground*.

Lincoln delivers a famous address. But of all the written or spoken words brought forth by the war those that will last longest in the heart of the American people were not from men of letters or noted orators but from the simple, self-taught President himself, Abraham Lincoln. Dedicating the national monument on the field of Gettysburg on November 19, 1863, in the midst of struggle, he made the brief speech now carved in marble on his memorial in Washington:

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

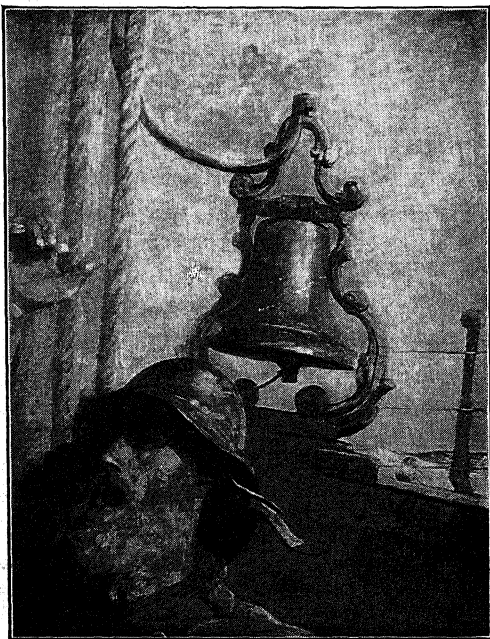
Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that the nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this great nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

The South sings two beautiful songs. Of the war literature of the South, mostly occasional verse, little remains which ranks high as literature. Among the best contributions, perhaps, were Hayne's *Battle of Charleston Harbor*, Timrod's *Ode on the Confederate Dead* (1867), F. O. Ticknor's *Little Giffen of Tennessee*, and Will Thompson's *The High Tide at Gettysburg*. The song, both words and music, which the South made peculiarly its own, *Dixie*, was written in 1859 by a Northerner, Daniel D. Emmett of Ohio, for his troupe of negro minstrels in New York. The words of the fine *Maryland, My Maryland*,

by James R. Randall of Baltimore were, it is true, by a Southerner, but by one in a Union state and in the most northern part of the South.

Our country makes marked progress in the fine arts and in literature. In the fine arts, a period must be considered as no-



"ALL'S WELL"

From a painting by Winslow Homer in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

table in our history which saw the rise of such artists as Winslow Homer, Whistler, John La Farge, Mary Cassatt, Edwin A. Abbey, Joseph Pennell, George Innes, William Morris Hunt, F. D. Millet, Homer Martin, Howard Pyle, Alfred Parsons, Timothy Cole, and Augustus St. Gaudens, many of whom were to continue work to the end of the century and later. There was a strongly marked broadening of American culture, not merely in the small cultivated groups here and there, but on the part of the public at large.

Many more people went to Europe, and brought back with them ideas of what that civilization could offer. Criticism, especially of books and politics, as provided in *The*

Nation under the editorial leadership of Edwin L. Godkin, assumed an importance and achieved a standard that it had never before possessed with us. In 1875 a professorship of fine arts was established at Harvard with the appointment of Charles Eliot Norton. The 1870's also saw the founding of such notable institutions as the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and the Metropolitan Museum in New York, as well as other lesser ones.

Not less hopeful was the change in literature. The position of men of letters was greatly improved by better methods of book distribution, by the rise of such publishing houses as Henry Holt and Company, Charles Scribner's Sons, and E. P. Dutton and Company in New

York, added to the older Harper and Brothers and to the well-established houses in Boston and Philadelphia, and by such opportunities for remuneration as made writing not only a possible career for men without private means but one which might provide them with ample incomes. There grew up a much wider reading public with a greater variety of tastes and interest.

The writers write largely on American subjects. The authors after the Civil War hailed from all parts of the United States, and dealt almost wholly with the American scene. Sarah Orne Jewett and Mary E. Wilkins painted the slowly decaying life of the old New England. From the Middle West came Mark Twain with his *Tom Sawyer*, *Huckleberry Finn*, and *Life on the Mississippi*, John Hay and Will Carleton with their ballads, Edward Eggleston with his *Hoosier Schoolmaster* and *Hoosier School Boy*, and James Whitcomb Riley, the Hoosier poet. Across the Rockies were Bret Harte and Joaquin Miller with their poems of the Western mountains and stories of rough mining camps. In the South were George W. Cable, Miss Murfree (Charles Egbert Craddock), and Thomas Nelson Page, telling of *Old Creole Days*, of life in the Appalachian Mountains, and on the old plantations.

Post-graduate work, leading to the higher degrees, was inaugurated in America at Yale, in 1871. The sphere of studies was greatly enlarged at many of the colleges. The period witnessed the beginning of the influence of a remarkable group of educators in Charles W. Eliot, Daniel Coit Gilman, Andrew D. White, James B. Angell, James McCosh, G. Stanley Hall, and David Starr Jordan.

Our recent literature is rich and varied. American literature in the twentieth century has been rich and varied; in many ways it has been a great departure from the literature preceding it. We have already described the great increase in newspapers and magazines and libraries. Probably in no period of the world's history has there been such an increase. With this great increase naturally there have been factors which have been not altogether commendable with tendencies which have been not meritorious. Be that as it may, America has produced many interesting writers and many interesting books in the twentieth century.

For the first few years of the century, there were a great many romances dealing with incidents in the history of our country. During the past few years, this type of fiction has been less numerous, but there are evidences that this kind of writing may still have a wide vogue. During the World War and afterwards, there was much fiction which

became extremely realistic and to many readers not pleasant. From writers who have been more or less widely read during the past years, one may select a few : Hamlin Garland whose stories had to do with Wisconsin and the Mississippi Valley ; Booth Tarkington and Meredith Nicholson, writing of Indiana ; Ernest Hemingway, and Sinclair Lewis whose *Main Street* became almost an American classic ; Ruth Suckow writing of Iowa ; Willa Cather, an artist of the first order, writing of the farther West ; Louis Bromfield and Mary Ellen Chase of New England ; Edith Wharton, writing of New York and of the South, Ellen Glasgow, James Boyd, Marjorie Rawlings, Thomas Wolfe, and Stark Young.

Not only in America, but also abroad has our achievement in poetry been recognized in such poets as William Vaughn Moody, Josephine Preston Peabody, Sara Teasdale, Carl Sandburg, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Stephen Vincent Benét, Edwin Arlington Robinson, and Robert Frost.

Although we have produced a number of American plays, there is probably no outstanding dramatist who compares with Eugene O'Neill.

As significant as any creative work in literature of recent years is the writing of biography. Some first-class work of this kind has been produced, notably Beveridge's *Life of Marshall* and *Life of Lincoln*; Carl Sandburg's *Life of Lincoln*; Allan Nevins's *Life of Cleveland*; Douglas Southall Freeman's *R. E. Lee*. In this connection there should be mentioned the monumental work, *The Dictionary of American Biography*, probably the outstanding work of such a nature in the present century.

Science shows great development. Although the genius of our people has tended to develop applied rather than pure science, both have made great strides since the War between the States. In the last three decades the Nobel Prize, although coming to America less frequently than to some other countries, has, in a steadily increasing number of cases, been awarded to Americans for work in pure science and not for inventions. Both branches have been stimulated by the establishment of great foundations, such as that founded by the Rockefellers, and also by the research laboratories of such corporations as the General Electric and that of the Duponts among many others. Even business corporations, the immediate aim of which is naturally practical, have come to realize that the advance in business in this age of electricity and chemistry is dependent on the work of the pure scientist whose researches for years may seem to have nothing to do with profits.

We come of age. The age, like all, was full of conflicting currents. If we have to chronicle the doings in New York, for example, of the Goulds and Vanderbilts and Boss Tweeds, we must not forget that

at the same time in the same city, Barnard was reorganizing Columbia, Theodore De Vinne was laying the foundations for the fine art of American printing, the Metropolitan Museum was being established, and many other things were happening in the currents of the most vigorous artistic and intellectual life that city had yet known.

The one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated with the Exposition in Philadelphia, one of the earliest of the World's Fairs. If our own exhibits were in the inventive field of farm machinery, the telephone, the new typewriter, and so on rather than in the arts, the affair nevertheless marked a certain coming of age in our national life. It was a looking forward to new endeavor in many directions instead of backward to the Civil War.

3. *Our Newspapers and Magazines*

The great New York papers are founded. One of the important features of the period was the great change in newspapers. *The Sun* was founded in New York in 1833 and sold for a cent, as did *The Herald*, established by James Gordon Bennett two years later. In 1841 came *The Tribune*, owned by Horace Greeley and edited for a while by Charles A. Dana, who later went to *The Sun*. *The New York Times*, then comparatively unimportant as contrasted with its position to-day, began a decade later, in 1851.

The new press, with greatly increased circulation and edited by men who were national figures, soon acquired widespread prestige and influence. Throughout the country men asked eagerly, not what does *The Sun* or *Tribune* say, but what does Dana or Greeley think? The editorial was a political factor of much weight, and, while news-gathering was immensely improved, the leading function of the greater papers was still that of expressing opinion.

In the better papers the news itself was more serious and more soberly presented than to-day, although Bennett had started "yellow journalism" and sensationalism in *The Herald* and was to be followed by Pulitzer and Hearst later. Until about 1890 there were no flaring headlines, and there was no impression of excitement.

The magazines at first do not follow the methods of newspapers. The several fields of journalism were kept more separate than now. In such magazines as *The Atlantic Monthly*, *North American Review*, *Century*, *Harpers*, and *Scribner's*, we find the best fiction of that time, essays, articles on travel, foreign affairs, the various

arts, together with the finest illustrating America has seen. Current problems were largely absent. The magazines were not forums for debate but rather means of escape for those who wanted to forget problems and refresh themselves with art and literature. They were wholly distinct from newspapers.

The newspapers seek huge circulations. By the end of the century two things had happened. One was that running a newspaper had become a much more costly enterprise than it had been some decades earlier. The other was that the development of big business brought with it an immense increase in advertising both local and national. Newspapers could no longer be run on the income from their circulations alone but they could make immense sums from advertising. The rates charged, however, rose as the circulations rose. The race for the modern huge circulations began. To get more readers the paper had to appeal to their taste. When they wanted 50,000 readers who were not interested in what was being printed, they had to find new topics which might interest them.

On the one hand the editorial tended to disappear as the expression of strong opinion. The editor could no longer afford to risk offending either the advertiser or the reader. On the other hand, the news columns became filled with new topics—sport, scandals, murders, anything which was sensational and would sell the paper. It is hard to say how much the change in contents reflected changes in the interests of any group of Americans and how much it reflected those of new reading groups. In some cases the papers themselves created new interests. Until about 1890 the stock-market reports, even in panics, were hidden away in fine print on back sheets. Then a paper tried to make a front-page story that would be exciting. It apparently succeeded, and after that “the market” was played up for excitement, with enormous effects on the country.

The magazines, too, seek large circulations. The magazines followed the newspapers. They too wanted advertising and big profits. The way was shown soon after 1900 by S. S. McClure, who started popular magazines on popular topics. At the moment the most popular topic was the fight on the trusts. The sales of the magazines which had “muck-raking” articles were amazing. Magazines which had dealt with art and literature suddenly turned to articles on the problems of the moment. By 1927 newspapers were getting \$800,000,000 a year from advertising and magazines \$200,000,000.

The change, particularly in magazines, had both its good and bad

sides. People have learned to take a much greater and more intelligent interest in current affairs. Economics and social science, problems of all sorts, are discussed by groups that would have paid no attention to them a couple of generations ago. On the other hand, the steady influence of a background of culture and of a knowledge of what has been done and thought in the past has been largely lost. We have lost our standards for measuring many of the very things we discuss.

America now abounds in magazines, but it is mainly those which cater to a wide and popular taste which pay. By advertising they can carry the increased cost of production. The magazines which deal with art, literature, foreign affairs, or even current American affairs in a thoughtful way have often to be supported by private funds. This is true also of those which attack the present order of the business man. A few magazines are exceptions, although even those feel free to attack some things and not others.

Our reading public has changed its taste. The chief difference in interest between the reading public of to-day and fifty years ago would appear to be that the present public has a much wider interest in the present but a far narrower cultural background than the older one. It is less willing to think hard, and requires easier reading and more excitement in style. On the other hand, we must remember that the magazine readers of the 1880's were rather a selected group, whereas the modern magazine appeals to many groups in a larger public.

4. The Pageant of America as Illustrated by Architecture

Our early colonial architecture is European. No other art follows the changes in American life and outlook more closely than architecture. Beginning with its roots deep in our European past, it gradually has developed into something so distinctly American as to exist nowhere else save as an importation from our country.

Our real colonial architecture, not that which many people now call "colonial," was European and largely medieval. Of course, as on every frontier of our own, there came first the rudest of shelters, such as the sod huts and log huts. Along the Atlantic seaboard, however, as soon as the settlers could build substantial houses they built in the styles to which they had been accustomed. In New England we get examples, such as the "House of the Seven Gables," which with their overhanging eaves and carved beam ends were derived straight

from the modest homes of medieval England. The Dutch in New York built in the Dutch style, the Swedes on the Delaware in that of Sweden. The Germans and Welsh in Pennsylvania followed the types of their home countries. Local conditions, such as climate and available building materials, modified the older types somewhat.

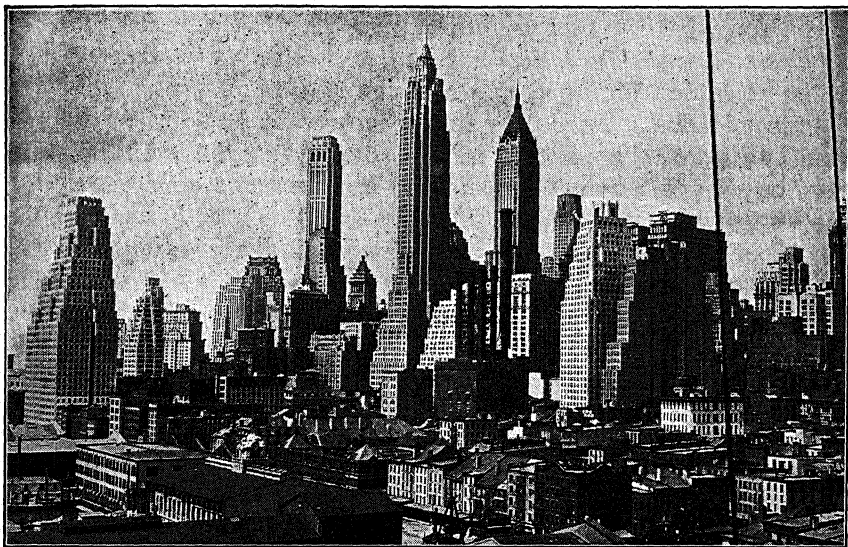
We introduce the "colonial" style of architecture. In the earlier eighteenth century, wealth had accumulated and its owners demanded more dignified houses. The earlier style had been used in the old countries by the simpler people. The new style in England, called Georgian, gave Americans what they wanted, and Georgian houses sprang up all the way from New England to South Carolina. It is this style which is now most commonly called "colonial."

Our public buildings use architecture of Greece, Rome, and Egypt. At the time of the Revolution and the forming of the new nation, the leaders had followed closely classical examples. The young nation felt the need of a distinctive expression, especially for its public buildings, and naturally turned to Greece and Rome. The classical style, soon to be common again in Europe, was first revived in America. The mental ferment of the 1830's and 1840's, with its spread of ideas from all parts of the world, was represented in building by all sorts of experiments. Gothic was tried, and then for a while, in buildings and in place names, Egypt left its traces all over our land.

We give to the world the skyscraper. It was only about a half century later, when the war with Spain had left us a world power and we were feeling our independence of Europe, that various circumstances, such as the inventions of the elevator and of steel frames for building, opened the way for the daring and solely American construction of the "skyscraper." The earliest was about 20 stories, one of the latest, the Empire State, 101 stories. Its evolution has been similar to that of the old "horseless carriage" into the modern streamline automobile. At first architects could not get away from treating the new monster as a sort of super-building of the old type. Absurd cornices to throw off rain-drip were placed thirty stories up in the air. Old styles, such as Gothic in the Woolworth building, were used. Then came the "packing box" type in which we abandoned old styles for no style. Slowly a new and definite type evolved.

There has been great advance in both the architecture and the decoration of our public buildings of older types. Our domestic architecture, particularly country and suburban, is now of the best in the world. Our more notable railway stations, which surpass in grandeur

and beauty any other great public buildings for purely business and practical purposes since the days of Rome, are also typically American; but the genuine symbol of America architecturally remains the skyscraper. In its vastness, its soaring daring, its communal life, its sense of easy mastery over material, its early uncouth and stupendous bulk,



Photograph © P. L. Sperr

THE SKYLINE OF LOWER NEW YORK—A CONSTANTLY CHANGING VIEW

In the foreground are seen some of the quaint old houses of an earlier age.

forming itself at length into a thing of beauty, it has been typical of American life, a life which has thrown off dependence upon Europe and is building a civilization of its own.

5. A Richer Cultural and Intellectual Life

The machine makes for leisure time. The machine, which should have released mankind from much of the drudgery of daily toil, has not yet done so to the extent possible because its profit, counted in leisure hours as well as money, has been enjoyed by too few individuals instead of being distributed throughout society. This has been only partly due to selfishness. It has also been due to our inability to solve the problems which have gradually arisen in connection with the

Industrial Revolution and which were not fully realized until a system developed which caught selfish and unselfish alike in its difficulties and complexities.

Much, however, has already been accomplished. The increase of leisure time comes in three principal ways. The abolition of child labor releases many years at the beginning of life for study and healthy play. Fewer working hours per day during the working years of life increase the worker's time for other occupations outside of working hours. Lastly, an earlier retiring age gives leisure at the end of life.

We have already gone a long way from a century ago when children could be worked thirteen hours a day six days in the week and as a favor be allowed Sundays for school. The 5,000,000 children in high school are ample proof of that. We have also gone a long way from the time when Massachusetts mill owners could claim that a ten-hour day could not be reduced as "the morals of the operatives will necessarily suffer if longer absent from the wholesome discipline of factory life, leaving them thus to their will and liberty without a warrant that this spare time will be well employed."

The reduction to eight hours has now become fairly general, and six hours is the rule in some industries. We may also note the great increase in leisure for women, which has come partly from all kinds of labor-saving devices in the home, and partly from the change in cities from the old detached house to the new apartment house, in which a few rooms without stairs are all that have to be cared for.

Benefits to society depend on how leisure time is spent. In the society of the future there will undoubtedly be greater leisure for all. The benefit to society and to the individual will depend upon how the leisure time is spent. There may be no gain and actual loss, for example, in giving the child and youth leisure time up to eighteen or twenty to acquire an education at great cost to society, if he idles his time away and makes no use of his opportunity. So with the use of leisure in mature years. With the passing to a great extent of the old individualism, it will be necessary to develop the social sense. On the old frontier, where society provided nothing for the individual, neither schools, hospitals, roads, museums, libraries, unemployment benefits, old-age pensions, or any of the social benefits, he might claim the right to be as lazy and shiftless as he chose and contribute nothing to society in return for nothing.

The society of the future will probably be very different. In a society which provides for the individual, at its own cost, the individual will

owe heavy obligations to it. No man will be able to live to himself alone, whether rich or poor. As he will enjoy the social opportunities and benefits created by the joint work of all, he will owe corresponding duties to all.

Leisure affords many opportunities. In itself leisure does not mean a richer or better cultural life. It simply affords the opportunity for that kind of life. It is like money which may be spent as one likes, wisely or foolishly. If the long lines of people waiting to get into the worst of the movies, if the littered parks after a holiday, if the roads crowded on Sundays with speeding automobiles, render us doubtful at times as to the value of either leisure or popular education, on the other hand, the crowded reading rooms of libraries, the attendance at popular concerts, the new love of many for hiking and the country, and other counter-items leave hope for the future. When Jackson was elected President, the new democracy of the West stormed the White House, stood on the satin furniture in muddy boots, and so conducted itself that the President had to be rescued through a side window. To-day no group of Americans would do what the raw and unruly people did then.

Our increasing number of state and national parks, the free cultural opportunities of all sorts in our cities, our scale of living and means of rapid transportation combined with leisure offer our people as great an opportunity for a rich and happy cultural life as has ever been offered to any. As in every other problem connected with democracy, everything depends on the people themselves.

Our Federal Government aids its citizens in the right use of leisure time. The United States Government early saw the significance of the leisure time that has been made possible by the use of the machine, by the abolition of child labor, by the reduction of the number of working hours for laborers, and by an earlier retiring age. Our Federal Government was also conscious of the fact that since 1929 there has been much enforced idleness throughout the nation. Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt turned their attention to this and took active steps to make it possible for men and women to find some profitable way to spend their time until they could secure employment.

Our Presidents have had the support of the educators of our country who for years have given their attention to the question of the right use of leisure time. In fact they have set forth that one of the chief aims of education is the disposition and ability to use leisure time in the right way. To this end, they have remade their courses of study.

In order to help the people in the right use of leisure time, our Federal Government—and our state and local governments also—have taken on a renewed interest in education. They have aided in the establishment of various kinds of schools not only for young people just out of high school or college but for adults. Night schools and continuation schools, offering professional and commercial subjects, have been established for the latter. NYA colleges have been set up in which college courses are given to students who are high-school graduates and who are unable to go on to college. CCC camps give courses in education, as well as offer jobs, to young men. Nor has our government overlooked the farmers and the farm laborers. Agricultural extension work and agricultural courses have been brought to them by lecturers sent out from various agricultural colleges. Bulletins, pamphlets, and circulars, sent to them by the government, have helped them materially in their farm work.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Blankenship, *American Literature*; Boynton, *Some Contemporary Americans*; Coffin, *American Masters of Painting*; Crawford, *Little Pilgrimages among Old New England Inns*; Edgell, *The American Architecture of To-day*; Elson, *The National Music of America and Its Sources*; Faris, *Historic Shrines of America*; Haney, *The Story of Our Literature*; Harland, *Some Colonial Homesteads and Their Stories*; Lahee, *Annals of Music in America*; Leisy, *American Literature: An Interpretative Survey*; Pattee, *The New American Literature*; Perry, *The American Spirit in Literature*; Sale, *Manors of Virginia in Colonial Times*; Taft, *History of American Sculpture*; Tallmadge, *The Story of Architecture in America*; Untermeyer, *American Poetry since 1900*; Van Dyke, *American Painting*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Hart, *Contemporaries*, V, no. 158; Long, *Outlines of American Literature with Readings*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Gale, *Birth*; Geller, *Famous Songs and Their Stories*; Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*; Lewis, *Main Street*; Lovelace, *The Charming Sally*; Nicholson, *Valley of Democracy*; Suckow, *Iowa Interiors*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. For what is Cotton Mather noted? 2. Why is Jonathan Edwards our greatest theologian? 3. For what do we remember Benjamin Franklin? 4. What noted scientists did the colonists produce? 5. For what are the two Southern writers, Simms and Poe, noted? 6. What noted men of letters did New York produce? 7. What remarkable group of writers did

Massachusetts produce? 8. For what is Emerson noted? 9. Why did our country make such little progress in painting, sculpture, and music? 10. What progress did we make in science? 11. What are some of the famous songs of the Civil War period? 12. What is the substance of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address? 13. What progress did our country make in the fine arts and in literature after the Civil War? 14. Why have the writers since the Civil War written largely on American themes? 15. Describe the founding of the great New York papers. 16. What changes took place in the newspapers and the magazines when they began to seek large circulations? 17. How does our reading public to-day differ from that of a half century ago? 18. Show that our early colonial architecture was European. 19. What is the "colonial" style of architecture? 20. How do you explain our use of the Grecian, Roman, and Egyptian forms of architecture? 21. How did it come about that we gave to the world the skyscraper? 22. How does the machine make for leisure time? 23. In what three principal ways is leisure time brought about? 24. Why will there be much leisure time in the society of the future? 25. Why will our future offer a rich cultural life?

IV. *EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES*

1. **IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW:** Writings of Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards, and Benjamin Franklin, the establishment of our early newspapers, the writings of Simms and Poe, the works of the New York and the Massachusetts men of letters, the work of our scientists, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, the songs of the Civil War, our advance in the fine arts and in literature, the establishment of the New York papers, change in the character of newspapers and magazines as a result of large circulations, our advancement in architecture, how the machine creates leisure time, the right use of leisure time.

2. **PROJECT:** Beginning with our colonial period and coming down to the present time, make a list of our great writers. Write a brief biography of each. If possible collect pictures of your writers and make the whole into a booklet to become the property of your school library at the close of the school year. Your teacher may make this a class project if it is thought desirable.

3. **PROBLEM:** Why is Lincoln's Gettysburg Address considered one of the classics of the English language?

4. **DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED:** That newspapers and magazines have had more influence on American life than any other agency.

5. **ESSAY SUBJECT:** The relation of the machine to leisure time.

6. **IMAGINARY LETTER:** Imagine that you were editor of one of our large daily newspapers in 1890. The business manager of your firm decided to

increase the circulation of the paper. Write a letter to a friend explaining how the increased circulation compelled you to alter your editorial policy.

7. DIARY: You were employed as assistant editor on one of our large magazines in 1900. The editor of the magazine was changing the publication from one of art and literature to one devoted to the popular topics of the day. You took issue with him on this question and urged him not to change the editorial policy of the magazine. You kept notes on your position. Read your notes to the class.

8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards, Benjamin Franklin, Peter Zenger, Simms, Poe, Bryant, Cooper, Whitman, Parkman, Lowell, Holmes, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Channing, Thoreau, Emerson, Audubon, Agassiz, Howells, Mark Twain, George W. Cable, Bret Harte, James Gordon Bennett, Charles A. Dana, Thomas Nelson Page, James Whitcomb Riley.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1704, 1828, 1833, 1890, 1900.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Transcendental, romanticism, Unitarianism, sentimental fiction, "yellow journalism," "the market," "muck-raking," Georgian houses, "horseless carriage."

11. MAP WORK: Give a map talk pointing out the state or section of our country to which each of the literary men mentioned in 8 above belonged and state briefly for what each was noted.

12. GRAPH WORK: *a.* By means of a circular graph show the amount of money our newspapers and magazines were receiving yearly for advertising by 1927. *b.* Show in some graphic way the effect of the machine on leisure time.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. COLONIAL SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS: Bogart, *Economic History*, Part I; Channing, *United States*, II, chs. 13, 15-17; Franklin, *Autobiography*; Lodge, *English Colonies*, chs. 2, 4, 6, 8; Tyler, *American Literature*.

2. COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE: Andrews, *Colonial Folkways*, ch. 3; Faris, *When America Was Young*, ch. 2; Kimball, *American Architecture*, 17-60; Tallmadge, *The Story of Architecture in America*, ch. 2; Wertenbaker, *The First Americans*, ch. 12.

3. OUR CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT: Boynton, *History of American Literature*, chs. 23-28; Hamlin, *American Spirit in Architecture*, chs. 10-16; Perry, *The American Spirit in Literature*, ch. 10; Weigle, *American Idealism*, chs. 7-10; Williams, *American Spirit in Letters*, chs. 9-11.

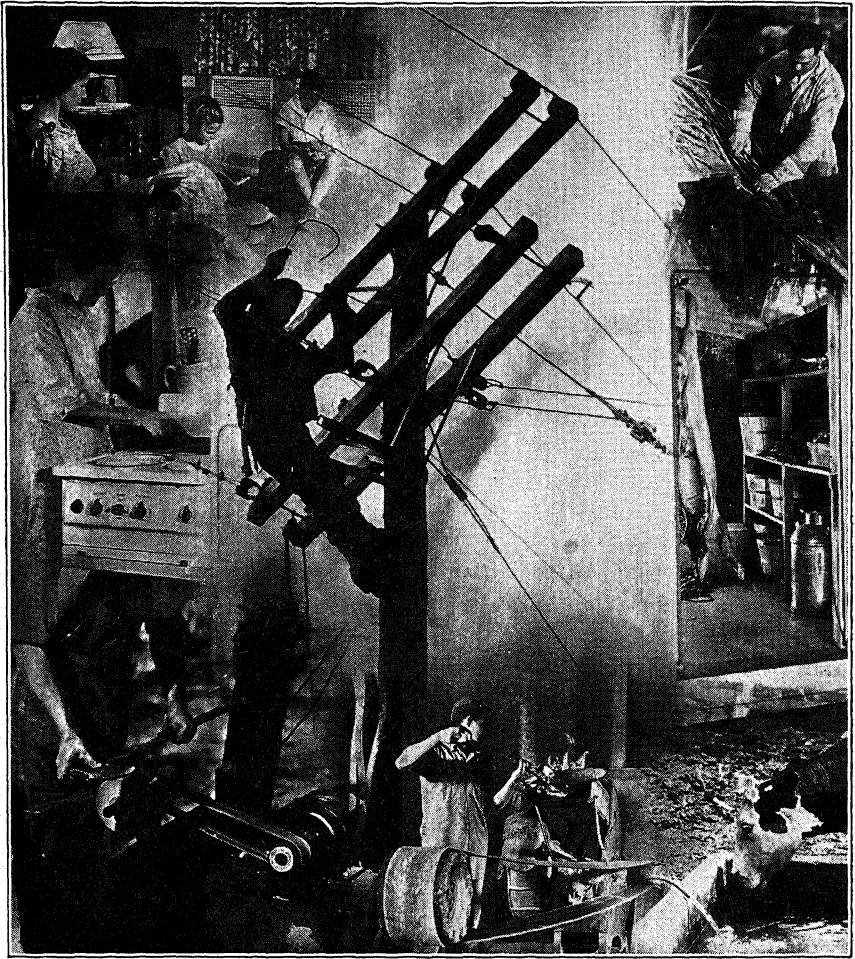
4. OUR PLACE IN ART AND LITERATURE: Elson, *American Music*; Isham, *American Painting*, chs. 16-28; Taft, *American Sculpture*, Part III; Wendell, *Literary History of America*, 514-530; Woodberry, *America in Literature*, 205-253.

UNIT X

UNIT X deals primarily with our social life. It tells the story of how our people have lived from colonial times to the present. You will see the difference in the lives of our forefathers of the Southern colonies, of the Middle colonies, and of the New England colonies. The unit sets forth for you the settled life of our people of the seaboard states in 1800 and compares and contrasts with it the life of the frontier of that period.

You will see that at mid-century our people were filled with self-confidence and optimism. You will read of the prosperity of our country at that period and of the forces and factors that were affecting our people. Just beyond the mid-century comes the War between the States and you see how the people of the North and the South lived in war times and, more, you will see how the Brothers' War touched in many ways the lives of the people. You will see, too, how the war raised many social, economic, and constitutional questions.

The unit will set forth also the story of our late immigration and how great inventions have changed our mode of living; how we have secured our high standard of living; and how we have striven for security and a better life.



Courtesy of the Resettlement Administration

THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF ELECTRICITY HAS BEEN ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS IN RAISING OUR STANDARD OF LIVING. IT HAS ADDED COMFORTS TO OUR HOMES AND, BY ITS USE IN LABOR-SAVING DEVICES, HAS GIVEN US MORE LEISURE TIME IN WHICH TO ENJOY LIFE

UNIT X

HOW PEOPLE HAVE LIVED IN THE UNITED STATES

TOPIC I

LIFE IN COLONIAL DAYS

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To set forth the life of the colonists in the South, in the Middle colonies, and in New England.
2. To understand the significance of the sectional differences in colonial days.

1. *Life in the South*

The South is a land of large and small planters. While there was much diversity among the thirteen colonies, they fall easily into three fairly distinct groups—Southern, Middle, and New England. It was in the tidewater and older sections that the differences between colonies and between groups were most noticeable. Back of all, from Maine to Georgia, ran the frontier where conditions were comparatively uniform, as were also the attitudes of the frontiersmen toward the wealthier residents of the old settlements.

The Southern group, which included the oldest colony, Virginia, extended from Georgia to Maryland. It was not a region only of big plantations. There were many small planters who tilled the land themselves without any slaves or with only two or three. But as we shall see, life had been getting harder for these poorer people, and many of them had gone to the frontier. The rest had gained wealth by securing large estates in land and ample slave power with which to work them.

The Southern gentleman has close social and business ties with England. Slavery was recognized by law and practised in every one of the colonies. But it was profitable on a large scale only in the South, with its milder climate and its simple, undiversified agriculture. In Maryland, great landowners like the Carrolls, who had one grant of 60,000 acres, and the Dulany, also with large grants, had made fortunes by settling German immigrants on their properties as tenant

farmers. But for the most part the important families, socially and economically, were the owners of large plantations for tobacco or rice. They lived on them in a sort of patriarchal life with their troops of blacks. The only town larger than a village was Charleston, which by 1750 may have had a population of 9000.

The life of the Southern gentleman was much like that of well-to-do squires in the counties of old England, modified by climate and slavery. His ties with the old country were close. London merchants bought his staple crop once a year, looked after his money or debts, and shipped over his clothes, silver, books, and mahogany. His sons frequently went to England to study at the universities or master law in the Temple, and to get their social training in London, Tunbridge Wells, or other centers of fashionable society, as depicted by Thackeray in *The Virginians*.

The Southern and Northern colonies differ. Men are moulded by different forms of social and economic life. As these came to vary in the different sections, the ideals of each became different from the others. The aristocrat has been the product of generations. He has been in a position to rule others, and has learned the habits and responsibilities of such rule. From wealth and leisure he has developed the art of manners and social life. From possessing an assured social position, he has acquired independence of public opinion.

The man who has a notable estate on which his family has been living for generations, who devotes his time to hunting, social life, and governing, develops a different set of qualities and ideals from one who may be just as wealthy and educated, but who lives a town life and is constantly preoccupied with the making of money from trade in severe competition with others.

A rich Southerner, like the second William Byrd of Westover, for example, with his 180,000 acres, living on his large and well-known estate; with a public recognition that came quite as much from his family and place as from his own efforts, having little to do with trade himself and not understanding it very well; responsible for ruling and looking after his numerous slaves; regarding himself from boyhood as belonging to a superior race; devoting himself to sport and cultivating a social life of great charm, often too heedless as to expenditure and his scale of easy living—this man began to develop the aristocratic qualities. The entailing of the larger estates upon the oldest son also helped to build up the types and ideals of an aristocratic life.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the ideals of the South

with its great plantation economy and of the North with its rising mercantile interests had begun to draw the two sections apart.

2. *New England Life*

New England is a country of small farms. Crossing into the Puritan colonies, we should at once have sensed a great difference, as all travellers of the day did. Boston was a town of 15,000 and Newport about half as large. But for the most part New England was a land of small farms closely grouped in villages about the church. There were a neatness and a thriftiness lacking farther south, and the village greens and the landscape with its elms and meadows and hedgerows could almost be mistaken for a bit of old England.

As in the Middle colonies, wealth came chiefly from manufacturing or shipping. But the sturdy farmer, of pure English descent, having his say in town meeting or as church member, counted for more in the scene than he did in New York or in Pennsylvania. As each New England town had been settled, its inhabitants had been allotted lands in fee simple, that is, full ownership. With no fresh immigration for many generations and no alien stocks, a native yeomanry had grown up with a remarkable degree of tenacity and independence.

In a hundred and forty years, the stony ground, the cruel climate, the profound preoccupation with religious problems according to Calvin had "set" the New England character. There was still a certain strength of beliefs and a grim determination in New England that were not to be found in money-making New York, or among the Quakers or German Pietists of Pennsylvania, or among the easy-going Southerners. New England was a land apart, and desired to remain so. It was in a sense the Scotland of America.

New England's wealth is based on trade. The original immigrants who settled all the colonies were from much the same social grades in England whether they had settled North or South. Everywhere there had been a sprinkling of "gentlemen," as the term was then understood, among the great mass of farmers, artisans, and others. But practically without exception the whole of the colonial population had sprung from the laboring and the middle classes, upper and lower, scarcely a single titled aristocrat and only a comparatively few "younger sons" having made their homes over here. The origin, for example, of such Virginia families as the Beverleys, Byrds, and Carters had been merely good middle-class in Europe, as had been that of the

French families in South Carolina or Dutch families in New York which were to become notable.

In New England, with fortunes made or lost in trade, there was little or no tendency to modify middle-class ideals. Business dynasties are usually brief. The richest man in New England, for example, John Hancock, inherited a fortune made by his uncle and lost it himself. In both Northern and Middle colonies, the period was notable for the constant rise of new men to financial eminence. The money of the upper social class of New England was based on trade, and, as ever in history, there was a vast difference in outlook between the agrarian and commercial groups.

The New Englanders and the Southerners dislike each other. The New Englander handled his business affairs shrewdly and well, far better than the Southerner. He took both his intellectual and his religious life more seriously, and just as his class in England disliked the aristocracy there, so the New Englanders disliked the very mild aristocracy which had begun to develop in the South. On the other hand, the Southerner looked down upon and disliked the New Englander. He regarded him much as an old Tory hunting county squire in the old country would have regarded a tradesman or a London merchant. The beginnings had already been made for the most disastrous sectional cleavages in our history, to be steadily widened for nearly a century following.

There is little social intercourse between the colonies. Although the first American guide book had been published in 1732, travel between the colonies was difficult. This helped to maintain the differences between them and to foster local peculiarities. In 1754 a combined stage and boat line was advertised to run twice a week between Philadelphia and New York, and a few other lines were started in the next decade. But the roads were bad, as were most inns, and the traveler had to rely almost solely on his own private carriage or even more on riding horseback.

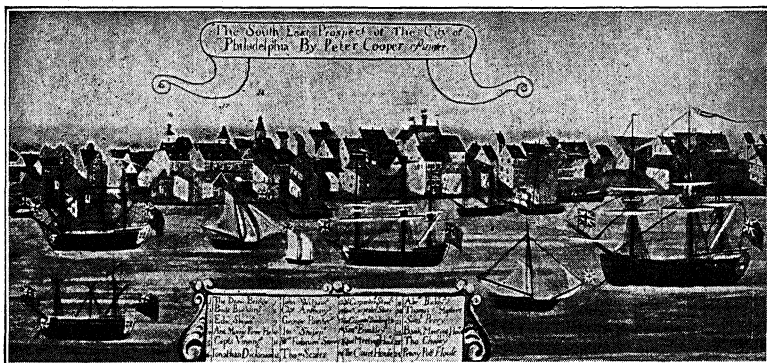
New England merchants carried on some commerce by boat with the Southern colonies, but there was extremely little social intercourse between the sections. A Carroll of Maryland might go to old England, but it was as unthinkable that he would go to New England for pleasure as it was that a John Adams would tour Virginia or the Carolinas.

3. Life in the Middle Colonies

Philadelphia is interested in trade and commerce. In the Middle colonies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, we

find quite different ways and occupations. In the first, the mixed population of Quaker English, Germans, Welsh, and Scotch had modest farms or were acquiring wealth in manufacturing, such as breweries and iron works, or in trade. Philadelphia was the largest city on the continent and a bustling place of over 20,000 people, of whom so many were Germans that the street signs were painted in the two languages. Money and social position there belonged rather to the city merchant or manufacturer than to the planter as in the South.

The rich merchants and landed aristocrats control affairs in New York. New York was the second largest city, having just



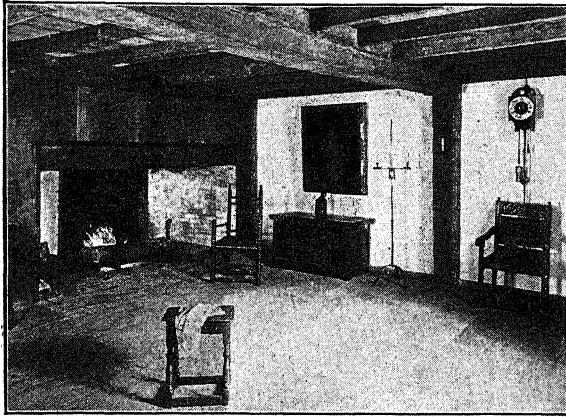
PHILADELPHIA IN 1718

From the contemporary painting by Peter Cooper, courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

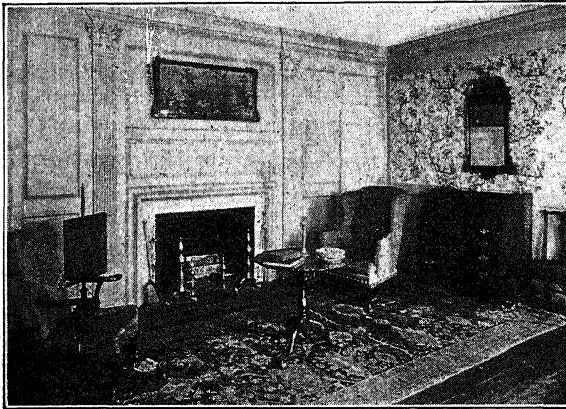
outdistanced Boston, and was a cosmopolitan town chiefly interested in commerce. Many New York families had acquired huge grants of land up the Hudson and elsewhere that gave them social distinction. They had developed, however, no such plantation life as in Virginia southward, and had been too grasping as landlords to succeed in planting tenant farmers as had Maryland.

The great manorial families in New York, nevertheless, were extremely influential in the government and in controlling the distribution of offices. Seven townships belonged to the Livingstons; the Beekmans and Schuylers owned most of Dutchess County; the Philipses and Heathcotes, six manors in Westchester; and the Van Rensselaers nearly 700 square miles near Albany. Lord Cornbury, as governor, had made one single grant of 2,000,000 acres, and it was chiefly out of such favoritism that had come the old New York "aristocracy."

Besides the landed proprietors, including the old Dutch "patroons" along the river, there was also growing up a class of rich merchants.



WEST BOXFORD, MASSACHUSETTS, CIRCA 1675-1704



THE JAFFREY HOUSE, PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE, CIRCA 1750

Two early American interiors from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

whose power and influence increased with their wealth. These were especially numerous and rich, of course, in the city of New York itself, whose commerce vied with that of its greater competitor, Philadelphia. Travelers in the colonies in 1750 would have discovered that, as compared with their fathers' times, wealth and the scale of living had greatly increased.

The richer colonists build fine homes. In all the colonies they would have found their richer friends living in beautifully designed houses of the Georgian type. The earlier architecture of the first few generations was derived largely from the mediæval in Europe, but there had been much variety in the styles introduced by Eng-

lish, Dutch, Swedes, Welsh, Germans, and others. But these pleasant differences tended to disappear after about 1720. Foreign strains in America have always been quickly absorbed into the prevailing English, and

the new mansion of a rich German, Dutch, or Welshman came to be built uniformly in the Georgian which spread up and down the whole coast.

The change of style from the earlier period correctly interpreted a change in colonial conditions. The frontier had come to be far off from the older settlements. Life in the latter was as safe, stable, and almost as conventional as in any county of England. Wealth had accumulated and its possessors desired a dignified setting in which to display it and to conduct their social life. For this, both the architecture of the Georgian house and its furnishing were admirably adapted. They were at once dignified and homelike.

The two interiors preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, one of 1690 and the other of 1750, mark vividly the change that two generations had brought. The beamed ceiling had given place to plaster, often in the larger houses of exquisite design in decoration; the rough boarding of the wall had become beautiful panelling, painted white or covered with paper imported from England; the bare floor had been covered with oriental rugs; the oak chairs with wooden or rush seats had been replaced by mahogany upholstered in satin or brocade. As we study the furniture or the rooms of this period, happily preserved in many places besides the Boston and Metropolitan museums, we are struck by their perfect taste, their dignity, and sense of peace.

In New England, although the mansions were often as spacious as in the South, there was a certain compactness about them which befitted the long hard winters, and the town dwelling. In the South they were often in three sections, a large central portion and two smaller ones on either side, sometimes connected with the main portion and sometimes not. None of them would have been "great houses" in the English sense. But all, North and South, were roomy and comfortable, and often of exquisite proportions and of daintier craftsmanship in their decorative carving than those in England.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Andrews, *Colonial Folkways*; Bidwell and Falcower, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States*, 1-144; Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, ch. 4; Channing, *History of the United States*, II, chs. 5-9; Clark, *History of Manufacturers in the United States*, 1607-1860, chs. 1-10; Earle, *Colonial Dames and Good Wives*; Earle, *Curious Punishments of Bygone Days*; Earle, *Customs and Fashions in Old New England*; Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days*; Earle, *Stage-Coach and Tavern Days*; Earle, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*;

Hamlin, *The American Spirit in Architecture*, chs. 3-8; Holliday, *Woman's Life in Colonial Days*; Ingram, *History of Slavery and Serfdom*, ch. 6; Johnson, *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States*, I, chs. 1-8; Lyman, *The Beginnings of Agriculture in the United States*; Rawson, *When Antiques Were Young*; Sanford, *The Story of Agriculture*, chs. 1-8; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, chs. 4-5; Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860*, chs. 1-3; Wertenbaker, *The First Americans*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Bogart and Thompson, *Readings in Economic History of the United States*, 69-96; Callender, *Selections from the Economic History of the United States*, 29-44; Carmen, *Social and Economic History of the United States*, I, ch. 2; Cornelison, *The Relation of Religion to Civil Government in the United States of America*, 1-188; Faris, *When America Was Young*; Hart, *Contemporaries*, II, chs. 12-13; Jameson, *Privateers and Piracy in the Colonial Period*; MacDonald, *Select Charters*, nos. 22-23, 34, 50; Nevins, *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers*; *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 93, 143, 177, 185; Smith, *A Tour in the United States of America*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Barr, *Black Shilling*; Burnaby, *Travels*; Franklin, *Autobiography*; Goodwin, *White Aprons*; Hough, *The Mississippi Bubble*; Longfellow, *Giles Corey*; Meyers, *Young Patroon*; Paulding, *Dutchman's Fireside*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, Part I, 36-98; Whittier, *Mabel Martin*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why was the South a land of both large and small planters? 2. Why did the colonists of the South have close social and business ties with England? 3. How did the Southern and the Northern colonists differ in their social and economic life? 4. How do you account for the marked independence of the New England colonists? 5. Why did the colonists of New England and the South dislike each other? 6. What were the occupations of the people of the Middle colonies? 7. Discuss the homes of the richer colonists.

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Plantation life in the South, the South's business relations with England, New England's trade and commerce, the occupations of the Middle colonies.

2. PROJECT: Make a thorough study of colonial life and compare it with American life as you know it to-day.

3. PROBLEM: How do you account for the vast differences in the life of the Southern colonists and those of New England?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That life in colonial days was freer and better than life to-day.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: Life in the Middle colonies.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you lived on a Southern plantation in colonial days. Write a letter to your cousin in New England describing your daily life.
7. DIARY: You lived on a small farm in the New England hills. You kept a diary of your life and the happenings of your neighborhood. Read your diary to the class.
8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: William Byrd, John Hancock, Dulany, Livingston, Schuyler, Van Rensselaer.
9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1732, 1754.
10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Patriarchal life, Temple, plantation economy, entailing of estates, lands in fee simple, German Pietists, "gentlemen," "younger sons," old Tory hunting county squire, old New York "aristocracy," Dutch "patroons."
11. MAP WORK: *a.* On an outline map shade in the Southern, Middle, and New England colonies. *b.* In a map talk show how topography, climate, and soil caused the colonists of the South, of the Middle colonies, and of New England to lead different economic and social lives.
12. GRAPH WORK: In some graphic way show the difference in the lives of the colonists of the Southern colonies, of the Middle colonies, and of the New England colonies.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. SOCIAL LIFE IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES: Adams, *Provincial Society*, ch. 8; Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, II, ch. 14; Hart, *Contemporaries*, I, no. 87; II, no. 82; Page, *The Old Dominion*, ch. 3; Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest*, ch. 2.
2. SOCIAL LIFE IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES: Fisher, *The Quaker Colonies*, ch. 3; Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, II, ch. 15; Goodwin, *Dutch and English on the Hudson*, ch. 6; Hart, *Contemporaries*, I, no. 172; II, nos. 28, 32; Smith, *Colonial Days and Ways*, chs. 11-12.
3. SOCIAL LIFE IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND: Andrews, *The Fathers of New England*, ch. 4; Crawford, *Romantic Days in the Early Republic*, ch. 8; Crawford, *Social Life in Old New England*, ch. 6; Hart, *Contemporaries*, II, no. 23; Nevins, *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers*, 45-49.
4. THE SPORTS OF THE COLONISTS: Andrews, *Colonial Folkways*, 104-129; Earle, *Child Life in Colonial Days*, ch. 17; Faris, *When America Was Young*, ch. 14; Wertenbaker, *The First Americans*, ch. 11; Wharton, *Colonial Days and Dames*, 195-218.

TOPIC II

LIFE IN AMERICA IN 1800

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To set forth the settled life of the seaboard states in 1800.
2. To compare and contrast the life of the frontier with that of seaboard states.

1. *Life in the Seaboard States*

The West and the South outstrip New England. In the quarter of a century from 1775, one of the most significant points to be noted is that the population of perhaps 3,000,000 (including negroes) at the earlier date had increased to 5,330,000 or almost doubled. The whole of Great Britain and Ireland had only 15,000,000. As the rate of increase in the Old World was small compared with the phenomenal one in America, the date seemed not far distant when our own nation would outnumber the mother country.

There were, moreover, striking changes in the sectional distribution of our people. Virginia, indeed, with 880,000 remained the most populous state. In addition the Southern states as a group in the decade preceding 1800 gained 416,000 whereas the New England states had gained only 229,000. Rhode Island had stood practically stationary, and had fallen far behind such a new Western state as Tennessee. Kentucky with 221,000 was not much below Connecticut with 251,000 and there were 50,000 new settlers in the territories of Ohio and Indiana.

There had also been heavy increases in New York and Pennsylvania, so that New England was falling rapidly behind the rest of the nation, largely from the westward migration of its people. On account of the Napoleonic wars, there had been little immigration from Europe and our national increase and local changes had been chiefly from a high birth rate and moving within our boundaries.

The New England clergy remain influential in politics. Our Federal Government that became effective in 1789 had made little change in sectional characteristics, and New England, the Middle states, the old South, and the new West were as sharply differentiated

as they had been. In New England the religious impulse had largely lost its effective power. The clergy, as a rule, no longer retained their minute control over the lives of their parishioners; but in conjunction with the groups of conservative ruling families they maintained a great influence over the political affairs of their communities. The anti-religious excesses of the Revolution in France gave them an opportunity of preaching against all that savored of democracy.

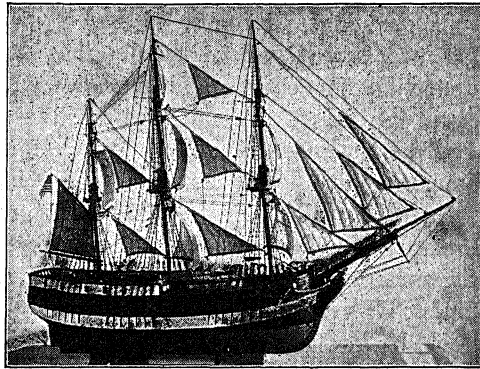
In and about Boston, the political group known as the Essex Junto represented the most extreme die-hard element of the Federalist party. Even the "man of the people," Samuel Adams, had long since become a conservative. Channing and Buckminster, who were to lead the Unitarian movement, were as yet only boys just graduated from Harvard in 1798 and 1800 respectively.

The Bostonians carry on commerce with the Orient.

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, New England turned its attention to commerce. In 1790 Captain Robert Gray returned to Boston in the ship *Columbia* after having traversed nearly 42,000 miles of ocean in three years. He laid the foundation for what was to prove a most lucrative trade.

It was a romantic route that these traders followed, rounding boisterous Cape Horn, stopping for supplies and rest in the unspoiled islands of the Pacific, buying furs from the Northern savages, and disposing of them to the Chinese merchants at Canton in exchange for the products of the Orient, with which Boston wharves and warehouses were soon piled high. Within two years this new trade—Boston, Alaska, Canton, then back to Boston—was well established.

Bostonians like William Sturgis and Thomas H. Perkins, starting with nothing, quickly accumulated wealth. In Salem, families like the Crowninshields, Derbys, and Princes were also doing so from a wholly different Oriental trade. Salem, only a few miles from Boston, pre-



Courtesy of Astoria Chamber of Commerce, Astoria, Oregon

A MODEL OF ROBERT GRAY'S SHIP "THE COLUMBIA"

The model was made by R. R. Bartlett.

ferred for some reason to traffic with the East by way of the African instead of the South American cape.

In Connecticut there were less wealth and shipping, but a somewhat more lively intellectual life. There were to be found the now unread poets Timothy Dwight, John Trumbull, and Joel Barlow. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the New England section, as a whole, was poor in spite of the growth of some shipping fortunes. Agriculture was a scramble for a mere subsistence. Manufactures were yet in their infancy. A banking capital of about \$5,000,000 sufficed for the needs of all five states, Maine being then a part of Massachusetts.

New York is one of the leading states in drama. New York's intellectual life compared favorably with that of New England. In drama it was to take the lead for the next quarter of a century, its large population, unhindered by religious scruples, affording excellent audiences. The first American comedy to be produced by a professional company, Royall Tyler's *The Contrast*, was given in 1787, but William Dunlap was a far more important figure, and, especially as an adapter of French and German plays, exercised a considerable influence. For a number of years he was manager of "The Old American Company" which had its headquarters in New York, although playing also in other cities.

The rich families dominate the political life of New York. The politics of New York state was still dominated by the alliances and feuds among the great families, most of them of Dutch descent. These families were still those with landed estates; the rise of the new types, such as the Astors or the Vanderbilts, lay just ahead in the next few decades. Religion had never been taken very seriously in this colony and state and instead of making a working compact between the rich families and the clergy, the rich quarrelled among themselves. Each group of these had its following among the country farmers and town workmen.

Hamilton, with Jays, Schuylers, and others formed the Federalist faction, while the Livingstons, Aaron Burr, George Clinton, and their group formed the Republican faction, allied to the Virginians under Jefferson. These landed families, with their henchmen among the city working classes, made New York politics different from that elsewhere.

New York City becomes our leading commercial city. The western part of the state was an empty wilderness. Rochester and Buffalo were unmarked sites in an uninhabited forest. Albany had a population of about 5000, and Utica, just a year old in 1800, had per-

haps fifty households. New York City, however, dominated the state, as always, with its 60,000 inhabitants. It was more than twice the size of Boston or of Baltimore which in its sudden growth had just shot ahead of the New England metropolis.

That New York City, with comparatively small back-country, should have become the leading commercial port of 1800 requires explanation. Its advance had been due neither to its unexcelled harbor nor to the Hudson-Mohawk route to the West, both of which were to count heavily in its favor later. New York, like Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, had always been interested in shipping. But in the eighteenth century the great exporting states were Virginia and Maryland, the leading staple for export being tobacco, until outdistanced by cotton in 1803.

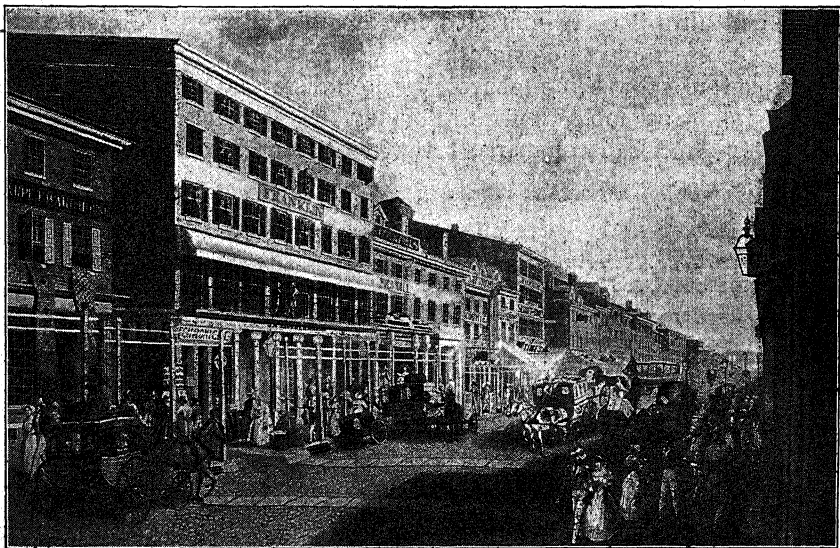
The following table, however, shows the astounding change that came over American commerce between 1790 and 1800:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Exports of Domestic Products</i>	<i>Exports of Foreign Products</i>
1790.....	\$19,666,000	\$539,000
1791.....	18,500,000	512,000
1792.....	19,000,000	1,753,000
1793.....	24,000,000	2,110,000
1794.....	26,500,000	6,526,000
1795.....	39,500,000	8,490,000
1796.....	40,764,000	26,300,000
1797.....	29,850,000	27,000,000
1798.....	28,527,000	33,000,000
1799.....	33,142,000	45,523,000

Had our export trade continued to consist chiefly of our domestic produce of all sorts, the 60 per cent increase noted above in that item would not have shifted the balance from the Southern to the Middle and Northern states. It was the nearly 9000 per cent increase in our re-exports of foreign goods which brought about the new sectional alignment. The South had led in exports under the old commercial régime, dependent upon agriculture and local produce, but had possessed almost no shipping of its own.

With the Napoleonic wars raging in Europe, we took over, as a neutral, much of the trade which had hitherto been carried on by English or French vessels between their respective countries, their colonies, and the rest of the world. We now transported to Europe the products of the tropics, those of the West and East Indies, and the Far Orient, all of which were for the most part brought to our ports first and then reshipped.

The North turns to commerce and manufacturing. It was thus not the states which had exported our own big staple crops but those which had capital invested in shipping which naturally derived the vast profits from this colossal increase in foreign exports as contrasted with the domestic export business. The North was clearly traveling faster than ever on the road toward becoming a commercial, banking, manufacturing, shipping section. The South, especially after cotton was so soon to become king and make slavery appear to be a necessary

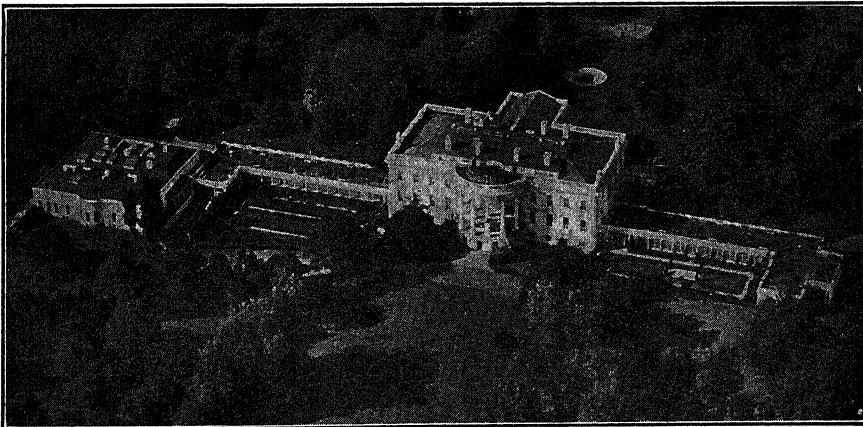
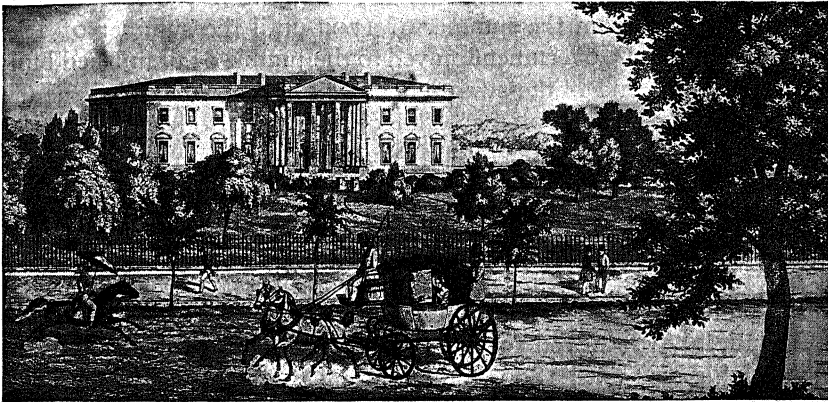
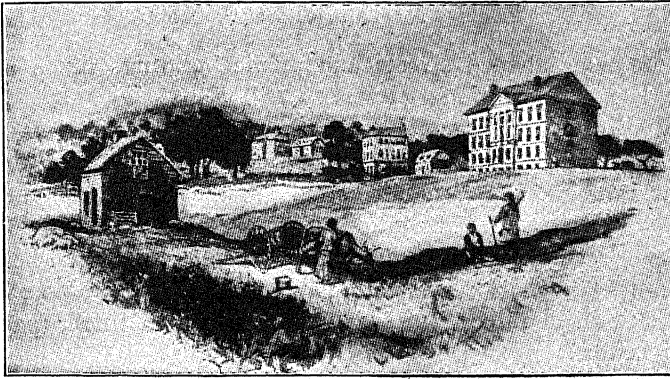


SANDERSON'S FRANKLIN HOUSE, CHESTNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA, 1835

Described as "A new and beautiful hotel . . . having both a Restaurant and Ordinary . . . the accommodations are very superior . . . being so constructed as to form a parlour by day and a chamber at night." Courtesy of The Mabel Brady Garvan Institute of American Arts and Crafts, Yale University.

basis for economic prosperity, was settling down more and more certainly to an agricultural slave-holding culture.

Philadelphia is our most important city. If New York was just on the verge of rapidly outrunning Philadelphia as a commercial center, the latter city was in every other respect the most important in the United States. It was the one to which all foreign travelers flocked and which they always praised highly. If it had not become quite the "garden city" of Penn's dreams, it was the best planned on the con-



U. S. Army Air Service

THE WHITE HOUSE

Top, As its first mistress found it; *Center*, In 1840 as shown in a contemporary engraving; *Bottom*, As it is to-day; to the left is the President's office.

inent. Its wide shaded streets and public buildings made it notable even for European tourists.

It had the best water supply, was the best paved, and was the best lighted, as well as the largest, of our cities. Its citizens were both public-spirited and broad-minded, and led the world of that time in efforts to improve the treatment of criminals and the insane. Their city was also the center of American manufacturing and of the best system of roads into the interior. Its banking capital of \$15,000,000, including the Bank of the United States, which was located there, made it our financial center.

This city had been the Revolutionary capital and the capital of the Confederation. From the summer of 1790 until the summer of 1800, when the National Government moved to the jumble of unfinished buildings on the hills and in the swamp hollows of what was called the City of Washington, on the Potomac, Philadelphia had also been the national political capital. It is not without interest to speculate on what might have happened had the Federal Government continued to function in our leading metropolis. We should then have had a real center of our national life, a center to which, as in Rome, Paris, London, and other great capitals, the wealth, art, literature, business, and politics of the nation would all have flowed together.

Philadelphia is noted for its charming society. Such a capital Philadelphia was until 1800, combining all the leading streams of national interest. Its society, however, was more to be noted for its charm and culture than for any outstanding intellects. Men like William Bartram, the naturalist, Alexander Wilson, the poet and ornithologist, H. H. Brackenridge, the satirist, many cultured doctors, lawyers, and others gave a tone to social life. On the other hand, we may note that New York and Philadelphia had oddly exchanged the two men who had perhaps the widest reputations—Charles Brockden Brown, the novelist, who had been born in Philadelphia and gone to New York to edit a magazine; and Philip Freneau, the poet, who, born in New York, had gone to Philadelphia, likewise to edit a magazine.

Brown's novels, such as *Arthur Mervyn* and *Wieland*, attained great popularity in Europe as in America. Freneau's poetry was sufficiently recognized abroad to be plagiarized by no lesser men than Campbell and Walter Scott, both of whom borrowed lines from him.

Pennsylvania was perhaps the most broadly democratic of the older states. Property was not only rather evenly distributed, but the presence of twenty religions prevented any such alliance between the rich and

the church for political purposes as existed in New England. There were no dominating families or great landed estates as in New York and the South. The Quaker influence was strong, both politically and spiritually. Although Philadelphia continued to grow rapidly, after 1800 it settled down to a quiet town with a marked flavor of its own, losing the commercial leadership to New York, and the Presidents and statesmen to Washington.

Washington is just building in 1800. Except for Baltimore, a hustling new town, struggling like the other seaboard cities for the business of the new West, there was no other city worth the name south of Philadelphia until one reached Charleston, South Carolina. Magnificent plans had been made for the new City of Washington by the Frenchman, Major L'Enfant, but scarcely a start had been made in 1800. One wing of the Capitol was ready for occupancy and the other was nearly finished, but between them was merely an empty gap where the great central portion now stands surmounted by its dome. All around it was unkempt waste land. There was one good tavern not far off, and a few dwelling houses were being put up. Pennsylvania Avenue was a dirt road leading down through an elder swamp and up to the White House.

The latter was still only partially plastered, without the main staircase, which was not yet begun, with a leaky roof and sagging floors, due to poor material and workmanship. Here and there were boarding houses rising out of the wilderness, where lived senators and congressmen. So crowded were these hostelrys that at one of the best, where Jefferson stayed, he was the only boarder who could have a room to himself.

The so-called streets were merely ruts in the sticky Virginia red-clay, almost impassable in wet weather. The comfortable little hamlet of Georgetown on its hill afforded a retreat, but was too far, on account of the roads, for most officials to live in. In the summer, the swamps bred fever and ague, and even Jefferson declined to stay in the dangerous neighborhood.

Slave labor becomes profitable in the South. Across the Potomac to the south the traveller entered the section of farms and great plantations, of slave labor, of little or no commerce, and of slight financial interests. Here life for the most part was going on almost precisely as we found it in 1763. There had been a good deal of talk of gradually abolishing slavery. Such men as Washington and Jefferson had been in favor of doing so, for it was a question not merely of morality but

of whether a system of free labor might not be more profitable. The far South, however, with its rice fields, and now its cotton, had decided the question in the negative. There seemed to be no other system of labor which could be substituted.

Slavery had been legalized in the Constitution, but as a compromise the slave trade had been prohibited after 1808. As the enormous increase in the cotton production demanded a corresponding increase in labor, and the supply could no longer be added to from Africa, the price of slaves rose rapidly. Consequently the Southerner's economic interest in that form of property also increased. A dozen slaves which had cost no more than a few mules or cows were one thing, but a dozen which represented an investment of capital of \$15,000 to \$25,000 were another.

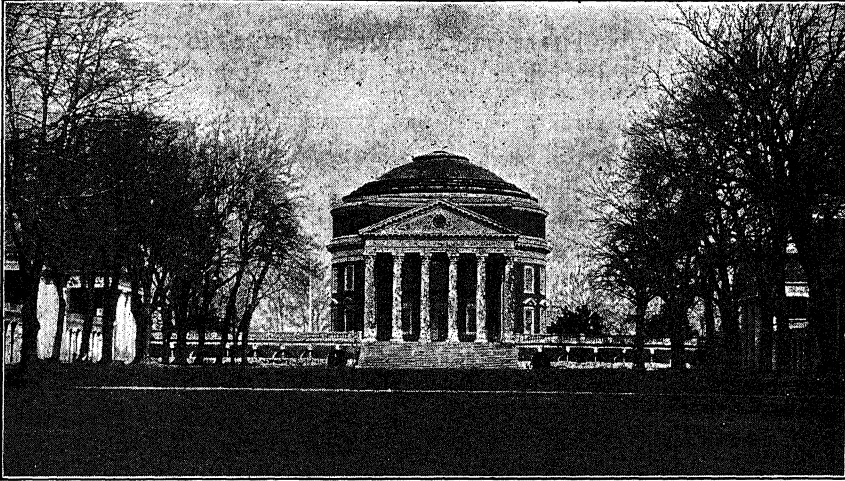
English inventions bring an increased demand for our cotton. The one great change from our picture in 1763 was due to this increase in cotton. As has so often happened in the last century or more, one invention was reinforced almost simultaneously by another, quickly changing the conditions of a whole industry. Whitney's cotton gin solved the problem of cotton from the standpoint of production in America. It also coincided with the inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright, and others in England, which revolutionized the commercial use of the plant by introducing textile machinery. The demands suddenly became enormous, and our exports rose from 200,000 pounds in 1791 to 18,000,000 in 1800, and 64,000,000 in 1807.

Charleston is the social center of the South. Most of this mounting export trade passed through the port of Charleston, whose population was fast approaching that of Boston. There the great rice and cotton planters had their town houses, and mingled with the merchants and bankers. All grew rich together with the rise in the price of lands and slaves, and with the great new staple crop to be exported.

It was a question whether the theater of Charleston or Philadelphia was the finest in America, and for a while no other city could boast of a more brilliant social life. Charleston possessed a good library; book stores thrived; dressmakers and milliners imported the latest French modes for the ladies; the race course was notable even in the South; and there was also a golf club, as there had been for some years in the much smaller communities of Savannah and Augusta.

The Southerners turn to politics and away from business. Charleston, however, was a unique phenomenon in the South. Even there the type of life and mind being evolved was quite different from

that of any Northern city. The seaboard of Carolina had 30,000 whites ruling a population of 100,000 negroes. Throughout the whole South, with the exception of a few families in Charleston, in the absence of commerce, banking, and business, there was no career open to a young man other than that of planter, lawyer, or politician. The ambitious man, who did not wish to move to the West, looked to a career in



From a photograph by Ewing Galloway

THE LIBRARY AND THE DORMITORIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
ERECTED IN 1817. DESIGNED BY THOMAS JEFFERSON

public affairs. The mind of the South became preoccupied with problems of statesmanship or politics and not of economics.

As we pointed out earlier, the Southerner came rather to look down upon commerce. Without opportunities in finance and business, he grew more and more out of sympathy with the Federalism of such men as Washington and Marshall, and turned to the tenets of Jefferson.

We introduce new architecture. In one art we struck out with originality. Our colonial period was over, and with it passed our colonial architecture, the Georgian and earlier styles. The new, which came in about the turn of the century, was based on the formalism of the classic design. Our political literature had been fused through and through with classic thought and precedents. Having founded a republic on what was wrongly considered to have been more or less classic lines, we turned naturally to classic examples for the new houses and

public buildings which our individual wealth and new governmental needs demanded. In this we were ahead of Europe, instead of following her. The temple design for the new capitol in Virginia preceded the first in Europe, the Madeleine in Paris, by twenty-two years, as did other such buildings in America. Jefferson was the earliest advocate of the new style, but was followed by our first professional architects, men like Bulfinch, Samuel McIntyre of Salem, or John McComb in New York.

The new style, in all its variations, was not limited to any one section, but for the next thirty years or more may be found in plentiful ex-



TRAVEL ON THE BOSTON POST ROAD IN THE DAYS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

From a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs.

amples throughout the whole country. The new buildings were not only larger and more pretentious than the old Georgian ones but in the private dwellings indicated an increasing desire for the comforts and appearance. The new houses, too, were beginning to be filled with beautiful examples of furniture made by American craftsmen.

The inns afford poor accommodations. While luxury was thus developing in the homes of the rich in the seaboard states, there was otherwise little change in physical conditions since before the Revolution. The owner of one of the big new houses, whether in Massachusetts or South Carolina, might insist upon a dressing room off his bedroom, but when he was traveling away from his own home, he was lucky if he did not have to sleep eight or ten in a room in the inn, or even with mere strangers in one bed, in which the linen was only occasionally changed. A traveller fell into the first bed he could find in

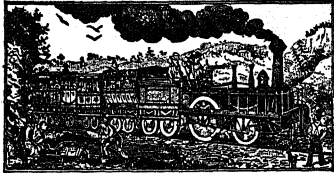
a roomful, preferably choosing one that did not already have an occupant.

Traveling is slow and difficult. The roads on the whole showed no improvement. Perhaps one of the worst on the main line north and south was the stretch between Elkton, Maryland, and the Susquehanna Ferry. In this road the ruts were normally so deep that the passengers in the stage coach, at the cry of the driver, had to go from one side to the other, as if ballasting a sailboat, to keep the coach upright. The rivers were by no means always spanned by bridges or crossed by ferries. Out of the eight which Jefferson had to cross in riding from his home at Monticello to Washington, five had neither bridges nor boats.

The stage coaches were hardly more than big boxes, with no steps, or glass in the windows, or doors. In bad weather, the openings were closed with leather curtains. Their progress was slow, four miles an hour between Bangor, Maine, and Baltimore; and not seldom they were upset or their axles were broken by the bad roads. In winter the crossing of such rivers as the Hudson or the Susquehanna in small boats, amid the waves and tossing ice, was sometimes fatal.

The trip between New York and Philadelphia, partly by stage and partly by boat, took a day and a half, but the several stages that ran daily from Philadelphia to Baltimore took three days for the journey. South of the Potomac, the roads were even worse. Except for one stage that ran between Charleston and Savannah, all traveling south of Petersburg, Virginia, had to be done on horseback.

1843. RAIL-ROAD ROUTE 1843.
Albany & Buffalo.



FARE REDUCED—ARRANGEMENT TO COMMENCE JULY 10, 1843.

Those who pay through between Albany and Buffalo, - \$10. in the best cars,
 do. do. & in accommodation cars,
 which have been re-arranged, combined and lighted.

Those who pay through between Albany & Rochester, \$8. in the best cars,
 do. do. \$6.50 in accommodation cars.

THREE DAILY LINES.
Through in 25 hours.

GOING WEST.				GOING EAST.			
	Am. Exp.	St. Exp.	Accom.		Am. Exp.	St. Exp.	Accom.
Leave Albany.	7 A.M.	10 P.M.	7 P.M.	Leave Buffalo.	7 A.M.	10 P.M.	7 P.M.
Pass Schenectady.	7 A.M.	3 P.M.	3 P.M.	Pass Rochester.	8 A.M.	3 P.M.	10 P.M.
Pass Utica.	7 P.M.	4 A.M.	4 A.M.	Pass Auburn.	8 P.M.	4 A.M.	4 P.M.
Pass Syracuse.	8 P.M.	5 A.M.	5 A.M.	Pass Syracuse.	9 P.M.	5 P.M.	5 P.M.
Pass Auburn.	9 P.M.	6 A.M.	6 A.M.	Pass Utica.	10 P.M.	6 A.M.	6 A.M.
Pass Schenectady.	10 P.M.	7 A.M.	7 A.M.	Pass Schenectady.	11 A.M.	7 A.M.	7 A.M.
Arrive at Buffalo.	11 A.M.	8 P.M.	8 P.M.	Arrive at Albany.	11 A.M.	8 P.M.	8 P.M.

EMIGRANTS WILL BE CARRIED ONLY BY SPECIAL CONTRACT.

Passengers will procure tickets at the offices at Albany, Buffalo or Rochester through to be entitled to seats at the reduced rates.

Fare will be received at each of the above places to any other place named on the route.

RAILROAD POSTER OF 1843

From an old time-table (furnished by the "A B C Pathfinder Railway Guide").

Physical difficulties hinder mail service. There was a mail route which extended from Maine to Georgia, a letter carried the entire way taking twenty days in transit, and mail from Philadelphia to Nashville took twenty-two days. There was a service starting each day between New York and Virginia, but only thrice weekly between New York and Boston. Writing was an expensive matter, the rates of postage having been established in 1792 on a sliding scale according to distance. Thus a letter could be carried up to 30 miles for 6 cents, between 30 and 60 miles for 8 cents, with increases up to 450 miles or more, for which the charge was 25 cents.

Yet even in 1800 the government operated 20,000 miles of postal routes with 900 offices, handling, at a rough estimate, nearly 3,000,000 letters. This illustrates clearly the huge physical problem which beset us then and which was to explain much in our future development. Compared with the small, compact, European nations, our tasks were to be colossal.

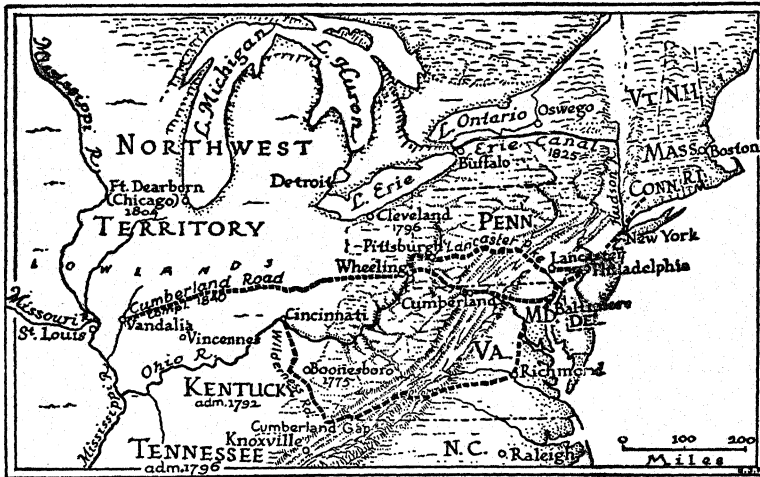
The richer colonists dress in gay clothes. The dress was still that of the eighteenth century. Men of the upper classes wore gaily colored satin or damask coats and waistcoats, with knee-breeches, shirts with ruffles down the front and hanging over the hands, cocked hats and wigs. Among the beaux, French fashions were replacing the more sober square-toed shoes, silver buckles, and black silk stockings of the conservatives. Skin-tight trousers, almost impossible to sit down in, started almost at the arm-pits and ran down into high yellow or white topped boots. The blue or green coats ended in long tails cut to a sharp point. The women's dress, even more absurd, followed every whim of fashion imported from abroad, although the materials often were exquisitely beautiful.

2. Life beyond the Mountains

A great nation moves West. We have thus far spoken only of the seaboard states. Beyond the mountains a new empire was rising, remote both in fact and feeling from the East. We have already noted its beginnings. The emigration had been constant, until by 1800 about 400,000 persons were living beyond the Alleghenies. There were several main roads along which the incessant streams of emigrants travelled. One ran along the Mohawk Valley into western New York; a second from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh; a third from the Potomac to the Monongahela; a fourth through southwestern Virginia and the Cumberland Gap to the Ohio River. Charleston, which lay nearer

Nashville and that section than did any other eastern seaport, was also planning a road which would divert Western business to itself. By whatever route the emigrants made the journey, whether they tramped or drove their Conestoga wagons to the western slopes, once across the mountains the rivers became their highways. Flatboats carried them and their goods down to the sites of new clearings or settlements.

The long land journey made the transport of produce to market in the East impossible. But with the opening of the Mississippi by Spain



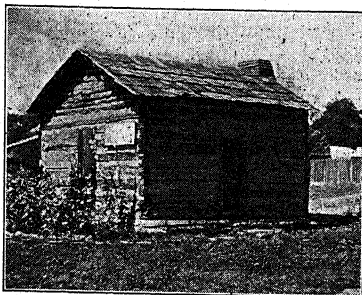
EARLY ROUTES TO THE WEST

in 1795, the great river traffic began. A million dollars worth of produce was shipped out by that route in 1800, a sum to be more than doubled in the next two years. This gave the West its first purchasing power. It was immediately reflected in the shops of Eastern merchants, who in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston all competed for the trade.

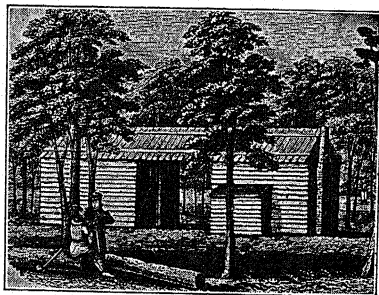
There is little material wealth on the frontier. Once over the mountains, the pioneer found himself in a world as unlike the East as it was remote from it. There were no Georgian houses or new classical mansions there, or clothing of satin and brocade. The settler was considered well-housed when he was able to replace a rough open lean-to with a log-cabin raised in a few days with the help of neighbors. A hunting-shirt, deer-skin or linsey-woolsey trousers, and moccasins were

the summer clothes of the men, with a white blanket coat added in winter.

Boots were rarities, and, indeed, throughout the states, shoes of any sort were not much worn by the poorer people in the summer, men and women working barefoot in the fields. Even back in New England boys went farefoot to church on Sundays, and the little girls carried their shoes and stockings in their hands, to be modestly put on behind a bush before they entered the meeting-house.



THIS SINGLE CABIN IS THE ONE IN WHICH ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S PARENTS WERE MARRIED IN 1806



A DOUBLE CABIN. A MORE ELABORATE FORM OF TWO SQUARE PENS WITH OPEN SPACE BETWEEN

But it was not merely the lack of material things in the West which set it off from the East. Not only was there neither inherited nor accumulated wealth there, but there were no social classes, institutions, and only rarely schools or churches. But these were soon to grow up.

"Circuit riders" carry the gospel to the frontier. There was a strong leaven of Scotch Presbyterians on the frontier at first, but when swarms came from Congregational New England, from the Anglican South, from almost every one of the old settlements East, every religion practised in America came to be represented. It was an existence which stimulated the emotions rather than the mind. Baptist and Methodist missionaries and preachers began to minister to the people without churches. Occasional camp-meetings, lasting for days, replaced the regular and decorous Sunday church-going of the old days in the East.

The pioneers in the sections far from the old settlements owed no small debt to many of the better sort of preachers who ministered, somewhat crudely perhaps, but still effectively, to spiritual needs. Riding on horseback from one settlement to another. these "circuit riders," as they

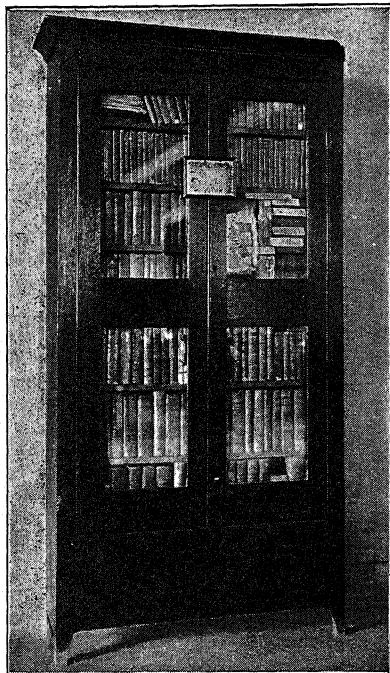
were called, were often imbued with the genuine spirit of the missionary. The amount of work which they did in a year was extraordinary.

The most noted man in the Methodist Church, Bishop Asbury, had to supervise all the conferences between Maine and southern Georgia, riding annually between 5000 and 6000 miles. It was said that he had seen more people in America than any other man. Certainly none could have been better known than this Methodist leader.

Various kinds of people are found on the frontier. The life of the settlements, however, tended to be rough, especially hard on the women, and was of a sort in which only later novelists have found romance. The grinding toil, the unutterable dullness and loneliness, and the poverty broke down the morale of many who started with high hopes of a new life in the new country. Lowest of all were the boatmen, "half-horse, half-alligator, with the cross of the wild-cat" as they were described, who gathered for their wild dissipations in the river towns which long enjoyed evil reputations.

Behind the first pioneers, however, who were forever moving on with the disease of eternal restlessness in their blood, came settlers who were thrifty and substantial. They built schools and churches and established law. As usual on the frontier, all stages of civilization and all sorts of standards and morals were mixed together.

The frontier puts great faith in the common people. One thing which the frontier bred above all else was democracy. In the self-confident life of these dwellers in log cabins, who all felt themselves equal, there were at once an insistence upon the worth of the individual



THE EARLY SETTLERS OF AMESVILLE, OHIO, CONTRIBUTED GRAIN AND ANIMAL SKINS, WHICH WERE SOLD AND WITH THE PROCEEDS THE VOLUMES OF THIS COONSKIN LIBRARY BOUGHT

From the State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.

and a distrust of those who were different. Wealth and social position came to be both disliked and feared. These people wanted not only to govern themselves with no outside interference, but wanted as their representatives in office, men like themselves whom they could understand and whom alone they felt they could trust. Always enmeshed in debt for their first settlement, and with little opportunity for making money, they disliked the moneyed interests of the East, and feared any political power which was not close to themselves and in their own control.

Democratic tendencies become marked on the frontier. Government seemed to them a simple matter, and one which they could easily manage. In the constitution of Ohio, which was admitted to the Union as a state in 1803, the democratic tendencies were more clearly marked than in any which had yet been drawn. The governor had neither appointing power nor the right to veto legislation. The supreme court judges, instead of being appointed for life by the executive, were to be elected by the legislature for seven years if not removed for bad behavior before that time. All men were declared equally free and independent. The franchise was given to all white men over twenty-one provided they had paid "or were charged with" a state or county tax.

Our country is not yet democratic. The scope of the franchise had been very much widened generally throughout the country as compared with pre-Revolutionary days. Yet we were far from the manhood suffrage of the 1830's. It has been estimated that only about one-fifteenth of the white population had votes. Moreover, usually the voter had to announce publicly the way he was voting, which obviously would often call for much courage or for suppression of his real wishes.

Apportionment of votes by districts was also such as tended to nullify popular choice. In Virginia, for example, a hundred votes in the tide-water section secured as much representation in the state assembly as a thousand in the western region. There was similar heavy discrimination against the upland part of South Carolina in favor of the coast. In such states as New York, Massachusetts, and others, districts were so arranged as to interfere with popular representation in the legislatures. As the legislatures chose presidential electors, it is evident that even the 15 per cent of the "people" who could vote at all might have their wishes thwarted as to the party or President elected. For somewhat different reasons, the same holds true even to-day, and it has sometimes happened that a President is elected who has received only a minority of the popular vote.

II. BOOKS TO READ

1. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Adams, *Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, I, chs. 5-7; Bassett, *Federalist System*, chs. 10-13; Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, chs. 10-11; Channing, *History of the United States*, II, ch. 18; Crawford, *Romantic Days in the Early Republic*, ch. 3; Faris, *When America Was Young*, ch. 7; Fish, *Development of American Nationality*, ch. 1; Griswold, *The Republican Court*; Hunt, *Life in America One Hundred Years Ago*; Johnson, *Jefferson and His Colleagues*, ch. 1; Page, *Washington and Its Romance*, chs. 5-8; Richards, *Abigail Adams and Her Times*; Scudder, *Men and Manners in America One Hundred Years Ago*; Smith, *First Forty Years of Washington Society*, 94-105, 383-396; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, ch. 15.
2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York, 1796-1815*, I; Hart, *Contemporaries*, nos. 10-30; Nevins, *American Press Opinion*, 28-34; *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 65, 134, 196, 198.
3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Barr, *Trinity Bells*; Bradford, *Wives*, ch. 5; Brooks, *Dames and Daughters of the Young Republic*, chs. 1, 5; Fordham, *Personal Narrative*; Minnigerode, *Some American Ladies*, 1-132; Muzzey, *Thomas Jefferson*; Stowe, *Minister's Wooing*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Discuss the growth of population in the different sections of our country in 1800. 2. Describe the commerce that Boston carried on with the Orient. 3. How do you account for the commercial growth of New York City? 4. Why did the North turn to commerce and manufacturing? 5. Explain the importance of Philadelphia. 6. Describe the city of Washington in 1800. 7. Show how slave labor became profitable in the South. 8. How did English inventions help to fasten slavery on the South? 9. Describe the social life in Charleston. 10. Why did the Southerners become interested in politics? 11. What new architecture did we introduce? 12. Discuss the difficulties of traveling in colonial days. 13. Describe the dress of the colonists. 14. Describe the movement of peoples beyond the mountains. 15. Describe the routes to the West. 16. Show that there was little material wealth on the frontier. 17. Describe the religious life of the frontier. 18. What kind of people settled on the frontier? 19. How did the frontier breed democracy?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

- I. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The growth of population, New England's commerce, the commercial activities of New York City, the importance of Philadelphia, the building of our national Capital, slave labor in

the South, social life in the South, the difficulty of traveling, dress of the colonists, the routes to the West, religious life of the frontier, the democracy of the frontier.

2. PROJECT: Compare the life of the seaboard states in 1800 with that of the frontier.

3. PROBLEM: How do you account for the conservatism of the seaboard states in 1800?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the Americans of 1800 were more deeply religious than are those of to-day.

5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The camp-meetings on the frontier.

6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you lived in our national Capital in 1800 and witnessed the erection of the government buildings. Write a letter to a friend describing the scene.

7. DIARY: You were a merchant in Boston and carried on commerce with the Orient. You kept a daily record of your business transactions. Read portions of your record to the class.

8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: William Bartram, Charles Brockden Brown, Philip Freneau, Major L'Enfant, Eli Whitney, Bishop Asbury.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: 1790, 1795, 1800, 1803, 1808.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Essex Junto, henchmen, the Madeleine, Monticello, Conestoga wagons, a lean-to, linsey-woolsey, "circuit riders."

11. MAP WORK: In a map talk do the following: *a.* Trace the routes used by the merchants of Massachusetts in their trade with the Orient. *b.* Point out the trade routes used by our country during the Napoleonic wars. *c.* Point out the main roads of travel in our country in 1800. *d.* Trace the main roads to the West.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. SOCIAL LIFE IN 1800: Crawford, *Romantic Days in the Early Republic*; Faris, *When America Was Young*; Hunt, *Life in America One Hundred Years Ago*; Page, *Washington and Its Romance*.

2. EARLY SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES: Crawford, *Social Life in Old New England*, chs. 1, 4; Earle, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*, chs. 1, 5, 7; Faris, *When America Was Young*, ch. 4; Slosson, *The American Spirit in Education*, chs. 1-5; Wertenbaker, *The First Americans*, chs. 4-5.

3. THE LURE OF THE FRONTIER: Hough, *The Passing of the Frontier*, ch. 1; Nicolay, *Our Nation in the Building*, ch. 6; Ogg, *The Old Northwest*, ch. 7; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, I, ch. 5; Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest*, ch. 2.

4. THE OLD SOUTHWEST: Bruce, *The Romance of American Expansion*, ch. 1; Faris, *On the Trail of the Pioneers*, ch. 1; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, chs. 6-7; Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest*, chs. 5-8.

TOPIC III

LIFE IN OUR COUNTRY IN MID-CENTURY

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the causes of the prosperity of our country in mid-nineteenth century.
2. To see the advancement made as a result of scientific discoveries and inventions.
3. To see the reasons for the self-confidence and optimism of our people at this period.
4. To understand the forces and factors that were revolutionizing the life of our people.

1. *Our Economic Advancement*

We reach the threshold of a new America. The financial storm of 1837 had blown itself out by 1841, and, as had always happened in America, the business activity of the country leaped forward to a higher plane of volume and prosperity than before. In the decades following, a new America was beginning to emerge. Comparatively simple as the nation of 1860 appears to us to-day, nevertheless a distinct change had occurred, comparable only to that succeeding the panic of 1893. Confused as the changes and the voices of the period may seem, they were in fact singularly harmonious with one another.

Factories replace household manufacturing. One of the noteworthy alterations in the living conditions of a considerable part of the population was in the shift from making goods in the homes to buying those made in factories. Between 1825 and 1855, for example, the number of yards of textiles per person made in the home declined in New York from almost nine yards to only a trifle over a quarter of one yard. What happened in that state, where we have better statistics than elsewhere, was happening in the nation at large. The other side of the picture was the great rise in textile manufacturing, which had its center in New England.

Moreover, what was occurring in the weaving of materials for clothing was occurring in other goods. For example, many of the farmers formerly had spent their winter evenings making nails and tacks by

hand on little forges set up in their kitchens, a good workman turning out sometimes 2000 tacks in a day. With the invention of machinery, this handicraft, like so many others, became centralized in factories. Massachusetts supplied about one-third of the total product used in the country. By the 1830's the boot-and-shoe industry was also becoming largely localized in that state and in particular places, such as Lynn. Shoes for slaves were shipped even to the far South, one Boston wholesale house shipping lots worth \$30,000 at a time to Savannah.

These are but indications of a process which was transforming the life of the people. In 1851 Horace Bushnell in Connecticut predicted that "the transition from mother-and-daughter-power to water-power and steam-power" was "greater by far than many have yet begun to conceive."

Clothes, hats, tools, all sorts of things that had been made in the household by expenditure of time instead of money were beginning to be bought in stores. By the end of the period, 1860, in spite of the panic of 1857, the number of wage earners in manufacturing had risen to one and one-third million and the value of the product to over one and three-fourths billion dollars.

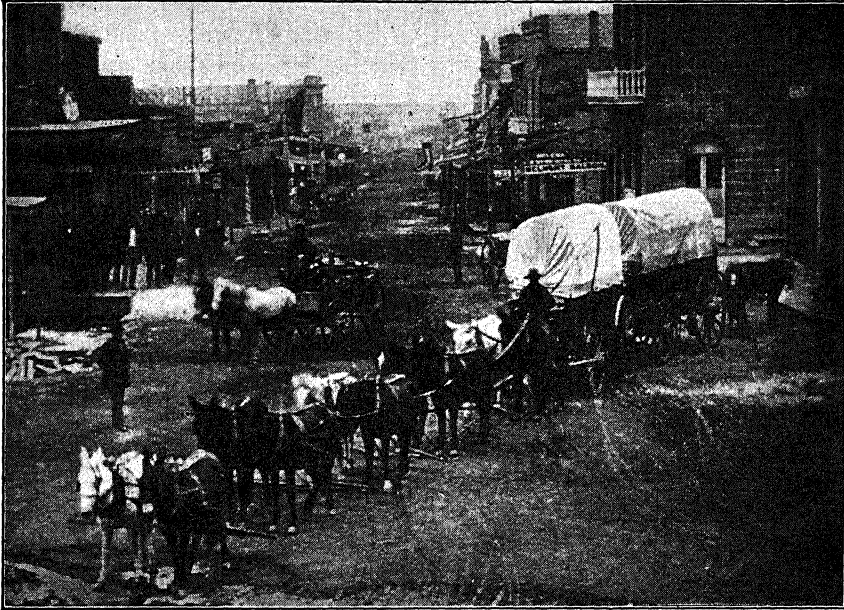
We make marked improvement in our transportation system. Such a huge development would not have been possible without a rapidly growing market and much improved means of transportation. A series of remarkable harvests for our farmers, with an increased demand for produce not only from our own growing city population, but from an increasingly industrialized Europe, provided the market. Canals, to be followed by railroads, provided the transportation.

The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, as we have noted, had caused an immediate drop in freight rates between Buffalo and New York from one hundred dollars per ton of merchandise to less than eight dollars. It made possible a heavy interchange of manufactured products of the East for farm products of the West. It gave New York a great advantage over every other Atlantic seaport. Other canals were also built farther south, but none carried anything like the tonnage of the Erie, which even survived the railroad competition soon to come. In 1830 this competition was negligible, as there were only twenty-three miles of railway in the entire United States. By 1860 there were over 30,600, chiefly in the North and West.

Steamboats had also come on the great rivers. As a result by 1830 Cincinnati and Pittsburgh factories were beginning to supply the Southwest with machinery, furniture, and other goods at less than

had been the cost of such goods in New York or Philadelphia a decade earlier. One of the marked features of the period was this decreased cost, with consequent widening markets, due both to machinery and to an almost 90 per cent reduction in transportation charges.

Our towns and cities grow rapidly. All the factors acted and reacted on each other, so that there was not only an enormous increase



MAIN STREET, HELENA, MONTANA, ABOUT 1870

Courtesy of the Northern Pacific Railway.

in business activity but a steady separation of one occupation from another. The farmer or plantation owner at the beginning of the century had been a Jack-of-all-trades. He had literally *manufactured*, that is made by hand, almost everything used in daily life as well as in raising his crops. He was, however, rapidly giving place to the less versatile farmer on one side and to the industrialist on the other.

Moreover, with the growth of manufacturing and of trading centers, town and country were becoming more sharply different in manners, thought, and modes of life. By the end of the period, or 1860, the urban population, that is the number of people living in towns of more than

8000 inhabitants, was increasing almost at a rate three times as fast as the total population. New York, including the city of Brooklyn, now only a borough of the larger city, had reached a population of considerably over a million. It was twice as large as its nearest competitor, Philadelphia, which nevertheless had added 200,000 in a decade.

Abnormally rapid growth, according to all previous standards, was indeed, in this period, the characteristic of American towns and cities, except, for the most part, in the South. Great cities were rising all through the changing West, such as St. Louis, which multiplied its population tenfold, from 16,000 to 160,000, between 1840 and 1860.

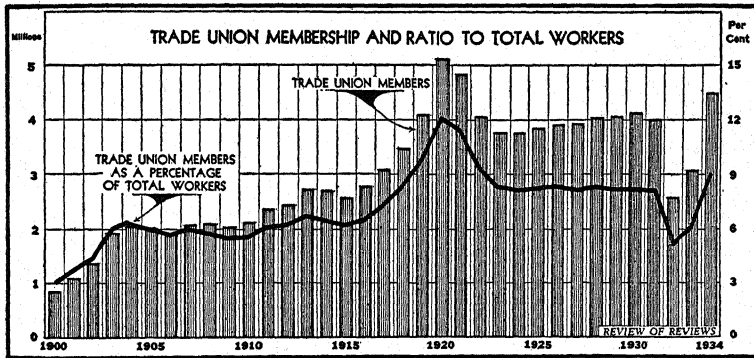
Many foreigners come to our shores. The opportunities of the New World attracted foreign immigration in rapidly increasing numbers after 1820. The famine in Ireland in 1846 and the political troubles in Germany in 1848 made enormous increases in the numbers who came from those two countries. In the decade ending December 31, 1840, 600,000 came to us, mostly from Europe as always; in the next decade one and three-quarter million and in the next over two and one-half million. Of the last group, those arriving between 1850 and 1860, nearly a million were Germans, nearly another million Irish, nearly 400,000 English, and 150,000 from Canada. The vast south European immigration of later years had as yet begun only as a trickling stream.

By 1860 there were over 4,000,000 foreign-born living in the United States, of whom nine-tenths were in the free states. For the most part they settled in the larger cities of the East and in the farm country of the Middle West and Northwest. The Irish preferred the East, and the Germans and Scandinavians the West. Coming to us in abject poverty, many of the Irish were used by the factory owners and other employers of labor to reduce wages.

Laboring men begin to organize trade unions. Although in 1828 a political "Workingman's Party" was formed, labor soon turned to the system of trade unions to attain its aims and reforms. These pertained mainly to hours of work and better social and educational status. As long as our present form of government lasts, a Labor party seems impracticable. One reason is that the Federal Government has not sufficient constitutional powers to regulate the varied conditions of labor. These powers belong mainly to the states. But a political party limited to a state only is of no influence under the workings of our political system. So labor, to a very great extent, has necessarily to apply its pressure by other methods.

Some progress was made in this period by strikes and other exercises

of the power of trade unions, chiefly in securing a more universal ten-hour day instead of one of from twelve to thirteen. One of the early leaders, George H. Evans, published a labor paper in New York, *The Working Man's Advocate*, but the union movement, which had enlisted some 300,000 men by 1836, suffered severely in the terrible years following the crash of 1837. It was not until the Civil War came with its tremendous effects on laboring conditions that the more notable features of the American labor movement appeared.



REVIEW OF REVIEWS and WORLD'S WORK

The factory system alters farm life. When we turn from city to country, we find considerable changes after the beginning of the century. The condition of the New England farmer was in some ways not so good as it had been. Apart from the nature of the soil, the broken character of the land has for the most part made large-scale agricultural operations in that section difficult or impossible. The small farmer of the old days, having almost no need for cash, had been able to make or raise, by family production, all he used.

It was quite a different problem, however, so to increase the salable products of the small one-man farm as to keep pace with the new and incessant demands for cash with which to buy the new factory-made goods and tools. This was especially emphasized by the opening of the Erie Canal when the competition of the richer and more easily worked lands of the Mohawk Valley and the West began to be felt severely. In spite of some increase in cash markets afforded by the growth of near-by manufacturing centers, there was a steady flow of New Englanders to the West. In Maryland and Virginia much of the soil had become exhausted for large-scale production of the single staple

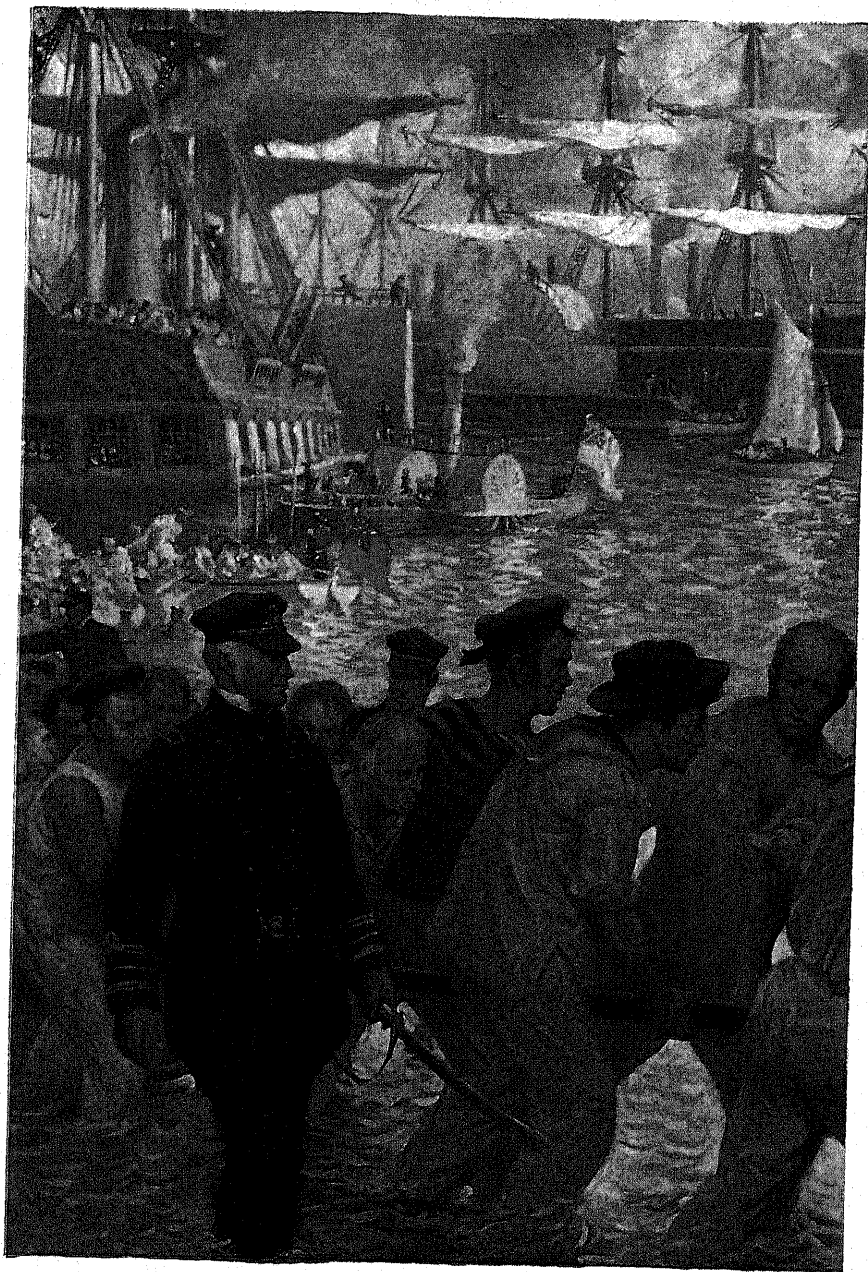
crop of tobacco. Those states were reverting to the small-farm system, much like New England, a system also found in the uplands of the Carolinas and Georgia.

Prosperity comes to the wheat farmers and cotton planters. The large plantation-slave economy still held sway, chiefly in the great "Cotton Belt" stretching westward from Alabama to Texas. This area took all the native-born slaves that could be bought, and all that could be smuggled into the country from Africa. In the Northwest, the period saw the beginning of wheat-growing on the scale which was to make that section the "wheat empire" just as the far South was the "cotton kingdom." The invention of farm machinery, such as the McCormick reaper, of which 75,000 were in use by 1867, the Marsh harvester, threshing, and other machines, made possible the raising of huge quantities of grain.

The price of grain rose in Europe from thirty cents to a dollar seventy during the Crimean War in 1854. The Western farmers then thought their fortunes made. Three years later we exported over \$55,000,000 worth of breadstuffs alone as against \$48,000,000 of manufactures. The South, however, with an export of \$192,000,000 worth of cotton, mostly to feed the looms of England, could well believe that cotton was king.

We make money in our trade in the West. The fabulous increase in American population, the building of railroads, the huge development of an export market for our agricultural surplus, the rapid growth of our cities—these and other factors fostered the spirit of speculation and nursed that optimism which from now on was to become a still more notable American characteristic.

Everywhere America was reaching out for new markets and possible profits. In the Southwest, in 1821, a party under Captain William Becknell had left the then remote settlement of Franklin, Missouri, to barter with the Indians for furs, had reached Santa Fé overland and there found the beginning of a new and profitable trade. One girl at home who had put sixty dollars into the venture netted \$900 as her share of the profits. Three years later another party brought back \$190,000, mostly in gold and silver, as a sixfold profit on their venture. As a result of this trade, the "Santa Fé Trail" was established, leading southwestward from Independence, Missouri, as the "Oregon Trail" led thence northwestward. Along the latter, by 1845, long trains of the "covered wagons" were passing carrying their hundreds of settlers out to the northwest coast.



THE ATLANTIC CABLE LINKING THE OLD WORLD TO THE NEW
From the painting by Gerritt Beneker

We surpass the English on the sea. While wagons and "prairie schooners" were thus rumbling over the Western plains and through the mountain passes, ships from Eastern seaports were establishing a temporary supremacy for us on the seas. The picturesque China trade had largely changed since the War of 1812. By 1840 over 80 per cent of our imports from that country consisted of tea, which we began to carry to England after that nation repealed her Navigation Acts in 1849.

We had long been building vessels which outsailed the British. It has been said that when the *Oriental*, owned by A. A. Low & Brother of New York, first reached London in 1850 with her cargo from the Far East, she created almost as much excitement as the tea ships did when they arrived in Boston Harbor in 1773. She was the finest ship that had ever been moored at the docks of the English port.

We build the "Clipper," the fastest ship afloat. Just as we had adapted old types of wagons to the needs of our long western hauls and produced the "prairie schooner," so our shipbuilders had developed the old type of vessels into what was unquestionably the most perfect sailing ship the world has ever seen. Speed was an essential advantage, and for this the clipper ship was specially designed. Small at first, and not running much over one hundred tons until 1840, the clippers rapidly increased in size until the *Great Republic*, built in 1853, attained a tonnage of 4500.

Some of the older-type vessels, with as fine a breed of sea captains as have ever commanded for any nation, could make remarkable voyages. The *Houqua*, for example, owned by the Lows and commanded by Captain McKenzie, made, among its record-breaking runs, one from Shanghai to New York in eighty-eight days in 1850, but the clipper, first invented and designed by John W. Griffiths of New York in 1841, considerably exceeded in speed the record holders of the older sort.

The first clipper, the *Rainbow*, built in 1843, was only 750 tons, but was the fastest vessel then afloat, though soon to be outsailed by the *Sea Witch*. Her low black hull, her gilded dragon as a figurehead, her rakish masts and cloud of canvas, made her the handsomest ship sailing from America. In her best twenty-four hours' run, 350 miles, she could easily beat any steamship of her time. These and other clipper ships had taken away the prize for ship-building from Great Britain. *The London Times* warned the English ship-owners that they would need all their skill and "dogged determination" to meet the competition.

With the opening of the California trade and the gold rush, a fleet of superb clippers under different owners was put into that service and made some unsurpassed records for speed. The *Flying Cloud* and the *Andrew Jackson* made the voyage from New York to San Francisco in eighty-nine days, battling their way around Cape Horn under vast spreads of sail. There was also the fleet sailing to Australia, which included such magnificent clippers as the *Donald McKay* and the *Flying Scud*, while the trans-Atlantic ships cut the time from Boston to Liverpool down to less than fourteen days.

We lose the supremacy of the seas to England. The glorious era of the clipper ship, however, came to an end in the late 1850's. English and American steamship lines had been in business for a couple of decades, but had used only side-wheelers. This left the advantage to the swift-sailing packets, until the Inman Line began to run fast screw steamships in 1857. The improvement in the steam vessels, the turning from wood to iron for the hulls of ships, our Civil War, and other factors doomed the old clippers and our merchant marine, and our supremacy passed to the English.

The epoch, however, had been magnificent, and had greatly helped to give the Americans that self-confidence and optimistic belief in themselves and their future which was one of the most marked characteristics of the period.

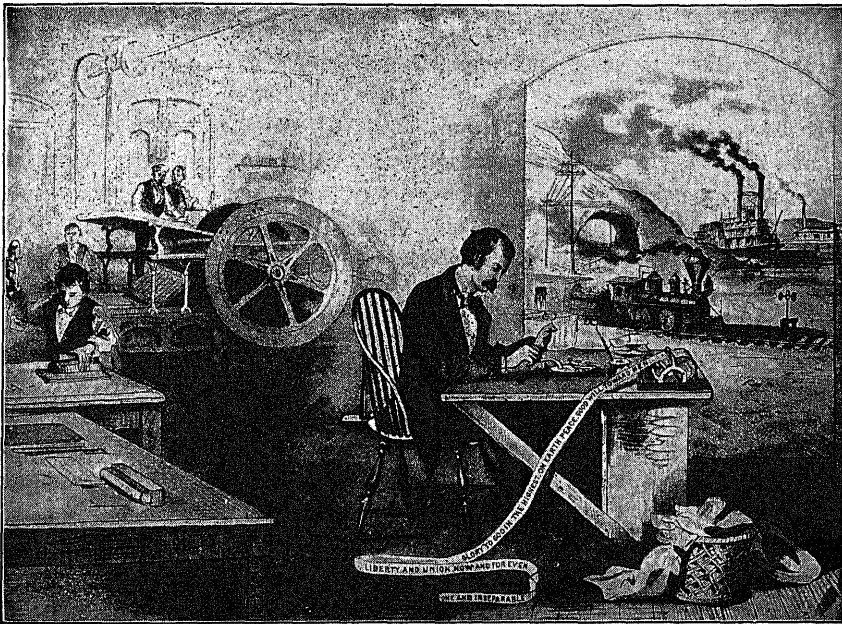
We turn out inventions by the thousands. This optimistic spirit was also emphasized by the extraordinary way in which our every effort to develop the resources of the vast and rich public domain was seconded by scientific discoveries and inventions. For centuries mankind had progressed slowly, and it had been only in the more recent centuries that new inventions, such as movable type and the mariner's compass, had begun to be made at moderate intervals. But almost at the moment when more than half a continent offered its opportunity of exploitation to us, the marvellous changes of the modern age began.

As Jefferson and Adams had predicted, it might have taken centuries for us to fill up and make habitable our western possessions, had the transportation problem not been solved by steam on land and water. From the beginning of history man had had to rely upon animal transport on land and sail on sea. Each of these, nevertheless, was comparatively useless for the task of subduing to the needs of man our huge portion of an empty continent.

It was not only steamboats and railroads that seemed to open a new

era of boundless expansion and accumulation of wealth and increased population to us. Inventions, literally by the thousand, were being made. Before 1840 a few hundred patents a year only had been taken out. After 1850 the annual number steadily rose above 1000 until, in 1860, almost 5000 were issued.

We have already mentioned the enormous importance of the cotton gin. In 1835 came the Colt revolver, and in the next decade the farm machinery of all sorts, the sewing machine in 1846, matches, and



THE PROGRESS OF THE CENTURY

A Currier & Ives cartoon published in 1876.

furnaces for heating houses in 1850. About the same time a bathtub was installed in the White House. The electric telegraph, first used in 1844, had covered the whole country with a network of instantaneous communication soon after the founding of the Western Union Company a dozen years later. The submarine cable, which cut the time of transmission of news between America and England from two or three weeks down to a few seconds, was not laid until 1866, although attempts had been made to lay one since 1850.

2. Religious and Social Communities

New political theories bring new modes of living. The new political theories of the latter part of the eighteenth century, involving as they did the natural goodness of man, had gradually transformed the texture of the ordinary thought of the nineteenth. There had been time for these doctrines to "sink in," as we say. The change from the older beliefs in the essential sinfulness and vileness of man caused a tremendous outburst of optimism and hope. These often found expression in fantastic ways and in the many "isms" of the period. They were, however, also at the bottom of much of the humanitarian striving and of the many movements for the emancipation of man's spirit and the bettering of his condition.

Many communistic societies are formed. Among the more or less fantastic movements were those which led to the formation of communities to carry out various forms of life, mostly communistic in principle. These communities were based on the ideas of reformers, such as that of Robert Owen, who had founded New Harmony in Indiana in 1824. More than forty communities of all sorts were established in the decade from 1840 to 1850. Of these the one at Brook Farm was the most famous, including at times among its members such men as George William Curtis, George Ripley, Charles A. Dana, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, and among its visitors Bronson Alcott, Margaret Fuller, Emerson, and others equally distinguished. Following the teachings of the French philosopher Fourier, many communistic associations, called "Phalanxes," were formed and spread over New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and other states. Some of the communities founded were distinctly religious.

Especially in New England and the frontier from New York westward, the break-down of the old religion to some extent provided a hotbed for the rapid spread of new religious ideas. About 1833 William Miller of western New York had begun to preach the immediate second coming of Christ, and gathered communities which spread from Maine to Wisconsin. Miller was but one of scores of self-appointed prophets who preached doctrines to minds not hospitable to the new teachings of Unitarianism. Unitarians, however, under the leadership of such men as William Ellery Channing were appealing to thousands of the more intellectual New Englanders and transforming the religious atmosphere of the old Puritan colonies.

The Mormons build an Empire in the West. Among the early

settlers of the West was a religious people who wished to enjoy their forms of worship and social customs without hindrance.

The converts, under the leadership of Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont, settled in Ohio, then in Missouri. In both of these states, they were barbarously treated and driven out by hostile mobs. Forced to seek new homes, they settled in Illinois and built up the city of Nauvoo, where their community grew faster than even the then-rising city of Chicago.

Smith claimed to receive revelations from God and to have discovered, through revelation, the plates or tablets from which he translated *The Book of Mormon*. According to his teachings this book is a religious record of peoples of prehistoric America, containing the pure gospel of Christ.

Smith founded "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints," otherwise known as Mormons. They prospered at Nauvoo, but had trouble with some of the people of Illinois, and their leader was murdered by a mob. On account of these troubles, the Mormons again left their homes and went into the wilderness to find a place where



BRIGHAM YOUNG

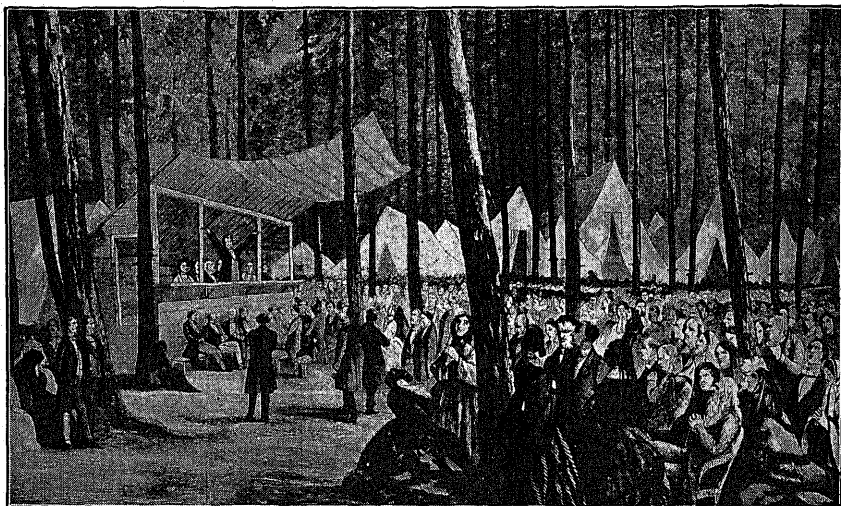
they could live in peace and safety and in accordance with their religious belief. Under their new leader and prophet, Brigham Young, who was an exceedingly able man and a genuine empire-builder, they emigrated to the desert region of Salt Lake Valley. During their migration from Illinois to the Great Salt Lake, they endured many hardships.

On July 24, 1847, the emigrant wagons entered the valley. Under the very efficient and wise rule of Young the new community grew and prospered. The waste country was made to bloom by irrigation¹ and

¹ This they did by flooding the hard, dry soil with water from the mountain streams. With great labor they dug ditches, or canals, by which the water was conducted to the sun-baked land, and by a network of smaller ditches the soil was watered and made productive. This was the first Anglo-Saxon irrigation system developed in America by communities.

the "busy bees of Deseret," as they later called themselves, grew in numbers and wealth. Hard work and shrewd business sense quickly developed a commonwealth. In 1896, Utah was made a state of the Union.

America reaches the age of mass-emotion. We were, indeed, on the threshold of the mass age, notable in many ways. The gathering together in cities of great numbers of people, the spread of the press, and the greater ease and swiftness of communication of all kinds were beginning to give us the mass spirit on a larger scale than



A CAMP MEETING AT SING SING, NEW YORK

From a drawing in *Harper's Weekly*, September 10, 1859.

anything we had yet known. It was a period of passion and strong contagious emotions too little balanced by thought and individuality. The mass emotion was to be felt in political conventions and presidential elections, in the rapid spread and the emotional appeal of all the humanitarian movements, and in the great mass meetings of the religious revivalists. Men like Charles G. Finney, "the brigadier-general of Jesus Christ," and a little later Henry Ward Beecher, swept audiences of men and women with pure emotionalism.

There were few diversions for either those crowded into cities or dwellers on lonely farms or clearings. The village was unutterably dull.

We were emotionally starved, and in many sections the camp meeting revival, with its gatherings of thousands, helped to release natural emotions. We have to take into consideration this starved life and the ease with which any issue appealing to the emotions would spread like fire, in order to understand the decades leading to the Civil War.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Bassett, *Short History of the United States*, ch. 22; Callender, *Economic History of the United States*, ch. 14; Channing, *History of the United States*, V; Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*, ch. 8; Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, 161, 168, 208-229; Elson, *History of the United States*, chs. 20-22; Ely, *Labor Movement*, 7-60; Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man*, ch. 12; Hunt, *Life in America One Hundred Years Ago*, chs. 18-20; MacDonald, *From Jefferson to Lincoln*, ch. 4; Macy, *The Anti-Slavery Crusade*, chs. 1-5; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V; Nicolay, *Our Nation in the Building*, chs. 20, 22; Schlesinger, *Political and Social History of the United States*, ch. 5; Simons, *Social Forces in American History*, ch. 17; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, ch. 33; Tucker, *Progress of the United States*, ch. 5; Turner, *Rise of the New West*, chs. 1-4; Wright, *The Industrial Evolution of the United States*, 202-269.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Callender, *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, 738-793; Harding, *Select Orations*, nos. 16-17; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, nos. 23-33; Johnston, *American Orations*, II, 219-267; May, *Recollections of Our Anti-Slavery Conflict*; *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 78-81, 137-141.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Cable, *Old Creole Days*; Chapman, *William Lloyd Garrison*; Clemens, *Huckleberry Finn*; Crow, *Harriet Beecher Stowe*; Eggleston, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*; Eggleston, *The Graysons*; Garland, *Trail-Makers of the Middle Border*; Howells, *Years of My Youth*; Larcom, *A New England Girlhood*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 360-361, 385, 388.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How were we in mid-century at the threshold of a new America?
2. What were the results of the replacement of household manufacturers by factories?
3. What progress did we make in the development of our transportation system?
4. How do you explain the rapid growth of our towns and cities?
5. Why did so many foreigners come to us during this period?
6. Why did laboring men organize themselves into unions?
7. What effect did the factory system have on the life of the people in the

states of the small-farm system? 8. Describe the prosperity of the farmers of the "wheat empire" and the "cotton kingdom." 9. How do you explain our ability to wrest from England maritime supremacy? 10. Describe the "clipper" ship. 11. How did we lose our supremacy on the seas? 12. Describe some of the useful inventions we made during this period. 13. How did political theories alter our mode of life? 14. Describe some of the communities founded during this period. 15. Describe the life of the Mormons in Utah. 16. What is meant by America reaching the age of mass-emotions?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. **IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW:** The factory system, development of our transportation system, growth of our towns and cities, coming of our foreigners, organization of trade unions, our supremacy on the sea, our inventions, the formation of communistic societies, the Mormon empire in Utah.
2. **PROJECT:** At this point in your history make a list of the most important American inventions. State briefly the significance of each.
3. **PROBLEM:** How do you account for the great prosperity of our country at mid-century?
4. **DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED:** That the mass-emotions of our people in mid-century made possible the Civil War in 1861.
5. **ESSAY SUBJECT:** The Mormon settlement in Utah as a frontier adventure.
6. **IMAGINARY LETTER:** Imagine that you lived on a little farm in New England in 1840 and supplemented your farming by household manufacture. You were unable to compete with the factory system established in the near-by towns and were finally compelled to leave your farm and move to town to work in the factory. Write a letter to a friend telling of your experiences.
7. **DIARY:** You were a Mormon and suffered persecution in different states on account of your religious beliefs. You went with Brigham Young to Utah and helped to found the great Mormon state there. You kept a diary of all these things. Read portions of your diary to the class.
8. **PERSONS TO IDENTIFY:** Horace Bushnell, Robert Owen, Nathaniel Hawthorne, William Ellery Channing, Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Henry Ward Beecher.
9. **DATES TO IDENTIFY:** 1828, 1844, 1847, 1857.
10. **TERMS TO UNDERSTAND:** "Cotton Belt," "wheat empire," "cotton kingdom," "covered wagons," "prairie schooners," "clipper" ship, "isms," "Phalanxes," Unitarianism, mass-age, mass-emotion.
11. **MAP WORK:** Give a map talk on the economic advancement of our country in mid-century. In your talk point out the chief occupations of the different sections of our country.

12. GRAPH WORK: *a.* By means of bar graphs show the railroad mileage of our country in 1830 and 1860. *b.* By means of a circular graph show the number of Germans, Irish, English, and Canadians who came to our country from 1850 to 1860.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. DEVELOPMENT OF OUR GOVERNMENT, 1820-1860: Beard, *Readings in American Government*, chs. 5-7; Hart, *National Ideals*, chs. 5-9; MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, chs. 14-15; Merriam, *American Political Theory*, chs. 5-7; Ostrogorski, *Democracy and Party System*, chs. 1-3.
2. DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORTATION, 1820-1860: Bogart, *Economic History*, nos. 143-154, 173-190; Coman, *Industrial History*, 207-268; Depew, *One Hundred Years of American Commerce*; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, ch. 25; Webster, *General History of Commerce*, 355-387.
3. OUR COTTON INDUSTRY: Brooks, *The Story of Cotton*; Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom*; Hammond, *The Cotton Industry*; Ingle, *Southern Side-lights*; Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*.
4. OUR IMMIGRANTS: Faulkner, *American Economic History*, ch. 15; Jennings, *History of Economic Progress in United States*, ch. 12; McMaster, *United States*, VII, 369-384; Orth, *Our Foreigners*, chs. 3, 5, 6; Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, ch. 9.

TOPIC IV

LIFE IN OUR COUNTRY IN WAR TIMES

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To set forth life in the North and the South in war times.
2. To understand the constitutional questions raised by the Civil War.
3. To see the various ways in which the lives of the people were touched by the war.

1. Life in the North

The Civil War affects the lives of the people. In 1861 came the War between the States which was to make a sharp break with the past. Such a struggle as the War between the States, under modern conditions, is bound to affect profoundly the life of any people. Such a contest emphasizes existing tendencies, but we must distinguish between the emphasizing of those tendencies, and the new factors introduced.

Public opinion in the North is confused. We are struck by the fact that, precisely as in England, public opinion in the North was confused as to why the war when it broke was really being waged. Writing from Massachusetts to a friend in London some three months after Fort Sumter had surrendered, Nathaniel Hawthorne voiced the confusion of many when he said: "We also have gone to war, and we seem to have little, or at least a very misty, idea of what we are fighting for. It depends upon the speaker; and that, again, depends upon the section of the country in which his sympathies are enlisted. The Southern man will say, 'We fight for States' rights, liberty, and independence.' The Middle-Western man will avow he fights for the Union; while our Northern and Eastern man will swear that from the beginning his only idea was liberty to the blacks and the annihilation of slavery."

Although this confusion was to some extent cleared by Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamations of September, 1862, and January, 1863, it was never completely clarified in the North. Throughout the four years a considerable group in that section was opposed to the war. Forming themselves into an organization called at different times and places the Knights of the Golden Circle, the Order of American Knights, and Sons of Liberty, these people were plainly disloyal.

Apart from these "copperheads," as the members of this group were popularly called from one of the most dangerous of American snakes, the North was far from being a unified section in either aims or prosecution of the struggle.

The abolitionists wish to free the slaves. Union sentiment was strongest in the West and abolitionism in the East, particularly New England. The chief abolitionists had long been preaching disunion. More than a dozen years earlier, at the time of the Texas controversy, Lowell had written in the first series of his *Biglow Papers*:

"Ef I'd *my* way I hed ruther
We should go to work an' part;
They take one way, we take t'other.
Guess it wouldn't break my heart."

The extreme abolitionists had, by their fiery denunciations of the Southern aims and character, done their best to instil into the Northern mind a hatred of the South and its people. For this group, the war was not a war for union but primarily a war to free the slave and to punish a people. They considered that the Southerners were not merely caught in the toils of an economic system which neither they nor Lincoln could see how to change, but were wilfully ruling by blood and lash.

The North enlists 3,000,000 soldiers. Turning to the question of military service, we may note that, owing to much overlapping in various ways, it is impossible to arrive at any accurate estimate of the numbers of troops who served in both armies. In the North, the enlistments were almost 3,000,000, but it is probable that not more than 2,000,000 different individuals actually were in service at one time and another. Of these, 350,000 died, 110,000 either on the battlefield or from wounds.

The raising of troops has always presented difficulties in the United States, until the World War, when from the start the lessons from previous ones were utilized. On April 15, 1861, Lincoln in the North called for 75,000 volunteers for three months' service only, and this small number, for so short a term, out of that section's population of 19,000,000 (not counting the border states) promptly enlisted. On May 3, he called for about 80,000 more, approximately half of whom were to serve in volunteer regiments and half in the regular army for a three-year term. The President was in a quandary as to volunteers

until Congress should meet in special session on July 4. The old law of 1795 provided that the militia could not be called upon to serve more than three months in any one year. It was for that technical reason and not because he believed in so short a war that Lincoln named the three months' period in his first call.

The North offers bounties to volunteers. When Congress met in July, it was believed necessary to offer a bounty of \$100 to every soldier who would volunteer, and this system was continued throughout the war. Not only the Federal Government but states, counties, and districts offered bounties. By 1864 volunteers were receiving in some states, such as Massachusetts and Illinois, as much as \$1000 and even more for their enlistment. Before the end of the war, the system cost the Federal Government \$300,000,000 and the state and local governments \$286,000,000 more.

By the middle of 1862 the need for men was imperative. In spite of patriotism and bounties they were not coming forward. In July the President asked for 300,000 through the governors of the states, who instituted state drafts.

"We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more,
From Mississippi's winding stream, and from New England's shore,"

wrote John S. Gibbons on the editorial page of *The New York Evening Post*, but in fact only 88,000 came.

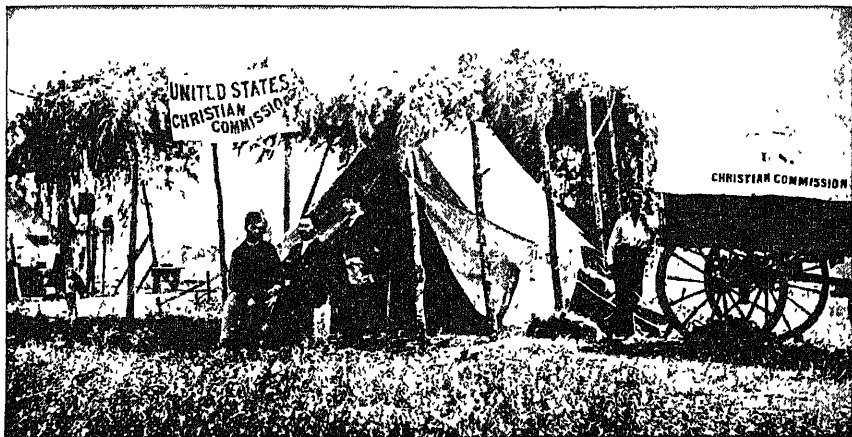
The North resorts to conscription. By the next year the situation was so bad that Congress on March 3, 1863, enacted a conscription law. Although based on state population, it was for the first time in our history that the Federal Government operated directly in raising troops. All men between twenty and forty-five were required to register, although certain groups, such as married men over thirty-five, could subsequently claim exemption. A bad feature of the law was that a drafted man could free himself from any particular draft by paying \$300, or could avoid service for the entire duration of the war by procuring a substitute for a three-year enlistment.

Nevertheless, although over 200,000 substitutes appear to have been purchased, the greater part by far of the men who served throughout the whole war were volunteers.

Draft riots occur in the North. There was much violent opposition to the draft, the worst being the riots in New York in July, 1863. For three days that city was practically in the hands of a mob. The provost marshal's office was sacked and destroyed, as were the

homes of the mayor, and of the publisher of *The Tribune*, and other buildings. The colored orphan asylum was burned, and negroes were hunted through the city and a number killed. The draft had to be suspended for a month. It was not until Federal troops had been rushed to the scene that order was restored, after 1000 persons had been killed or wounded and about one and one-half million dollars' worth of property destroyed.

The New York riots were the most serious, but there were minor



From the photograph by Brady, in the Library of Congress

UNITED STATES CHRISTIAN COMMISSION STATION AT GERMANTOWN, VIRGINIA,
AUGUST, 1863

affairs in other cities throughout the North. In spite of these, however, the drafts were carried out.

The welfare of the soldiers is cared for. The men who were in the army were well looked after by those behind the lines. A new era of humanitarianism in military history had been ushered in only a few years before by Florence Nightingale in the Crimean War. So when the medical department of the United States army found itself helpless before its sudden task of caring for the sick and wounded, a civilian organization on a national basis, the United States Sanitary Commission, rendered admirable service.

Clara Barton and Louisa M. Alcott were the two most famous of the many nurses it put in the field. Not only caring for the sick and disabled but also supplying the well with many comforts, the Sanitary Commission was the first national organization of the sort

which we developed. Money for its use was raised in part by the holding of "sanitary fairs," those at New York and Philadelphia alone netting \$1,000,000 each.

Another organization, chiefly concerned with distributing Bibles and otherwise ministering to the moral and physical needs of the men, was the Christian Commission. It expended \$6,000,000 in all, and like the Sanitary Commission was nation-wide in its organization.

The North spends huge sums for humanitarian purposes.

Very large sums were spent by states and smaller political divisions in caring for the families of the poorer soldiers. The war seems to have given a great impetus to the more ordinary charities of peace times. One of the difficult problems was the disposition of about 300,000 negroes who either had escaped from the South or were taken over by the government as parts of the South were conquered by the Union armies and the owners of the negroes fled. To a considerable extent these derelict slaves were gathered together into camps. At first conditions were bad, but when they were revealed, however, a wave of missionary



THE SOLDIERS' FRIEND

This maiden, whom *Southern Punch* featured in November, 1863, had "knit more than five dozen pairs of socks since the war commenced and she is still knitting!"

emotion swept over the North, and much was done to improve them.

The Civil War costs the North \$3,000,000,000. It is impossible to estimate exactly the cost of the struggle to either North or South, but for the former the increased expenditure of the government above normal during the war years was unquestionably more than \$3,000,000,000. More than \$2,600,000,000 was raised by the sale of bonds. The total bonded debt of the government reached practically \$3,000,000,000 by 1868, after adjustment of certain claims. Three other chief sources of revenue were tapped—internal taxation, import duties, and the issue of paper money, the latter two having lasting results.

Revenue is raised by internal taxation. The system of internal taxation, which yielded over \$350,000,000, was rather chaotic. It began to seem as though almost every object and occupation were taxed in one way or another—liquor, tobacco, bank checks, advertisements, all sorts of business and incomes, and almost innumerable other things. Because of duplications and the taxation of the same article in its various stages of manufacture or sale, it was estimated that the taxes actually collected



A CARTOON PROTESTING AGAINST THE ISSUE OF "GREENBACKS" TO AMERICAN CITIZENS WHILE FOREIGN NATIONS ARE PAID IN SPECIE

From a cartoon by C. S. Reinhardt in *Harper's Weekly*, April 25, 1874.

ranged from 8 to 15 per cent on every finished product. Before the war was over, the income tax, declared unconstitutional long afterward, was levied at 5 per cent on incomes from \$600 to \$5000 and 10 per cent above the latter amount.

Revenue is raised by means of the tariff. From the tariff of 1846 to that of 1860, there had been little agitation on the subject of protection, and rates had tended toward lower figures. In 1860 the Morrill Bill had been prepared, considerably increasing the duties on iron and wool for protection rather than for revenue. This act, finally passed in 1861, was scarcely in operation when the war made its heavy demands for increased revenue. By successive acts the average

duty levied rose to over 37 per cent in 1862 and over 47 per cent in 1864. But the essential feature of these new tariff measures was the emphasis laid on protection.

Our government issues "greenbacks." Although throughout the contest the government insisted upon customs duties being paid in gold, the metal almost immediately disappeared from circulation. In February, 1862, Congress authorized the issue of paper money to the extent of \$150,000,000. It made the "greenbacks," as the notes were called, legal tender for all purposes except customs duties and interest on the national debt.

There was nothing back of this paper except the credit of the nation. By successive issues, the amount rose to nearly \$450,000,000. The changing fortunes of the war made redemption uncertain, and the "greenbacks" fell in value until at one stage a paper dollar was worth only thirty-five cents in gold. At the end of 1861 all banks had suspended specie payment, and it was not until the country went back on a gold basis in January, 1879, that our money returned to par.

We establish a national banking system. In 1863 the currency which the people had to use was in confusion. Not only was there the issue of "greenbacks," fluctuating in value, but there were the government "shin-plasters." These were bills for small amounts to take the place of those metal coins other than gold which had also disappeared. Private concerns issued small bills, postage stamps were largely used, and 1300 banks in the North were issuing their bills in denominations up to \$1000. It was estimated that there were over 8000 different varieties in circulation, without including innumerable counterfeits.

Partly to clear up this situation, and partly to assist the sale of the huge blocks of government bonds, a National Banking Act was passed in February, 1863. It provided for the creation of banks belonging to a "national" instead of state systems. These were to be supervised by national examiners, and were to issue bank notes to the extent only of 90 per cent of the United States bonds held by them. The government was to assume responsibility for the ultimate redemption of all the notes issued. Few banks were formed under this system during the war, but just at the end of the war in 1865, when the government laid a tax of 10 per cent on all notes issued by state banks, many institutions changed and became "national." For almost exactly fifty years the new system remained the foundation of our banking currency.

The Civil War sets aside the safeguards of democracy. There was another way in which the citizen found his life directly touched

by the fact of war. We know at present of no other form of government which, on the whole, suits our modern problems and temper better than democracy. Nevertheless, popular government has its limitations. As history has shown over and over again, in many countries in the last century at times of really great crises, democracy has had to submit itself temporarily to a practical dictatorship and to yield up some of its safeguards.

There never was less of a tyrant in heart and mind than Lincoln. Yet many of his acts led him to be so considered by numerous Northerners who were as loyal as he to the cause of Union. His situation was difficult. The North, as we have seen, not only was not a unit in its war aims, but throughout the struggle contained an element which was opposed to carrying on the war. The problem of just how far freedom of speech and press can be maintained in war without danger to the nation is extremely complex. It depends upon an exact balancing of the value of free speech and a free press as against the danger of the opinions of the protesting minority.

Lincoln suspends the writ of habeas corpus. Although suppression was not carried so far by Lincoln's administration as later by Wilson's, in some respects the earlier control of citizens was more rigorous. At the beginning, when it was uncertain which side Maryland would join, Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus in that state, without constitutional authority to do so. The following year he gave the force of an executive decree to the arbitrary arrests which had been made by the Secretary of War, suspending the writ throughout the United States for all persons who should "give aid and comfort to the rebels," discourage enlistments, or engage in "any disloyal practice."

It was not until after the war that a decision was rendered on the question by the Supreme Court, in the case of L. P. Milligan. He and two other "Sons of Liberty" in Indiana had been sentenced to death by a military commission, a sentence not carried out because Lincoln did not sign the order. When Milligan's case, after Lincoln's own death, reached the Supreme Court, that tribunal handed down an emphatic opinion. It declared that under no circumstances could a civilian be subjected to military trial where the civil courts were functioning. It is uncertain how many civilians were executed as traitors during the war, but more than 13,000 found themselves in prison on various charges.

Much graft is found in the North. In the midst of all the genuine prosperity in the North, fraud and corruption were rife. The

scandals of the War Department under Cameron became notorious. When Stanton took over the post of Secretary, he had an investigation made which revealed loose administration and enormous plunder.

One lot of claims pressed against the government for \$50,000,000 was quickly scaled down to \$33,000,000 when the investigation started. A large proportion of the guns supplied to the soldiers were shown to be of inferior quality, as was also the shoddy cloth for uniforms. Conditions were better under Stanton, but even he could not prevent graft on a gigantic scale.

Reckless spending of money takes place in the North. The rapidity with which money was being made, especially by people who had not been used to it, brought about that wild extravagance familiar in every great war. Never had such quantities of silks, satins, velvets, jewels, and other luxuries been sold. The "most prodigious" diamonds were sold by Tiffany as fast as that shop could import them.

Groups of prominent women tried in vain to stem the tide by organization and pledges. Theatres and opera were crowded as though no war existed. The new millionaires of manufacturing, government contracts, oil, gold, and all the rest, set an ignoble pace, and to a great extent the people at large followed.

The war brings forth economic problems. Under the combined pressure of extravagance, war-time demands, and depreciating paper currency, prices for goods and food soared. As usual, the smaller "white collar" people and the laboring classes suffered most or gained least. Salaries and wages did not keep pace with the rising cost of living.

It was during the war and immediately after, that the labor movement, halted by the panic of 1857, took on its modern national features,—the American form of labor unions, the union label, and the nationalizing of unions. Although there were comparatively few strikes of importance, there was some fighting for higher wages and also for lessened hours of work from the ten a day of unskilled labor, the twelve of workers in woollen mills, the sixteen of street-car men.

If wages did not keep pace with prices, so long as the war lasted there were some compensations for the working class, such as the sums paid in wages to the men at the front, the hundreds of millions in bounties, and the money given in charity to soldiers' families.

What we think of as peculiarly a problem of to-day, what we call "technological unemployment," due to the throwing of hands out of work owing to machinery or more efficient production, had already

made its appearance. One large group of wage earners, that of seamstresses, suffered greatly and permanently. The wide-spread use of the sewing machine, and the change in trade conditions and public taste which brought about the development of the ready-made clothing business, left many thousands of honest women without work.

Northern banks increase their deposits. On the other hand, we have to contrast extravagance, low wages, high prices, and special causes of unemployment with other figures. In 1864 the largest savings bank in New York City increased its depositors by 13,000. There were 200,000 depositors in the state, and similar conditions were true of other sections. The business of life-insurance companies more than doubled. Accident insurance was introduced and the new companies immediately did a large business.

Enrollment in the public schools increases during the war. Although education suffered from the war, it should be noted that, in addition to the government grants under the Morrill Act, private benefactors, such as Ezra Cornell and Matthew Vassar, to name only two, gave over \$5,000,000 in the war years to various institutions. Such notable schools as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cornell, and Vassar all had their inception during the struggle.

Attendance in the men's colleges fell off, but attendance in the public schools increased tremendously. The shift from men to women teachers throughout the country dates chiefly from this period. The tendency had been present for some time, but the large number of men teachers who went into the army made a permanent change.

2. *Life in the South*

President Davis keeps fairly close to the Confederate Constitution. When we turn to consider the conditions behind the lines in the South we find a situation which, although infinitely sadder than in the North, was in many ways simpler.

In the matter of preserving the constitutional liberties of the individual under stress of abnormal conditions, the Southerner fared somewhat better than the Northerner. Davis, like Lincoln, had to encounter a considerable amount of defeatism, pacifism, and disloyalty, on the part of both individuals and organizations.

For most of the war the writ of habeas corpus was suspended, but by the Confederate Congress instead of by the executive decree of the President. Moreover, no Southern newspapers were forced to stop

publication, as were some in the North, and the freedom of the press was maintained. The Southerners, partly from their nature and partly from the sort of life that most of them led, had a more lively sense of personal liberty than had the Northerners. This combined with the doctrine of states rights helped to keep Davis more strictly to the letter of the Constitution than Lincoln was kept in the North.

The South suffers heavy losses in the Civil War. The white population of the North, not including the border states, was about 19,000,000; that of the seceded states about 5,500,000, or about 5,000,000 deducting those in the loyal mountain sections who were useless to the Confederacy. These figures give the North nearly four times the white man power of the seceded South. Moreover, we may note that the South did not use negro troops, though a law permitting the enlistment of negroes was passed only a month before Appomattox. The North used about 100,000 negroes. If we accept the figure of about 1,750,000 for the number in the Union army, and 800,000 in the Confederate, we find the number serving in the South in proportion to population more than two to one as compared with that in the North.

The total number of Northerners killed in battle was 110,000, of Southerners 94,000, and the total dead from all causes in the Northern army 350,000 and in the Southern 368,000. Thus the South lost four times as many dead in proportion to population as did the North. These various ratios are borne out in general by the number of veterans surviving on each side in 1890.

The Confederacy, like the Union, conscripts its soldiers. The South as well as the North had its slackers, its bounty scandals, and its deserters. Lincoln's call for troops in April, 1861, was immediately echoed by Davis in the Southern call for 32,000 volunteers for a year. Later calls, from the states as well as the Confederacy, resulted in the formation of the first armies. But by April, 1862, Davis, like Lincoln, had to resort to conscription, and all white men between eighteen and forty-five, unless falling into certain exempt classes, were made liable to service. Passed by the Confederate Congress, the conscription act at once raised the question of states rights, on which the Southern states had seceded. South Carolina, in particular, denied the constitutionality of any such legislation. The many classes of exemption provided—such as school teachers, druggists, printers, editors, legislators, artisans, and slave overseers—resulted in a scramble on the part of many to fill such posts, and also created much ill-feeling. The constant desertions from the ranks throughout the war were also a source of

weakness to the Confederacy. Although there was some disorder, there was no such rioting in the South as in the North. The statistics given above tell their own story of the great sacrifices made by Southern as well as Northern whites for their cause.

Some Southerners make money during the war. With the upset conditions, the constant inflation due to declining paper money, and the opportunities which war always offers, there grew up on a smaller scale the same new-rich class in the South as came into existence in the North. After Richmond became the capital, there was a more than doubling of its population, and a real-estate boom. Southerners loudly lamented the wild extravagance and luxury to be seen there. The winners of Southern government contracts, the owners of manufacturing plants, and others, made large and quick profits.



FIVE DOLLARS A POUND FOR BEEF AND MUTTON WAS THE REASON FOR THIS "ARISTOCRATIC MEAT" DRAWING WHICH "SOUTHERN PUNCH" PUBLISHED IN APRIL 16, 1864

From the Rare Book Room of the Congressional Library.

The Southerners have little chance to create great fortunes. On the whole, throughout the four years, the white South was far more intent than the North solely on waging the war, and not on money-making. Contrasted with the rise of wheat in the North, the South saw its cotton crop decline from over four and one-half million bales in 1860 to one-half million in 1864 and 1865, much of which was ruined and a total loss. No gold and silver and oil were discovered in the South to make sudden fortunes.

The limited manufacturing equipment at the beginning of the war was scarcely sufficient to take care of the military needs. The railroads,

instead of becoming prosperous by hauling the tonnage of new industries, could not even be properly repaired for want of iron for rails and rolling stock. The lack of food in some sections, and particularly the difficulty of supplying the armies, was due to lack of transportation facilities rather than to lack of foodstuffs themselves.

The Confederacy issues paper money to finance the war. The

GENERAL ORDER.

**HEAD QUARTERS,
DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN VIRGINIA,
Charleston, Va., Sept. 24, 1862.**

General Order, No.

The money issued by the Confederate Government is secure, and is receivable in payment of public dues, and convertible into 8 per cent. bonds. Citizens owe it to the country to receive it in trade; and it will therefore be regarded as good in payment for supplies purchased for the army.

Persons engaged in trade are invited to resume their business and open their stores.

By order of

MAJ. GEN. LORING.

**H. FITZBUGH,
Chief of Staff.**

**A BROADSIDE DESIGNED TO INSTIL CONFIDENCE IN
CONFEDERATE MONEYS**

From the Rare Book Room of the New York Public
Library.

difficulties of financing the war in the South were greater than in the North. The people responded liberally to the first loan in 1861, but that exhausted practically all the specie available. The blockade of the Southern ports cut off almost all income from customs duties. An internal revenue act, similar to that in the North, was passed, but there was not the same wealth

to be taxed, and much resentment was aroused. The one foreign loan, of \$15,000,000, did not go far. The result was the issuing of over a billion dollars of paper which formed the only currency, steadily sinking in value to zero.

The property of the South is swept away. Moreover, with the exception of Lee's two raids, practically all fighting and destruction of property took place on Southern soil. The rich and beautiful Shenandoah Valley was left desolate. The track of Sherman's march was a broad swath of ruin. The country between Richmond and Washington was said to be a desert. Columbia, Charleston, and other cities were wrecks of their former wealth and beauty. Railroads were lines of rusty and twisted iron. The rolling stock was dilapidated. When, after peace was declared, a Union commission was sent South to investigate, they found destitution everywhere. In some cases men and women walked thirty miles to obtain food at the Federal agencies.

Banks, life-insurance companies, all Southern investments represent-

ing capital based on Confederate money and bonds crashed and became worthless. Even those Southerners who thought they had money when the war ended found it could buy nothing. Over three and one-half million slaves, worth on an average \$500 each, had been freed. Practically all that was left to the Southerner were his lands and his houses.

The slaves welcome their freedom. During all the war the slaves had been docile and loyal. Many had fled to the Union armies after the Emancipation Proclamation, but these were few compared to the total. A Southern governor, Walker of Florida, said after the war was over: "Our women and infant children were left almost exclusively to the protection of our slaves and they proved true to their trust. Not one case of insult, outrage, indignity, has come to my knowledge."

The slaves unquestionably welcomed their freedom, just as a white man would have under similar conditions. To a great extent, in their ignorance, they thought that freedom meant that a millennium was coming when they would not be free *to* work but free *from* work. Major Henry Hitchcock, who was on Sherman's staff on the famous march through Georgia, gave many glimpses of conditions in his letters. Nowhere, he wrote, did the slaves show any resentment against their masters, but everywhere a desire for freedom.

Education in the South suffers during the war. The South had been weak in its educational institutions for long before the war, and during the struggle education in the South, even such as there was, went rapidly backward. Before the war was over, conscription had been made to include white men from the age of seventeen to fifty. Recalling that four times the number of men and boys in proportion to population were in service in the South as compared with the North, and that even in the North college attendance fell off heavily, we can realize how little opportunity for college education there was in the South from 1861 to 1865. The University of Virginia, the best in the section, had 600 students in 1861 and only 40 in 1863.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Adams, *America's Tragedy*; Bassett, *Short History of the United States*, ch. 27; Elson, *Side Lights on American History*, II, ch. 3; Gay, *Life in Dixie during the War*; Hosmer, *Outcomes of the Civil War*, chs. 15-16; Kirkland, *Peacemakers of 1864*; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States during Lincoln's Administration*; Paxson, *American Civil War, 189-207*; Pryor, *Reminiscences of Peace and War*; Rhodes, *History of the Civil War*; Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*, II, ch. 23; Wilson, *History of the American People*, IV, 290-312.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Forman, *Side Lights on Our Social and Economic History*, 489-493; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, nos. 75-101; Hill, *Liberty Documents*, chs. 21-22; Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, nos. 108-144; Old South Leaflets, nos. 182, 192; Russell, *My Diary North and South*.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Alcott, *Hospital Sketches*; Andrews, *Perfect Tribute*; Avary, *A Virginia Girl in the Civil War*; Barton, *The Great Good Man*; Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time*; Cable, *The Cavalier*; Churchill, *The Crisis*; Coffin, *My Days and Nights on the Battlefield*; Dixon, *The Man in Gray*; Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*; Eggleston, *Southern Soldier Stories*; Fox, *Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*; Glasgow, *The Battleground*; Harris, *On the Plantation*; Heyward, *Peter Ashley*; Page, *Among the Camps*; Schaff, *Jefferson Davis*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 400-411, 413, 500; Wheelwright, *War Children*.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How did the Civil War affect the lives of the people? 2. What different opinions were held at first in the North as to the reason the war was being waged? 3. Why did some Northerners oppose the war? 4. What did the abolitionists wish to do? 5. Why did Lincoln call for volunteers to serve just for three months? 6. Why did the North offer bounties to soldiers? 7. Why did the North have to resort to conscription? 8. Tell of the draft riots in the North. 9. What was the cost of the Civil War to the North? 10. By what means did the North raise money to carry on the war? 11. Describe the establishment of our national banking system. 12. Was Lincoln justified in setting aside during the war some of our safeguards of democracy? 13. Why did Lincoln and Davis suspend the writ of habeas corpus? 14. How do you account for the graft and corruption in the North during the war? 15. How do you account for the reckless spending of money in the North? 16. What economic problems did the war bring on? 17. How do you account for the prosperity in the North during the war? 18. How did the war affect the schools in the North? 19. Why was President Davis able to preserve the constitutional liberties of his people better than President Lincoln? 20. Describe the suffering endured by the South during the war. 21. Why was there no great prosperity in the South as in the North during the war? 22. How did the Confederacy finance the war? 23. Describe the destruction of property in the South during the war. 24. Why did the slaves welcome their freedom? 25. How did the war affect education in the South?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The effects of the Civil War on the lives of the people, opposition to the war in the North, Lincoln's call for volun-

teers, conscription of soldiers in the North, draft riots in the North, the work of the Sanitary Commission, the cost of the Civil War, how money was raised in North and South to conduct the war, the establishment of the national banking system, suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, graft and corruption in the North, the economic problems of the war, how education fared during the war, the suffering of the South during the war, the destruction of the property of the South.

2. PROJECT: Compare the life in the United States during the Civil War with the life in the United States during the World War.

3. PROBLEM: Were Presidents Lincoln and Davis justified in suspending the writ of habeas corpus?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That our government is not justified in violating our Constitution in time of war.

5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The effect of the Civil War on education in our country.

6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you were one of the Northerners who opposed the War between the States. Write a letter to a friend in the South.

7. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Florence Nightingale, Clara Barton, Louisa M. Alcott, Ezra Cornell, Matthew Vassar.

8. DATES TO IDENTIFY: April 15, 1861; February, 1862; April, 1862; September, 1862; January, 1863; February, 1863; March 3, 1863; July, 1863.

9. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Knights of the Golden Circle, the Order of American Knights, Sons of Liberty, "copperheads," bounties, "sanitary fairs," "greenbacks," suspended specie payments, "shin-plasters," suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, "white collar" people, the union label, bonus, "technological unemployment," defeatism.

10. MAP WORK: In a map talk locate the following places and tell the historical significance of each: New York City, Washington, Appomattox, Richmond, Shenandoah Valley, Columbia, Charleston.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. LIFE IN THE NORTH DURING THE CIVIL WAR: Channing, *History of the United States*, VI, ch. 14; Faulkner, *Economic History of the United States*, ch. 8; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War*; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, ch. 27; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 219-221, 227-233.

2. LIFE IN THE SOUTH DURING THE CIVIL WAR: Curry, *Civil History of the Confederate States*, ch. 5; Eggleston, *Rebel's Recollections*, chs. 2-4; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, ch. 28; Schwab, *Confederate States of America*; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, ch. 10.

TOPIC V

RECENT AMERICAN LIFE

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To set forth the influence of foreign immigration on American life.
2. To understand the changes that recent inventions have made in our lives.
3. To set forth the measures of a standard of living and to understand our quest for security and a better life.

1. Influences of Foreign Immigration

Our early immigrants come to find homes. There has been a mixture of races in America from the beginning. The chief of the colonizing groups was English, followed at a distance by the Dutch, Swedes, French in Louisiana, and others. In New York of the earliest days it was said that twenty languages were spoken, and within two years of its founding Philadelphia contained, besides the English, Dutch, Germans, Finns, Swedes, Danes, French, Scotch, and Irish. In the early eighteenth century foreign immigration set in on a heavy scale. By mid-century perhaps 20,000 Swiss, 60,000 Germans and an equal number of Scotch-Irish, besides Irish, Jews, and others, had settled here. These early immigrants, however, like the Scandinavian, German, and some other races in the next century, came, not to find jobs, but homes.

Our later immigrants come to find work. In the course of the nineteenth century the situation radically changed. Immigration took on enormous proportions. By 1880 a half million foreigners a year were pouring in, rising a couple of decades later to 1,000,000. After that date also the racial character altered. Instead of Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians, there came in tidal sweeps Italians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Greeks, Levantines, Russians, Rumanians, and others from eastern and southeastern Europe, who had little or no racial affinity with the English stock on which they were to be grafted. As Professor Beard has pointed out, never since the Roman Empire had a people imported such a deluge of strange races to serve them. For to a considerable extent from the 1830's and especially from the 1880's

these newcomers did come to serve the older Americans. The bulk of the more alien races came here seeking jobs.

Whether they sought jobs themselves or took those they had been imported to fill, they naturally got those which native Americans least desired. They did the manual labor of laying railroads, and other sorts; they worked in coal mines and iron and steel furnaces. Several consequences flowed from this flood of newcomers and the work they did, even when they took up land in the West and became farmers.

In Europe the population of each nation is largely of one race. In Spain, Italy, France, Germany, and others, all the work of every sort, the lowest as well as the highest, which contributes to the social result is done by people allied by blood. Every nation is provincial. It looks upon foreigners as somehow inferior. Multitudes of those who came to us were dreadfully poor. They were foreign, and strange to us. Many seemed uncouth. They did not know our language or our ways. They took the jobs to a great extent which Americans had rather looked down on anyway. Thus we came to look upon these new-comers rather as servile races and to regard the work they did as beneath what an American should do. We came in the North to look upon work done by them much as the Southerner had regarded work done by the slave, as something he himself could not stoop to. This was one of the evil effects.

The foreigners interfere with the bargaining power of labor. Another bad effect was the extraordinary speed with which the country was settled and its industries grew. To those who were making money by the progress in real estate, coal, timber, oil, railroads, manufacturing, and many other material things, this seemed wholly desirable.

The growth of population at a rate Europe never knew was regarded as indicating the success of the American experiment. We realize now that many of the evils from which we suffer—the corruption in politics, the mismanagement of our great cities, the general low morality of business, the waste of our resources, the emphasis placed on wealth and material success—stem from the feverish speed with which we grew and the haste with which colossal fortunes could be piled up in consequence.

For labor itself, whether native American or imported, the effect was bad. The development of labor unions and the bargaining power of labor were greatly retarded because of the difficulty of incorporating in the movement these large bodies of foreigners who did not speak English and with whom the American worker would not join in com-

ination. To the satisfaction of the capitalists these foreigners not only undersold labor but prevented labor from forming effective combinations.

The foreigners come in such numbers as to prevent proper Americanization. Moreover, coming in such enormous numbers, they formed racial groups so that the normal process of absorbing individuals into American life was almost impossible. An individual alien might have quickly learned our language and adapted himself to our ways while at the same time he might have retained qualities which would have enriched our civilization. Many of these foreign strains have had much to contribute to us, such, frequently, as the love for music, an age-long appreciation of beauty, an ardent belief in the American Dream, a belief that life is something more than getting and spending, a willingness to consider no kind of useful work as unworthy, and many others. Of course, multitudes of them also have not had these qualities. Faced by solid masses of aliens in racial blocks, the Americans have too often felt that the necessary Americanization of these blocks has meant only destroying every alien trait and taste.

Our foreigners have made many contributions to our civilization. On the other hand, in spite of every handicap, many of the later groups, like the earlier, have contributed much to our common civilization. The Scotch, Scotch-Irish, Irish, Dutch, French, and Germans who joined the English in the early settlement of the colonies made ours a mixed people from the start. Among the later groups the Scandinavians of the Northwest are second to none in maintaining the principles of the older America. Many of the Jews, ever since the colonial period, have contributed much to our cultural life. We find Italian, Polish, and Czech names in the list of citizens eminent for distinguished service. If we eliminated all the contributions of post-colonial immigrants and their descendants—works of art, literature, drama, music, the scientific contributions, the glorious deeds in army and navy, the support of hospitals, libraries, opera—the resultant scene would be a strangely shrunken America.

America may now develop a new composite race. In the past fifty years, however, immigrants have been coming in far too rapidly for their own good or ours. Many voices were raised from time to time to warn of the dangers. The insistent pressure on Congress, however, by the employers, who wanted not only cheap labor but labor which would foil the efforts of the labor unions, was too much to allow proper legislation to be passed. It was the prospect of the impoverished mil-

lions and millions, who wished to come to America in one final and completely overwhelming flood at the end of the World War, which caused barriers to be put up. The "melting pot" is no longer being filled faster than it can melt, and we can now develop a new and composite race. There is to-day no such thing as a "pure race." Every race, including the English, is a mixture of many ancestral strains. What we now call pure is merely a race which has been free from too large mixtures for enough centuries to have established a character and quality of its own. That, in time, America may now achieve.

- 2. *Influences of Recent Inventions*

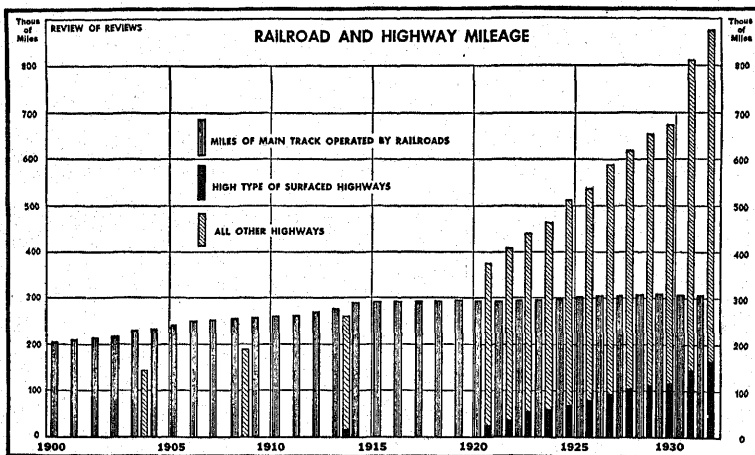
Life in the 1890's is quite simple. America in the late 80's and early 90's seems almost incredibly different in thought, surroundings, and ways of life from the America of our own day. It is true that the age of steam and machinery had wrought great changes in the social and economic life of the people. Labor-saving machinery had done away with much drudgery and had increased leisure and productivity. The cable, telegraph, and improved printing-presses had brought the modern newspaper into existence. Factory production, replacing home crafts, had forced a rapid urbanization of the population. Such a list of changes could be long extended.

Yet with all of them, life for most people had not altered greatly, and their list of wants had not been much extended. They travelled more rapidly and often read more widely and had more conveniences, such as gas lights and friction matches, than their fathers had had in their early days, but there had been no great revolution in our life and its ways. Except for the very poor in the largest industrial centers, a home still meant for almost every American a house of his own in which the family lived its own life in privacy. The "apartment" was scarcely known.

Transportation methods are crude in last century. Family activities and friendships were largely confined to the immediate neighborhood of the home. In the cities, there were no subways, few electric cars, and for the most part busses and horse-cars jogged along at about four miles an hour. There was not an automobile in use in the country in the early 90's, even the "safety" bicycle, invented about 1884, with pneumatic tires somewhat later, was too costly for very wide use until near the turn of the century. Every one, in city and country, relied upon a horse and carriage, if he had a conveyance of his own. There

was not a mile of concrete road in the whole United States, and most of the roads were of dirt, and bad. The household of the farmer was isolated to an extent it is almost impossible to conceive to-day.

Telephones and typewriters are little used in the 90's. Although the telephone had become practical, it was not in wide use. It was to be found in few city homes even of the well-to-do, and scarcely



THE GROWTH IN ROADS, 1900-1930

at all in the country. Not even all the offices of New York Stock Exchange firms found it necessary to have one in the early '80's. The radio, of course, was utterly unknown, and even the phonograph was put on the market, in a very crude form, only in 1886. Two years later came the invention of a portable camera.

In looking back, one is forcibly struck with the simplicity of life and its lack of "apparatus." The typewriter was coming into use, but when Cleveland first became President he did not feel the need of employing even a single stenographer, and there was but one telephone for all the White House business, which he would answer himself when the clerks had gone for the day.

The telephone brings great changes. Before the telephone, for most purposes of ordinary daily life, if one wanted to get word to some one else, one had either to send a messenger or go one's self. On the Stock Exchange quotations were sent to the brokers' offices by hand, and if a man uptown wanted to know what a stock was quoted

at he must either go all the way to Wall Street to find out, or send a letter by hand. The volume of business in many lines has been enormously extended by the use of the telephone, as has also the way of doing it. In our social life also it has made great changes. Especially in the rural districts it has been a boon to the farmer's wife. Before the days of the telephone and automobile, the loneliness was very great. The telephone brought them into contact with their neighbors, though they might be miles away. Like most of the modern inventions, it has also speeded up the rate at which we live and increased the need for quick thinking.

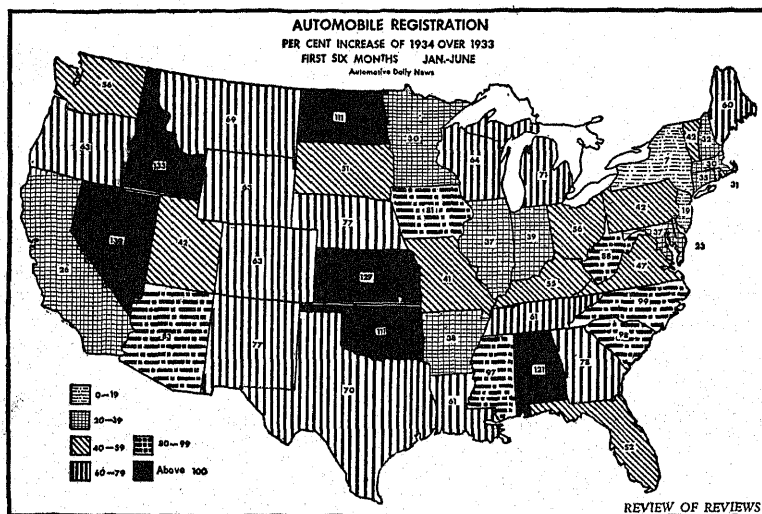
We begin to make changes in our architecture. The skyscraper had scarcely appeared. Although some experiments were made with steel-frame buildings, it was not until past this period, in 1902, that the twenty-story Flatiron Building in New York marked the real beginning of a general architectural transformation, with its accompaniment of soaring prices for city real estate.

The elevator makes the skyscraper possible. The skyscraper will illustrate the dependence of one invention upon another. It was dependent upon the adoption of the elevator. Before elevators the height of a building was limited to the number of stairs the tenants could climb. Now one can rise without effort to the eightieth story in less time than it used to take to get to the third. Without the elevator there could have been no skyscrapers. In turn the effects of these have been felt in many ways. To mention only one, the rise in the value of real estate caused by them has been incalculably great, which has meant not only accumulation and concentration of wealth, but also huge increases in money for public purposes available through taxation.



THE FIRST TYPIST—1872

The automobile revolutionizes our mode of life. The skyscraper has tended to concentrate population in both business and residence sections, but the automobile on the other hand has tended to diffuse it. The distance easily covered in a given time has been multi-



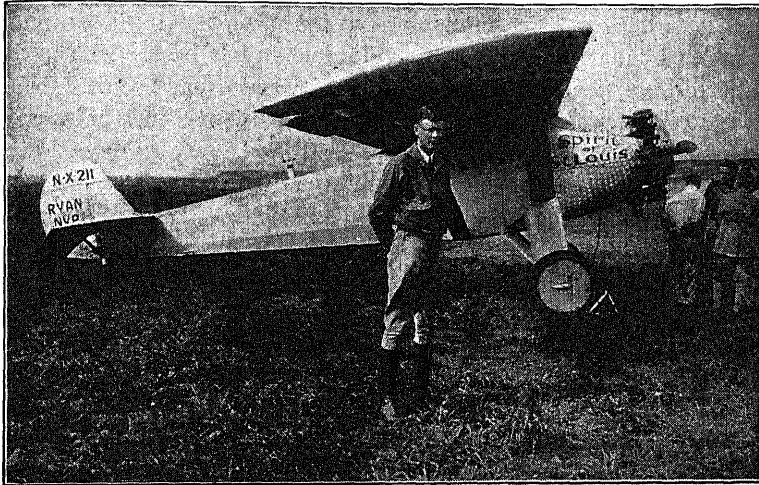
THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE SHOWED 45.7 PER CENT INCREASE IN AUTOMOBILE REGISTRATION IN 1934 OVER 1933. THE MIDDLE WEST, GEOGRAPHICALLY SPEAKING, LED WITH AN INCREASE OF 95.7 PER CENT

plied about ten times as compared with the horse. One can live farther from work, and this has brought about big shifts in population. On the one hand, many business men can now live outside the more crowded parts of towns and cities under pleasanter and more healthful conditions, and, on the other, many farmers now live in villages, where there is more social life, and go out to work in their fields some miles away.

The "neighborhood" has grown from within about six miles of home to sixty. Moreover, the automobile has meant good roads passable at all times of the year. People can see more of others and of the world. Children can go to better schools than could be afforded by the old local community.

The farmer or his wife in their car can now reach a good-sized shopping town in less time than it used to take to reach the cross-roads store with a horse and buggy, and their ideas and desires have been

enlarged accordingly. The wide gap which in the last century divided the city dwellers from those on isolated farms in the country has disappeared with the use of the automobile with a corresponding disappearance of difference in type. Together with other inventions, which will be mentioned, the farmer and his family have been urbanized in dress, household furnishings, and modes of thought. The ease and



From a photograph by Wide World Photos

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH AND HIS PLANE, THE SPIRIT OF ST. LOUIS, AT ROOSEVELT FIELD, LONG ISLAND, BEFORE HIS TRANS-ATLANTIC FLIGHT, MAY, 1927

speed of locomotion have also brought the city dwellers into the country in all directions, intermingling the two populations in a way and to an extent impossible with the old forms of transport. There is scarcely a nook of the country or a side road into which cars do not carry their occupants to mix with those who formerly rarely saw a stranger. Economic as well as social effects have resulted. Camp sites, "bed and breakfast," wayside markets, local industries, filling stations, and all the many trades and occupations dependent on the constant flow of motorists have brought money into the most remote corners of the country. On the other hand, the competition of the motor truck has struck hard at what was formerly considered one of the most stable of industries, that of the railroads, and has afforded a good example of the instability of capital in even the most conservative investments in what has become an era of incessant invention and constant change.

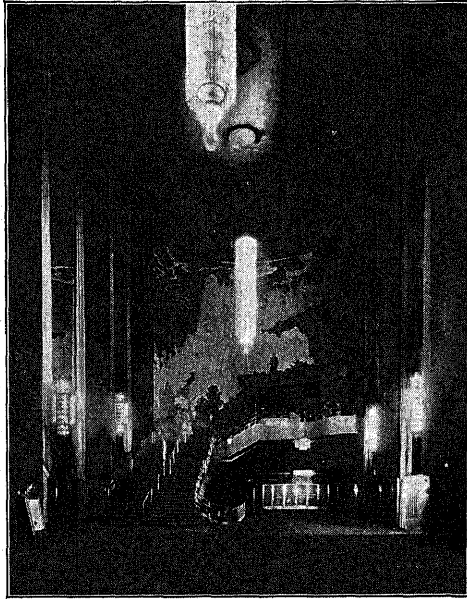
In other ways, both good and bad, the influence of the automobile has been felt in almost every part of our lives. A book could be written on the changes it has brought.

Airplanes annihilate distance. The twentieth century witnessed a marvellous development of the airplane (page 528). Since the Wrights made their first flight in 1903, many sensational records have been made. Popular imagination throughout the world was captured by Charles A. Lindbergh who made a solo flight across the Atlantic from America to France in 1927. A new dimension has been given to men's thought and activity, and a new standard of speed has been established. We are rapidly reaching the point where we can travel between distant points in almost as many hours as formerly took days. It may be noted, however, that while the world is shrinking and its peoples are being ever brought into closer contacts, it does not follow, as was hoped, that they will necessarily understand or like one another better. As often happens with members of a family or with friends, they may get along better if they do not live too intimately and closely. If opportunities for understanding may increase, opportunities for all sorts of friction also increase. Eighty years ago, for example, when we knew practically nothing of Japan, the Western world had no points of conflict with her whatever, whereas to-day there are unhappily many. It has been the nations which have been closest neighbors, such as Germany and France, who have been the bitterest enemies, and it may well be questioned whether the increasingly rapid doing away of distance may or may not be making for peace.

The development of the airplane has undoubtedly brought into use in war time a new and horrible weapon. Loaded with bombs of poisonous gases, whole populations of great cities are now at the mercy of its unheralded attacks and face annihilation. The wars of the future will not involve merely armies and navies but civilian populations far behind the lines may suffer a fate even more terrible than the troops of the World War. Yet the nations of the world are arming more heavily than ever, and all the engines of propaganda may be counted on to stir hatreds and to incite to war when the time comes. This problem is one of the most difficult and vital of those which the youth who will be the men and women of the future will have to face and if possible solve.

Moving pictures have marvellous development. Second only in the last few decades to the extraordinary rise of the motor industry has been the moving picture. In 1929 the number of Americans

attending picture theaters daily was estimated in the tens of millions. For most people the impressions which they gain through the eye are the most vivid and lasting, and it is almost impossible to over-estimate the influence of what practically the entire population, old and young,



ONE OF THE EARLY NICKEL MOVIE HOUSES AND THE FOYER OF RADIO-CITY MUSIC HALL, NEW YORK, WITH MIRRORS THREE STORIES HIGH AND CHANDELIER TWENTY-NINE FEET TALL

see weekly, or several times weekly, on the screen. One of the most marked and important phenomena of the last century was the colossal rise in the population of the entire world, and the growth of what we have come to call the "mass mind." Probably the greatest influence to-day on that mind is the moving picture. The same films are shown simultaneously not only to the people of one country but often to practically the population of the whole globe. To a large extent those who see them come to form their ideas of other people, of fashions, modes of living, and even standards of conduct from what they see. In a marked degree the movies thus tend to make uniform the minds of those who attend them. Impression and emotion take the place of thought but the effect on the mass is all the greater.

Although the films range from the worst of which producers are capable to others of great beauty and interest, perhaps the most significant point about this industry is its unrivalled possibility of being used for propaganda. Propaganda is itself one of the most significant things in modern life. Of course, men have always tried to influence one another for various purposes, but when population was comparatively sparse and communities more or less isolated, influence had to be exerted in a more personal and individual way, chiefly by speaking or writing. With the enormous populations of to-day new methods have to be devised, and often tens of millions must be reached simultaneously. The largest audience in the world is that which almost hourly crowds the picture theaters of every country, and, for better or worse, the screen has become the most effective means of influencing the emotions or passions of whole peoples at once. One of the most distinguished statesmen in Europe has said that the two things which he dreads most for their possible effects in the future are the moving picture and the radio.

The radio sweeps away all barriers. The modern newspapers of wide circulation have become powerful agents of propaganda, but in so extended a country as our own, even the largest circulation is to some extent local, though the newspaper "chains" with local organs, all giving the same slant to news in many localities, neutralize this limitation. As between different nations, however, there is an almost complete barrier against receiving first-hand news and impressions from the papers, including language.

All barriers have been swept away, however, by the radio. Within our own country, as in others, a statesman, an advertiser, an entertainer, or propagandist, who might get very varying space or none at all in newspapers, can talk directly to the members of almost every household in the land at once. Like the screen, the radio has been effective in turning the minds of whole peoples simultaneously to the same ideas or personalities. Both methods of reaching the public tend toward the stimulation of mind among those who think for themselves and toward a standardization of mind and emotional reaction among those who do not.

Important as the radio is as a means of propaganda within the limits of any one nation, its greatest significance, and perhaps danger, lies in the fact that unlike newspapers, it crosses international boundaries. To mention only two countries, both Germany and Russia have built high-powered stations which transmit propaganda into every home

of the surrounding nations which has a receiving set. Unlike the newspapers, the messages sent forth are not in the language of the forwarding country but of those countries whose peoples the messages are designed to influence. The British listener-in, for example, who may have been listening to a speech by one of his own statesmen or music from Vienna, may be listening next moment to impassioned pleas for communism sent out in English from Moscow. There is now going on a constant fight over the air between the propagandists of various nations. Poland and Germany, for example, have both built high-powered stations whose chief purpose is to "jam" and drown out the messages from Moscow so that their people cannot hear them. As yet perhaps, radio is second to the movies as a means of influencing peoples. It takes more concentration of mind, for one thing, to listen than merely to look. Radio, however, is still in its infancy, and, with television added in the next few years, its influence both on domestic and international affairs will be profound.

The use of electric power may be tremendously increased. The vast development of electric power and the ability to transmit it long distances from the source of its generation are also profoundly transforming life. Whole industries have sprung up and others have been largely altered. Great as the changes effected have been, they are probably only beginning, and aside from the comforts and labor-saving devices in use, power may, like the automobile, have a marked influence in the re-distribution of population. The new power which may be carried to almost any place in the country, together with good roads and the development of motor truck transport, may in time reverse the trend toward urbanization. Factories may come to be located in healthful surroundings in the country instead of in large cities with a resultant benefit to the workers. The dream of the future is of a small garden town in which the worker may live, with larger centers and the opportunities of one sort and another which they afford, still readily available by fast and easy transportation.

Chemistry has great industrial possibilities. Just as we passed from the age of man, animal, and sail power to that of steam, and then to that of electricity, we are now passing into that of chemistry. It will not only revolutionize and make war more horrible, as we have just noted, but it will profoundly modify industry and our whole life. Artificial silk, for example, has already dislocated an old industry, disturbed the lives of tens of thousands of producers in many parts of the world, and altered the dress and desires of millions of consumers. What

the production of artificial cotton may do to our own South can scarcely be conceived. It is not only in these ways, but perhaps by the production of synthetic foods, many of which may no longer have to be raised from the soil, that modern chemistry may profoundly alter war, industry, and even the organization of society.

Experiments, the best known of which is the splitting of the atom, presage the possibility of the production of power on a scale never hitherto dreamed of. If these succeed practically, the greatest of electric generating plants of to-day may seem puny compared with the power at man's disposal. What he will do with it, whether he will use it sanely for the benefit of mankind or practically commit racial suicide in one last frenzy of disorganization and world war, is another of the problems we face in the future, and perhaps the near future.

Advertising has world-wide significance. One of the phenomena of the present day is world-wide development of advertising, and in any review of the forces moulding our society must be considered. In the intellectual life it has greatly influenced journalism. A century ago there was practically no advertising revenue for newspapers and magazines. These were of small circulation and depended for support on a limited number of readers. The change to dependence on revenue from advertising involved great increases in circulation. This in turn involved a change in reading matter. When, instead of appealing to a small group, the appeal had to be made to hundreds of thousands, and even millions, of readers, the reading matter had to be more varied and of a different type. The results have been both bad and good. If in many cases the appeal of the popular press has been based on the lowest of human emotions and curiosity, on the other hand it has permitted the growth of a costly news-gathering service and has given to the public magazines and newspapers at trifling cost and filled with matter that stirs interest in the problems of the day. As in the case of the movies and the radios, those who think are given material for thought and those who do not wish to think are given what they want.

Again, as in the other two cases, advertising, and the press which has been founded on it, tend to standardize the wants and outlook of the people as a whole. The object of advertising is to create wants, and as it is national it tends to make the man or woman on the Pacific coast want the same things as those on the Atlantic. Experts in psychology are employed to appeal to all motives, to make people want things they had not before heard of. To a remarkable extent advertis-

ing has helped to form the public mind. Concerned chiefly with selling goods, it has greatly raised the standard of living demanded on the material scale, and so the demand for higher wages and a greater share in the social product. In urging people to travel and read, it has a certain cultural effect. But in so far as it appeals to the primary human emotions of fear, snobbery, vanity, and so on, it has tended to deteriorate character and to spread a false idea of what genuine culture and the genuine goods of life really are.

3. The Present Standard of Living in the United States

We have a high material standard of living. The measure of a standard of living is too often considered to be the material basis on which the people of any country live. It really consists of three factors. The money income and what it will buy is one. Another is the opportunity for intellectual and spiritual advancement. A third is the degree of happiness and content which people enjoy under the conditions.

Measured by the first, the standard in the United States is higher than anywhere else, even in a depression. The buying power of the average income of those gainfully employed is higher. The clothing of all classes is better. Their food is more abundant and of greater variety. They have more labor-saving devices in their homes. By 1925 about two-fifths of all farm houses had furnaces, which is a very high percentage when we consider the number which, on account of climate, do not need them. About one in every six had a modern bathroom. There was one automobile to every five persons, or approximately a family, in America, as compared with one to every 43 persons in the United Kingdom, to 196 in Germany, 325 in Italy, and 7000 in Russia. The wide-spread investment in life insurance is indicated by the fact that there are practically as many life-insurance policies as there are persons in the total population.

Our material comforts are not well distributed. Other such items and comparisons could be piled up to show a large aggregate of personal comfort. On the other hand, the standard of living by this measure is not nearly so high or so widely distributed as those in moderately comfortable circumstances and in comparatively prosperous communities would believe.

This was true even before the economic crash of 1929 with its result of 10,000,000 unemployed and 22,000,000 in need of govern-

ment relief. Although the farmers of the great wheat and corn belts of the Middle West and those of the farther Western half of the United States were generally prosperous with a high standard of living, there were other sections and many kinds of farmers, such as the "croppers," those living on sub-marginal lands, and others who have lived in poverty and often squalor. There were in addition some millions living in mountain sections, often men of fine type, whom civilization had passed by and who had no means of earning livings which raised them much above the mere subsistence level. Since the depression came, conditions, even for once fairly prosperous farmers, have been rendered much worse on account of debts and the fall in the price of agricultural produce.

There are also the great slum areas in our big cities to be considered, as well as mining areas, mill towns, and other sections. In 1930 there were reported about 73,000,000 persons in the United States over twenty-one years of age. Yet even at the peak of prosperity in 1928 only a little over 4,000,000 reported incomes of over \$1000 a year, or 50 per cent of what was estimated to be the minimum amount required for decent but very frugal living.

Those who think of America in terms of rich farms, of prosperous suburbs, country clubs and a scattering of multi-millionaires, will find much to ponder in the two volumes of the *Hoover Report on Recent Social Trends*, in which one reads that "it would be highly negligent to gloss over the stark and bitter realities of the social situation, and to ignore the imminent perils in further advance of our heavy technical machinery over crumbling roads and shaking bridges. There are times when silence is not neutrality but consent."

America offers many opportunities for education. When we take the second measure, that of intellectual and spiritual opportunity, the problem is somewhat more difficult than it would seem to be. We Americans have always laid great stress on education in the sense of learning from books. In this respect the standard of living, taking every class into consideration, is higher in America than in any other country. This does not mean that our education is better. Especially in the lower grades it is probably better in several countries than in ours. In our high schools and state colleges, however, and our system of free public libraries, extension courses, and so on, the American without money has a much greater opportunity to continue his education than has the person similarly placed in other countries.

On the other hand, culture and a well-rounded mental and emotional

life consist of much more than book-learning. Some of the European countries are better off in some cultural opportunities than we are, notably in music and opera, which are there considered not as high-priced luxuries but necessities for the people. In several countries also good book shops are more general in the smaller cities than with us. There is also the wealth of art from all the ages, scattered throughout almost the whole of Europe, which we cannot offer.

Material wealth does not necessarily bring happiness. There is also the art of living which is the third point in the standard. It is a question not merely of what you have but of what you want and what brings happiness. The Englishman, even the English boy, for example, gets a tremendous amount of pleasure from gardening. Indeed, flowers in Europe are almost an essential for all classes and not expensive luxuries for the rich. It is probable that the Englishman who spends his spare hours in his garden gets more real pleasure and contentment from it than most Americans from the use of their automobiles. The hiking clubs and walking tours, so popular especially in Germany, may bring more health and happiness than making 300 miles a day in an automobile.

That one form of recreation costs more than another does not mean that it gives more pleasure. Moreover, it must be remembered that as we depend more on pleasures and a scale of living which call for ever more money, the strain and anxiety of having to make it increase. The man who cannot enjoy himself without expense is less likely to be happy than he who finds deep content in all sorts of things which do not require expenditure. It is impossible to draw up a balance sheet of this sort between nations, but perhaps we are no happier or more contented than other peoples. We have still to learn that a high material standard of living may be bought at too high a price in struggle and anxiety.

America has never been organized for leisure or, for the most part, known how to enjoy it sanely and profitably. Except for a small part of the population there has, in fact, been little leisure to enjoy until recently. Partly, perhaps, from Puritan tradition and partly from the conditions arising from the task and possibilities of rapidly subduing a vast and wild continent to the needs of man, the man or woman who did not keep continuously at work was looked down upon as shiftless or almost criminally idle. In the early days when the great majority of Americans were farmers or frontiersmen, they had no need for exercise other than their work afforded. There were some sports in-

dulged in, such as fox hunting in the South, and games of one sort or another in communities which had become settled and more varied in occupations. These increased from the middle of the last century with the successive introduction of football, tennis, golf, and bicycling. In general, however, the problem of what to do with leisure time had not become notable.

It is now becoming so with increased spending power and shortened hours of labor. As the latter factor is likely to increase, the question of what to do with the new time which the individual gains for his own use will become increasingly important. It may be said in general that no person leads a happy, healthy, and contented life who does not use his own faculties and powers in some way congenial to himself. During a considerable period, organized and commercialized sport and recreation tended to replace individual activity. People by millions went to see the football and baseball games who might take little or no exercise themselves. Home or local acting, the playing of musical instruments, and other forms of self expression were largely abandoned for the professional theater, the movie, and the radio.

Fortunately a saner attitude seems to be returning and people are again beginning to find the pleasure in doing things themselves as amateurs. In spite of the vogue of the car, hiking through the country on foot and camping are growing in popularity. Nevertheless the right use of leisure is a problem which confronts both the individual and the community. It is essential for the individual to solve it in his own case, and for the community, local or national, to assist by such things as libraries, national or state parks, public playgrounds, museums, and other places, indoors and out, in which the citizen may find sound recreation for mind or body. This is especially true for the city dweller where homes are becoming smaller and offer less opportunity for true recreation for the well-to-do as well as the poor. Much of the work of to-day is more monotonous than in an earlier age, and life outside of working hours is tending to become more mass and communal than individual. Here again tendencies are at work to develop a mass rather than an individual mind. But if we are to have a democracy that works, and not a mere mass of men and women who obey orders from above, the citizens must have clear minds and considered opinions. It is in leisure time that these can be formed, and in considering the problem of leisure we should endeavor to stress those aims, pursuits, and recreations that will give fuller scope

for the development of each individual nature rather than those which will tend to merge the individual in the mass.

4. *The Quest for Security and Better Life*

Our changed way of living brings insecurity. The preceding topic brings us to the problem which is occupying so much of our thought to-day. No form of society can be reasonably stable in which the majority of the people are not fairly content. People cannot be content if they feel that the foundations of their lives are wholly unstable. No matter how well off they may be at any moment there will be the worry over how to take care of children and to meet the disasters of sickness, unemployment, and old age.

As we have seen, there was reasonable security for the great mass of Americans in the simple early days of our agricultural civilization. As a worker the slave also was secure in many ways. With the increase of industrialism, however, and with the change in our ways of living, this security has been replaced by a haunting insecurity. There are great masses of our population who are dependent on wages or salaries which may stop at any moment. There are the farmers who have ceased to run self-supporting farms and who are almost as dependent on a steady inflow of money to support themselves as are factory workers. Moreover, the flood of goods of all sorts, which from mere luxuries one day become apparent necessities the next, requires ever larger incomes for every one, urban and rural, rich and poor alike. There are the sudden new inventions which while building up a new industry suddenly may destroy an old one. The worker in the old one may lose his job and the investor the money he has saved and put into it. There is the shadow of "technological unemployment" overhanging many of the industries in which development is most rapid.

Americans seek security coupled with a better living. We have the comforts brought by labor-saving devices and all the new inventions of one sort and another. We can cross the Atlantic by air in thirty-six hours. We can talk over the telephone to a friend 10,000 miles away. We have control of power never dreamed of by man until the past few years. Yet we have lost much of our sense of security. We have lost contentment.

History passes from periods of comparative stability and security to those of swift change which means insecurity. It would appear that we are now in one of the latter which may last for many generations. Most

men like to feel security. It is a deep instinct, however adventurous in some ways they may be. They like to feel that their friend is true, their job safe, their money secure, that their homes and lives will not be attacked, that they can plan for the future.

On the other hand, most do not like security if it means stagnation. They like to play with their lives to some extent, to feel that they are free to alter them, that with luck they may be doing something more interesting next year than this, have more money, and so on. For Americans the quest for security has always been joined with the quest for something better in the way of living.

Americans do not want security at the cost of freedom. The problem of the future is how to combine these two wants. The constant and ever more rapid advance in applied science would seem to indicate that for a long time to come the conditions of life will rapidly alter. This necessarily means instability of many kinds. On the other hand society is trying to devise what security may be obtained within this shifting framework. There must be reasonable security for savings, which involves at bottom a better banking system. Also there must be what security can be found against unemployment, illness, and age, by plans for providing more employment, smoothing out the curve of periods of prosperity and depression, insurance systems of one sort and another. The problem is how to secure at least a minimum of security without such a regimentation of society as shall take away initiative and hope and make men merely cogs of one great machine. We do not wish the sort of security the slave had who gained his economic security at the cost of his free personality.

On the other hand, there are great difficulties in the way of gaining such security as is desired. There was one sound idea at the bottom of the old plantation-slave economy of the ante-bellum South. It was that, in general, the slaves had to be taken care of, and that in bad times as well as good, the profits or resources of the economy had to be so used as to provide at least a minimum of security for the worker as well as for the capitalist. The penalty paid, however, was that the worker not only did not have his freedom but lacked both efficiency and ambition. In time, without the war, the system would almost inevitably have fallen from this cause alone. In world competition shiftless and inefficient labor would not have been able, even if the share of the profit which went to the owners had been divided among all, to create enough wealth to maintain the security.

It must be remembered that most of the so-called "wealth" of the

United States or any country is not something permanent, a fund which can be indefinitely drawn upon and which is self-perpetuating. It is, for the most part, only maintained and increased by continuous and successful effort. At the top of the boom in 1929, Mr. Ford was said to be "worth" a billion dollars, but that was a mere estimate based on theoretically capitalizing what his plant could earn. If some millions of people did not have money to buy his cars or if by mistakes or slack management the company should lose its place in the competitive world, his wealth might shrink to the scrap-value of his factories.

The problem of how, with free labor, to regain the security of the slave régime is both economic and psychological. That wealth is very unequally and unjustly divided at present is beyond question, and, when we think of the total income of all persons in the United States or of certain swollen fortunes, it would seem that if the total income were more or less evenly divided every one would have a comfortable one. But if we take a pencil and figure, we find that the total income, which is under \$40,000,000,000, if divided among the 140,000,000 people would amount to less than \$300 per person, that is, that much for each member of a family. If no person got more than that, certainly the incentive for an individual, even if he had a wife and children, to keep working and to help maintain the national income at that figure would not be very great.

Moreover, there comes the question as to the individual. If each one, whether the president of a great corporation or an office boy just starting, were assured of his job, of security of all sorts in sickness and old age, would there be the same ambition and efficiency displayed? In times of great moral fervor, such as a war or a revolution, men may sacrifice all for the time being to the cause. But, when the cause is won and life becomes humdrum again, perhaps from birth to death, will people exert themselves, without the incentives of fear or gain, to the same extent as they would when prodded by these motives? If an American were told that if he worked hard and increased the total social product he would get his 140,000,000th share of the increase, would not the gain seem so remote as to be negligible in its effect upon his striving? Aside, therefore, from the economic question there is the psychological one of how far society can go in providing partial or total security for its members without destroying its power to produce that social product on which it depends not only to maintain its present standard of living but to increase it by means of the new inventions in store. The fact that increased security is desirable and even essential

to the maintenance of our present society must be admitted, but we cannot overlook the difficulties in the problem. We may also add, that with corruption which is found all too often in public office, unfortunately even in the handling of relief funds during the depression, the question of the administration of the funds which may be provided for security, such as health insurance, job insurance, or old age pensions, becomes a most difficult one. We have only to think of the bribery and corruption in any great city (or even many villages, for that matter), and the "pork barrels" in the National Government to make us wonder how far larger sums would be handled.

America faces a new frontier. A generation after the frontier ended America is facing the question of how to adjust the individual to a complex industrial order. The safety valve of free land which allowed social discontents to escape for more than two and a half centuries is no longer working. The continent has been conquered and settled. The old frontier has gone. But we are facing a new frontier, the frontier of a new and as yet unknown life changing beyond recognition by scientific advance. The old frontier called chiefly for muscle, physical endurance, courage, individualism, and a vision of the future. The conquest of the new frontier will demand the highest qualities of thought and character. Success can be won only by wisdom, knowledge, willingness for sacrifice, and the strongest possible sense of social justice and obligation. The nature of our endeavor is altered. Some of the same qualities required will be different. We can only continue with courage the task of building a nation which, under the conditions of a new age, shall still embody for all, rich and poor, the vision of the American Dream.

In the past much has worked against the fulfilment of that Dream. The country has been so vast and rich, the chances to gain a fortune quickly have been so great, the size of the prizes so incredible, that we went mad for generations over making money. Although we shouted for the flag and boasted of our patriotism, what we were all too much occupied with was the increase of personal wealth. Jefferson thought it would take a thousand years to settle the country from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. From his day, we have settled it to the Pacific in one century. To a great extent we have said, as the nobles of France before the revolution, "after me the deluge." We lost our social sense. So long as the individual could gain a fortune he cared little for the nation while doing it, though he might leave millions to charity in his will.

From the mad scramble to get rich before the other man, we inherit

our political corruption, our growing desert where there should be fertile farms, our states denuded of forests which should have served us, as they have in Germany, for a millennium. To a large extent, also, we have lost our sense of proportion and any standard of the real values of life. We have been so busy piling up the money with which to live that we have largely forgotten what money is for and *how* to live. All this will have to be changed if we are to survive and become a stable, happy, and contented nation.

We shall have to learn how to conserve our resources and utilize them to the best advantage for all, rather than permit them to be exploited and destroyed that a few might become rich. We shall have more and more to think in terms of the great society which includes us all as Americans rather than of ourselves as individuals. As the sphere and helpfulness of government extends, we shall have to think more of duties and less of what we call our rights. The frontiersman who hewed his clearing in the wilderness remote from a government which did little or nothing for him, who fought the Indians himself and made his patch of farm self-supporting, might with some truth consider himself as without obligations except to himself. But the situation is wholly altered when government, local or national, gives us police and fire protection, builds us roads, hospitals, libraries, museums, and schools; when it gives education, free medical service, financial help in need, pensions in old age or sickness and the thousand other things which the government of the present and even more of the future is or will be giving. We become no longer isolated individuals but members of a great society in which we are under obligation to do our part. All these things may or may not spring from *rights* but if they are rights we owe to the society corresponding duties. We cannot take all from our fellow citizens and give nothing in return. A mere plundering of society can only be temporary. Under whatever form of government we live, we have so to live, if society is to continue, as to pass on to others the opportunities which we ourselves have received. In other words, we have to perform our duties as well as to demand our rights. If we can develop the character to do that generously and of our own accord, we may continue as a democracy of free men. If we cannot, then we shall be forced to do so by some dictator or group that will arise to reorganize and control society by force.

The fullest and happiest lives can be led only by those who are free. We have, in spite of many things, and speaking generally, been so free that we can scarcely picture to ourselves what it is not to be free. But

there is also an inner as well as an outer freedom from control or coercion. No man rises to his full stature or knows all the possibilities of life unless he has achieved both. To gain the former we must have our own scale of values in life, know what it is worth while for each of us to strive for and enjoy. The man who accepts the values of those around him, who joins in the rush for money because every one else does, who lives in the way others, rather than himself, thinks he ought to, who submits his life to his neighbor, is not free and can never be wholly happy because he will never be really himself. At the end of Sinclair Lewis's story *Babbitt*, the successful realtor realizes that he never did the things he really wanted to do and that his life has been a failure.

If America is to be a nation of free men it will have to revalue many things in its life. We shall have to break away, for one thing, from considering the standard of life as wholly material and based on the kind of house we live in, the sort of car we drive, and all the rest. Especially as the future pours out an endless stream of new inventions, we shall have to learn to pick and choose. If we base our lives on the possession of material things, most of us must become mere horses in a treadmill, trying to earn more and more money to buy more and more things, and our own lives and that of the nation will become as monotonous and dull as that of the horse. Our story began with telling how men came here from the Old World to escape tyrannies of all sorts, social, political, and religious, to make a fresh start where they could carve their own way and not only make livings or fortunes but be themselves. If we learn to think in terms of the duties which we freely owe to the great society which we in America are building, and also learn to revalue our lives in terms of what a standard of living is in the fullest and not merely a material scale of values, then the American Dream may yet come true in a free democracy.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Abbott, *Historical Aspects of Immigration Problem*; Adams, *Our Business Civilization*; Beard and Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, II, ch. 25; Blumenthal, *Small-Town Stuff*; Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*; Lubschez, *The Story of the Motion Picture*; Malin, *Interpretation of Recent American History*; Merz, *The Dry Crusade*; Robinson, *The Improvement of Towns and Cities*; Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City*, chs. 8, 13; Stephenson, *History of American Immigration*; Sullivan, *Our Times* I, 183-290; II, 120-142;

Tallmadge, *The Story of Architecture in America*, chs. 10-11; Thompson, *The Age of Invention*, ch. 9.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Bogart, *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, ch. 23; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, nos. 206-209; V, nos. 106-107; Pease and Roberts, *Selected Readings*, nos. 203, 209, 236.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Addams, *Hull House*; Antin, *Promised Land*; Chapman, *The Happy Mountain*; Lewis, *Babbitt*; Lewis, *Main Street*; Mackenzie, *Alexander Graham Bell*; McKeever, *Farm Boys and Girls*; Miller, *Thomas A. Edison*; Riis, *The Battle with the Slum*; Sullivan, *Our Times*, III, 333-424.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. For what reasons did the earlier and the later immigrants come to America? 2. Why did the Americans look down upon the foreigners as inferior peoples? 3. How did the foreigners interfere with the bargaining power of labor unions? 4. Why has the Americanization of foreigners been a difficult task? 5. What contributions have later immigrants made to our civilization? 6. How is it possible for America now to develop a new composite race? 7. Show that life in the 1890's was relatively simple. 8. Describe the transportation methods of the 1890's. 9. What changes were we beginning to make in our architecture in this period? 10. Enumerate the changes brought about by the telephone. 11. How has the skyscraper altered the lives of people? 12. What effect has the automobile had on the lives of our people? 13. How do the radio and the movies influence our lives? 14. Is there any danger of the airplane destroying civilization? 15. Of what three factors does the measure of a standard of living consist? 16. Show that America has a high material standard of living. 17. Show that our material comforts are not well distributed. 18. How does America offer many opportunities for education? 19. Show that material wealth does not necessarily bring happiness. 20. How has our changed way of living brought about insecurity? 21. What else do Americans seek besides security? 22. Why do we not want security at the cost of freedom? 23. How is America to-day facing a new frontier?

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: Our later immigration, the Americanization of our foreigners, contributions made to our civilization by the foreigners, the simplicity of American life in the 1880's and 1890's, the significance of the invention of the telephone, the skyscraper, the automobile, the radio, the movies, and the airplane, our high standard of living, how our changed way of living brings insecurity.

2. PROJECT: Beginning with Washington's administration and coming to the present time make a list of noted Americans who were foreign-born.

Write a brief sketch of the life of each of your characters. If possible secure their pictures and make the whole into a booklet entitled "American Hall of Fame for our Foreign-born." If your teacher so desires this may be a class project.

3. PROBLEM: Is it possible for our society to-day to work out a plan by which our people may be secure without giving up their freedom and their individuality?

4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the airplane has greater possibilities for harm than good.

5. ESSAY SUBJECT: Influences of the movies on American life.

6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you lived in the 1880's. Write a letter telling of your daily life.

7. DIARY: You were one of the immigrants from southeastern Europe who came to our country in the 1880's. You kept a diary of your first days in America. Read a portion of your diary to the class.

8. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: "Melting pot," "safety" bicycle, Wall Street, regimentation of society.

9. MAP WORK: Make a racial map of the United States showing the distribution by states of our foreign-born whites. Consult *The World Almanac* and Orth, *Our Foreigners*.

10. GRAPH WORK: *a.* By means of a circular graph show the number of Swiss, Germans, and Scotch-Irish in our country in 1750. *b.* Show graphically the contributions the various immigrant groups have made to our civilization.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. OUR IMMIGRATION: Commons, *Races and Immigrants*; Fairchild, *Immigrant Backgrounds*; Garis, *Immigration Restriction*; Hart, *National Ideals*, 41-46; Whelpley, *Problem of the Immigrant*.

2. THE RADIO: Darrow, *Masters of Science and Invention*, ch. 26; Hart, *Contemporaries*, V, no. 158; Kaempffert, *A Popular History of American Invention*, I, 351-378; Leeming, *Peaks of Invention*, chs. 3-4; Woodbury, *Communication*, chs. 8-9.

3. AMERICAN SOCIETY TO-DAY: Allen, *Only Yesterday*, chs. 1, 5; Faulkner, *The Quest for Social Justice*, ch. 7; Hart, *Contemporaries*, V, no. 11; Merz, *The Great American Band Wagon*; Slosson, *The Great Crusade and After*, ch. 5.

UNIT XI

OUR FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

The Constitution is too often thought of as merely the document adopted in 1787 with the several formal amendments—twenty-one to date—adopted since. Nothing could be more misleading than this in considering the form of our government. It is because of this false assumption that so many think of the Constitution as “rigid,” that is as not easily changing to meet the changing needs of the people. The “rigidity” of a constitution does not depend on whether it was originally written, like ours, or unwritten, like the British. It depends on whether it is or is not capable of alteration to conform to the changing demands and outlook of the people who live under it. When we consider the vast difference in so many ways between the small and mostly agricultural nation of 1787 and the great industrial nation of to-day our Constitution has proved itself, combined with the political genius of our people, to have been susceptible of growth, marching along with the development of our form of civilization.

Although the original Constitution provided for only one mode of alteration, that of formal amendment as provided in the document of 1787, it has in reality been subject to at least three. There have been, as stated above, the twenty-one formal amendments which have been added according to the routine provided. It has sometimes been contended, especially by those who would like to scrap the Constitution entirely, that this mode of alteration is slow and cumbrous. It may be noted, however, that this is not true. On a matter in which the people are vitally interested, the process of amendment has become increasingly speedy, as recently exemplified in the repeal of Prohibition, and it is probable that on an issue on which the people were thoroughly aroused and more or less united, a formal amendment could be put through in less than twelve months. A good deal of the criticism directed at the “rigidity” of our Constitution comes from small minorities who become impatient against slow-moving public opinion rather than against any genuine difficulty in changing the Constitution if the majority so wish.

Aside from the formal method of amendment, however, there are two other ways in which the Constitution has been constantly altered. There is, first, the succession of decisions by the Supreme Court. In passing on the constitutionality of laws enacted by Congress, that Court frequently interprets the words of the document of 1787 to fit the needs of a new age. The very power which it claims to determine the constitutionality of Congressional action is in itself not given to it by the Constitution. As a humorist of the Spanish war period said, the Court "follows the election returns." It is hard to over-rate the flexibility given to the Constitution by this self-assumed power of the Supreme Court.

The fact that the Court did assume this power and that finally the assumption was acquiesced in by the people brings us to another mode of altering the original document. That is that our people, having somewhat of the English habit of mind rather than the French, taking a practical short-cut instead of sticking out for the pure logic of a situation, agree on actions or ways of doing things regardless of the Constitution until these actions or ways become so accepted as to be considered as part of the Constitution. There are many examples of this. The original Constitution divided the government into three equal and independent parts,—the executive, legislative, and judicial. When, however, it became evident that a final decision between them must rest somewhere, it was at length accepted that that decision should reside in the Supreme Court, and although the document of 1787 does not specifically give the Court that power, no one would to-day say it was "unconstitutional" for the Court to exercise it. Another example was the purchase of the great territory of Louisiana from the French by Jefferson. It had to be made in a hurry or not at all. Jefferson completed the negotiations believing them unconstitutional but wished a subsequent amendment to validate his action. The people were so well satisfied that they never bothered further about the matter, and the size of our country was doubled though there was nothing in the Constitution which permitted it. Another well-known example is that of our mode of electing a President, which has been completely altered from the intent of the Constitution with no formal amendment.

It cannot be too much emphasized, therefore, that our Constitution is not merely that adopted in 1787 but that document overlaid and altered by many changes since, whether embodied in words or not, and that it is susceptible of change and growth to meet our needs.

UNIT XI

OUR FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

I. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the principal provisions of our Constitution.
2. To stress the Constitution of our country as its basic law and to teach devotion to our country, its ideals, and its traditions as a stimulus to dynamic patriotism.

PREAMBLE

The people, voting by states, create the Union. We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

Section I. Congress

Congress consists of two Houses. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section II. House of Representatives

The people elect their representatives. Paragraph 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

The term electors here means simply voters. Many persons thought that representatives should be elected every year, and this section furnished the Anti-Federalists with an argument against ratification. In Massachusetts especially, where elections for the legislature were held annually, it was considered dangerous to liberty to entrust Congressmen with power for two years.

Eligibility to the House is restricted. Paragraph 2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

It has become a fixed custom that the Representative shall be a resident of the district he represents.

Representation in the House is based on population. Paragraph 3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every 30,000, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

It must be noted that the term "three-fifths of all other persons" refers to slaves, not to negroes. When the slaves were freed, they became the equal of the white persons in apportioning representation. In 1861, before the Southern states seceded from the Union, they were represented by seventy Congressmen; fifty-one for freemen, and nineteen for the slaves under the three-fifths provision. The same states re-entered the Union with eighty-three Congressmen, since emancipation added thirteen for the other two-fifths.

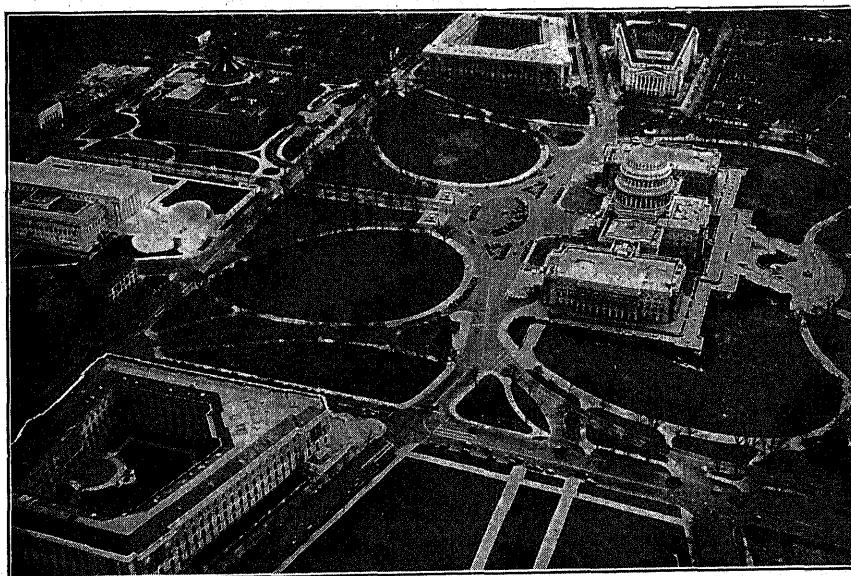
The basis of representation has been gradually increased. In 1790 it was one for 30,000 of population, in 1840 one for 70,680, in 1870 one for 131,425, in 1910 one for 211,877. Despite these rapid increases, the House of Representatives has grown from sixty-five in 1789 to 435 in 1910. After the taking of the census in 1920 there was no reapportionment of Congressmen for nine years. This was a very serious breach of the Constitution, since it deprived some states of their just number of representatives for nearly a decade.

The apportionment of direct taxes under the Federal Constitution



THE CAPITOL IN 1848

From a lithograph by Deroy after a drawing by Köllner in the Library of Congress.



© Harris & Ewing

LOOKING DOWN ON CAPITOL HILL TO-DAY

The Capitol with the House and Senate wings, in the right center; the Old House Office building and the New House Office building (upper left and right). Lower left foreground is the Senate Office building. The white building on the left center is the new Supreme Court. The building beyond this is the Library of Congress. Between them, at the extreme left, is the Folger Library.

has been unimportant, because the government receives most of its revenue from indirect taxes. Since an income tax is a direct tax apportioned not according to population, it would be unconstitutional were it not for the Sixteenth Amendment, which expressly permits it, and so makes it an exception to this paragraph.

Vacancies in the House are filled by election. Paragraph 4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House chooses the Speaker and has power to impeach. Paragraph 5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

The powers of the Speaker, since they are granted by the House itself, have varied greatly from time to time. Henry Clay was the first to increase his control over his fellow members by the appointments to committees. Succeeding Speakers followed this practice, until they had gained almost complete mastery.

Section III. Senate

The Senate represents the states. Paragraph 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

This paragraph was superseded in 1913 by the Seventeenth Amendment, which requires that senators be elected by direct popular vote.

One-third of the Senators retire every two years. Paragraph 2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

As a consequence of this provision, one-third of the senators retire every two years. The Senate has usually been a conservative element in the government, partly because the senators serve longer than the representatives, and so are protected from the changing whims of the

voter, partly because at all times at least two-thirds have served for two years or more.

Eligibility to the Senate is restricted. Paragraph 3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President is President of the Senate. Paragraph 4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Vice-President presides over the Senate, but his place is sometimes taken by a president pro tempore. The Vice-President has not a highly important function in the government, which in turn makes it difficult to secure men of the highest ability for the office. How unfortunate this is is shown by the fact that of the twenty-six men who were elected to the presidency, prior to 1928, six died in office.

The Senate chooses a President pro tempore. Paragraph 5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate acts as a court of impeachments. Paragraph 6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Impeachments, or charges of misconduct, are made by the House of Representatives, by a majority vote. Civil officers of the United States, not including members of the Senate and House, are subject to impeachment. If the House decides that the officer's alleged misconduct constitutes "high crimes and misdemeanors," they impeach him; if the Senators, by a two-thirds vote, agree, he is removed from office. Andrew Johnson is the only President ever impeached, and in his case the Senate failed to convict. When the President is tried the Chief-Justice presides, to guard against unfairness on the part of the Vice-President, who would succeed him if he were removed. The House has impeached only eleven men in all its history, of whom the Senate convicted three. Noteworthy was the impeachment in 1803 of John Pickering, federal district judge, for drunkenness and other misconduct on the bench. Despite the defense of insanity, he was convicted by a

vote of 19 to 7. In 1804, Samuel Chase, Associate-Justice of the Supreme Court, was impeached for misconduct on the bench, but was acquitted.

Impeachment may result in removal from office. Paragraph 7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

If a President or a federal judge should commit an offense of a penal character, he could be removed from office by impeachment, and then tried in the courts.

Section IV. Both Houses

The control of states over the place of election has been subject to abuse. Paragraph 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

This paragraph afforded the Anti-Federalists a strong argument against ratification. They pointed out that Congress might deprive the people of any state of their rights by setting up the polls in remote places. They might order the Massachusetts election to be held in the Mohawk Valley or in Georgia. These fears have proved groundless. Elections for members of Congress are held on the Tuesday following the first Monday of November of the even years, in districts composed of contiguous territory.

The state legislature, in partitioning the state into congressional districts, only too frequently shapes them for political purposes. If the party in power cannot control every district, it packs the bulk of the hostile voters into one or more districts, leaving its own followers in the majority in the rest. In some cases districts are one hundred miles long and but fifteen or twenty miles wide. Often they are twisted into weird contours. Such a district is known as a Gerrymander, since Governor Gerry, of Massachusetts, was partly responsible for one of the first to be formed.

Congress must assemble once a year. Paragraph 2. The Con-

gress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Changed to January 3 by the Twentieth Amendment.

Section V. The Houses Separately

Each House may refuse to seat a member. Paragraph 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

After the Civil War, when the Congressmen and Senators of the reconstructed Southern states came to Washington, Congress refused to seat them, on the ground that their qualifications were not satisfactory. Either House may refuse to seat any person if it finds that his election has been illegal, or fraudulent, or if it considers him morally or mentally unfit.

Each House makes its own rules of procedure. Paragraph 2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

The rules of the House and of the Senate are of great importance in shaping legislation. In the House the Speaker at times has been clothed with great authority, so that necessary bills may have precedence over the multitude of minor matters, and a check put upon "filibustering." (Filibustering is the practice of speaking for an unreasonable length of time, in order to delay or block legislation.)

Each House keeps a journal. Paragraph 3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

The Houses must agree as to adjournments. Paragraph 4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section VI. Privileges and Disabilities of Members

Senators and Representatives receive a salary. Paragraph 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest, during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

If Senators and Representatives received no pay, none save persons of independent means could serve, and many able men would be eliminated. From time to time, Congress has increased the compensation of its members.

Freedom of speech in Congress is necessary to protect the people's liberties.

Members must not hold civil office. Paragraph 2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

This provision protects Congress from undue pressure by the President. Could a President appoint members to lucrative civil offices, they would probably be amenable to his every wish. How dangerous the appointing power may be is shown by the history of Virginia in the years from 1661 to 1675, when Governor Berkeley completely undermined the people's liberties, by bribing their representatives with paying jobs.

Section VII. Method of Passing Laws

Money bills originate in the House. Paragraph 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Tariff bills must originate in the House. Since the Senate may amend a money bill at pleasure, even to substituting an entirely different measure, this provision loses much of its significance.

The President has a veto power. Paragraph 2. Every bill

which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

The first President to use the veto freely was Andrew Jackson. Since his day it has been resorted to frequently. It rarely occurs that two-thirds of both Houses are hostile to a President, so that his veto is not often overridden. The most noteworthy case is that of Andrew Johnson, whose Reconstruction policy excited the hostility of Congress. Cleveland frequently used the veto, refusing his assent to 301 bills in his first term alone.

An interesting case of a bill's becoming law when the President failed to return it to Congress within ten days, is the Wilson Tariff Act of 1893. Cleveland withheld his signature to show his disapproval of the many changes made by the Senate.

When a President holds back a bill, and Congress adjourns in less than ten days after he has received it, it fails to become law. This is known as a "pocket veto." It was in this way that Lincoln killed the Wade-Davis Reconstruction Bill.

All resolutions or votes go to the President for his approval. Paragraph 3. Every order, resolution or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section VIII. Powers Granted to Congress

Congress has the power to lay and collect taxes. Paragraph 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

The power to lay taxes is curtailed by the provision that all direct taxes must be apportioned according to population, and by the provision prohibiting export duties. It has been claimed from time to time that the federal customs duties, and taxes on the production, sale, or use of articles, have contravened the spirit of this paragraph. These taxes may be uniform in rate, it is argued, but not uniform in distributing the burden of taxation. Southern leaders, prior to the Civil War, contended that the protective tariff laws were in this sense unconstitutional, while the belief in western Pennsylvania that the excise on liquors was unjust led to the Whiskey Rebellion.

Congress may borrow money. Paragraph 2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

This paragraph, in conjunction with the "necessary and proper" clause (see Paragraph 18), has been used to justify many laws of doubtful constitutionality. National banks are "necessary" for the government in borrowing, it was said, therefore Congress has the power to establish them. Although the framers of the Constitution voted down a provision giving Congress the power to issue paper money, Congress has made such issues and justified them under Paragraphs 1 and 18 of this section.

Congress regulates foreign and interstate trade. Paragraph 3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

The power to regulate has been construed to include the power to promote. So Congress has built roads, canals, and bridges, and has constructed a great system of dikes on the Mississippi. Thus this paragraph has been interpreted in the broadest sense, to justify the constantly increasing programs of internal improvements.

Congress has in recent years delegated its right to regulate the rates of interstate commerce to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Prior to the Civil War it was generally accepted that Congress could not obstruct interstate trade. The Compromise of 1850 stated that "Congress has no power to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the

slaveholding States." To-day Congress prohibits interstate trade in certain harmful articles, such as lottery tickets or impure foods, but interference with legitimate trade has not been upheld by the Supreme Court.

Not only has Congress complete power over foreign commerce, but any regulation of foreign commerce by the states is forbidden. No state may lay an import or export duty. State revenues are raised by internal taxes, such as property, income, and inheritance taxes. Often state taxes are paid indirectly by citizens of other states.

Congress has power over naturalization and bankruptcy laws. Paragraph 4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

Congress may coin money. Paragraph 5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

The states may not coin money. The power of Congress "to coin money and regulate the value thereof" has been the basis of laws fixing the gold or silver equivalent of the dollar and of much other monetary legislation. When perhaps 90 per cent of the business of the country came to be done with so-called "bank deposit currency" rather than coined money, and credit largely took the place of coin, then this article had to be stretched rather far to meet such conditions. Earlier it had also been stretched to permit the issue of paper currency.

It may punish counterfeiters. Paragraph 6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

It may establish post-offices. Paragraph 7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

It may issue patents. Paragraph 8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

It may establish inferior courts. Paragraph 9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

Congress may not remove judges from the inferior federal courts but it may repeal the laws under which such courts were established. All federal judges, whether of the Supreme Court or of the inferior courts, are subject to impeachment.

It may punish piracies. Paragraph 10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

Congress has the power to declare war. Paragraph 11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

The fact that the President must direct diplomatic exchanges, together with his duties as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, has usually placed in his hands the decision for peace or war. Jefferson could have led the nation into war after the Chesapeake-Leopard outrage, Wilson after the sinking of the Lusitania. When the President recommends a declaration of war, it is usual for Congress to comply without hesitation. Should he begin hostilities without the approbation of Congress, however, that body could refuse to vote appropriations. It is usual to conclude peace by a treaty, signed by the President, and ratified by the Senate by a two-thirds vote. It is within the power of Congress, however, to declare peace by a joint resolution.

It may raise armies. Paragraph 12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

It may maintain a navy. Paragraph 13. To provide and maintain a navy ;

Congress may raise military and naval forces either by the volunteer system, or by conscription. In the earlier wars of the republic sentiment did not sanction the draft, and Congress feared to use it. In the Civil War men were not drafted into the service until 1863, and then only at the cost of several riots. In the World War conscription was used from the beginning.

It may regulate the land and naval forces. Paragraph 14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

It may call out the militia. Paragraph 15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions ;

In 1794 Washington called out the militia of several states to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion.

It shares with the states the control of the militia. Paragraph 16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

Congress has sole legislative power over the federal district.

Paragraph 17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings ;

The United States purchased a tract ten miles square partly in Maryland, partly in Virginia. Since the city of Washington was built on the north bank of the Potomac, the part of the district south of that river was returned to Virginia in 1846. The District of Columbia is governed directly by Congress and by commissioners appointed by the President.

It may make laws necessary to the carrying out of its powers.

Paragraph 18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

This clause, intended to prevent the blocking of legitimate legislation by quibbles over the wording of the Constitution, has opened the door for numberless acts for which no authority was delegated to Congress. Alexander Hamilton argued for a loose interpretation of this paragraph, and later Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of McCulloch versus Maryland, put his stamp of approval on this view. "Let the end be legitimate," he said, "let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional." It was upon this paragraph that Congress based its power to create a national bank, the Bank of the United States, and because of it that the Supreme Court sustained it.

Section IX. Powers Denied to the United States

The full control of Congress over immigration is postponed until 1808. Paragraph 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

This paragraph refers to the importation of slaves.

It may suspend the writ of habeas corpus in case of rebellion or invasion. Paragraph 2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

The writ of habeas corpus enables one under arrest to demand immediate examination of the cause of imprisonment, and to obtain his liberty, if the detention is illegal. During the Civil War, when President Lincoln suspended the writ, thousands of men were imprisoned by military order, and some denied trial. Later Congress passed an act authorizing the President to suspend the writ.

Attainders and "ex post facto" laws are forbidden. Paragraph 3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

A bill of attainder is the condemning and sentencing of a person by legislative enactment. Such an act deprives the individual of all the safeguards of the ordinary courts. In England the bill of attainder was used at one time at the dictation of a despotic king, and later by Parliament to strike at the King through his favorite ministers.

An ex post facto law fixes penalties for actions already committed.

Direct taxes are apportioned according to population. Paragraph 4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herinbefore directed to be taken.

The difficulty of collecting direct taxes, together with the injustice of taxing poor and rich equally, has caused the government in the past to trust largely to indirect taxes for its revenues. The income tax has been excepted from the provisions of this paragraph by the Sixteenth Amendment.

Export duties are forbidden. Paragraph 5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

This provision was inserted as a protection to the tobacco exports of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, the mainstay of those states at the time the Constitution was drawn up

In regulating commerce Congress must not discriminate against any port. Paragraph 6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another.

Congress controls expenditures. Paragraph 7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

This paragraph safeguards the control of Congress over the expenditure of money.

Titles of nobility are not granted. Paragraph 8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Additional restrictions are to be found in Amendments I-X.

Section X. Powers Denied to the States

Many powers are withheld from the States. Paragraph 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

Foreign relations are left wholly to the federal government. The ruinous consequences of the jungle of currencies under the Articles of the Confederation induced the framers of the Constitution to confine to the federal government the power to issue money.

The States must not levy export or import duties. Paragraph 2. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

Certain other federal powers are forbidden the States. Paragraph 3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

All the states except Nevada have a National Guard or militia, under the National Defense Act of 1916.

Agreements or compacts between states are frequent. They relate to water-power, navigation, bridges, pollution of waters, oyster beds, quarantine, etc.

Additional restrictions are to be found in Amendments XIII, XIV, XV, XIX.

ARTICLE II

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Section I. President and Vice-President

The President is the chief executive. Paragraph 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Although he may be re-elected any number of times, there is a wide-spread sentiment against more than two terms for one man. In 1880 General Grant's friends sought to secure his nomination for a third term, but the Republican convention refused to nominate him. In 1912 the Progressives nominated Roosevelt, although he had served for one term and part of another. He failed of election.

The President is chosen by electors. Paragraph 2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

Prior to 1832 presidential electors were generally chosen by the state legislatures. To-day they are chosen by popular vote, on state-wide tickets.

It requires a majority of the electoral votes to elect. Paragraph 3. The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for Presi-

dent; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

The tie between Jefferson and Burr in the election of 1800 showed the defect of this method of choosing the President. Consequently the Twelfth Amendment was adopted to supersede it. The framers of the Constitution intended that the electors should rely on their own judgment in selecting the President. After a few elections, however, they themselves were chosen only after their preference was known. So they became mere conveyors of the people's will, vote carriers rather than real voters. The electors to-day are voted for at large in the states, and so usually cast their ballots as a unit. If a candidate carries a state, even by the narrowest margin, he usually receives all the electoral votes from that state. Although Wilson received only 6,000,000 out of 14,000,000 popular votes cast in 1912, his electoral ballots numbered 435 to 96 for the other candidates. The fact that Cleveland carried New York in 1884, although his majority there was only 1149, gave him 36 electoral votes, enough to insure his election.

Congress fixes the time of choosing electors. Paragraph 4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Eligibility to the Presidency is limited. Paragraph 5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

If the President is removed the Vice-President succeeds him. Paragraph 6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resigna-

tion, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

The first President to die in office was William H. Harrison. No President has resigned, and none has retired because of inability to discharge the duties of the office. In 1886 Congress passed an act providing that the Secretary of State and other members of the Cabinet in the order of the creation of their departments should succeed to the presidency in case of the death or disability of both President and Vice-President.

The President receives a salary. Paragraph 7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

The President's salary was first fixed at \$25,000. In 1873 it was increased to \$50,000. At present it is \$75,000.

The President takes an oath of office. Paragraph 8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section II. Powers of the President

The President has many important powers. Paragraph 1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

The Cabinet is not the creation of the Constitution. At first the President consulted "the principal officers" of "the executive departments" separately. In time the need of joint conferences became apparent.

The President's pardoning power extends only to persons who have offended against federal law, not against state law.

The President may make treaties. Paragraph 2, Clause 1. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur ;

Washington at first tried to treat the Senate as an advisory body for appointments and treaties. On one occasion he visited the Senate, with Secretary of War Knox, to ask for "advice" on an Indian treaty. The Senate itself resented this step, as an attempt to influence its deliberations, so the President turned to his Cabinet for advice on treaties, leaving to the Senate only the choice of accepting or rejecting the completed document. To-day our Presidents often sound the Committee on Foreign Relations to discover whether ratification of a projected treaty is likely.

The fact that a treaty has been concluded and signed before it is submitted to the Senate, often makes rejection most inconvenient. Moreover, it is not always possible for the Senate to follow the diplomatic interchanges leading up to a treaty, or to know all the reasons for inserting various provisions. Therefore, ratification is likely to follow the signing of a treaty, unless a large group in the Senate is in disagreement with some vitally important point. The rejection of the Treaty of Versailles, because of the inclusion in it of the League of Nations, is the most notable case of this kind. The Senate may make reservations or amendments in a treaty before ratifying, leaving to the President and the foreign powers concerned the option of consenting or of throwing over the whole treaty. The Jay treaty of 1795 was accepted by the Senate only after striking out objectionable features relating to the West India trade.

He nominates officers of the United States. Paragraph 2, Clause 2. And he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law ;

Congress may control the appointment of inferior officers. Paragraph 2, Clause 3. But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The power of appointment has been subject to grave abuses. In-

tended only to supply the government services with efficient workers, it has been used to further the interests of parties and politicians. The retirement of Cabinet officers, ambassadors, and foreign ministers of one party, with the inauguration of a President of another party, is inevitable and often desirable. In carrying out the policies to which he is pledged the new President should have the whole-hearted co-operation of those whose duty it is to assist him.

The President appoints during the recess of Congress. Paragraph 3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section III. Duties of the President

The President has other important duties. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

The President's messages to Congress are followed with keen interest by the people, and have become a powerful influence in shaping public opinion. Other messages are often addressed to the public rather than to Congress, and serve to make Congress submissive to the President's leadership. The Monroe Doctrine was first enunciated in a message to Congress.

The power to "receive ambassadors and other public ministers" includes the power to dismiss them. This in turn involves the power to recognize new governments. The refusal of President Wilson to recognize the government of Huerta, in Mexico, was largely responsible for the downfall of that leader.

Lincoln based his power to coerce the seceding Southern states upon the clause enjoining the President to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

In recent years Congress has often made especial grants of power to the President. During the World War the President was permitted to control transportation, to fix prices, to lend money to foreign governments, to enforce prohibition, to declare embargoes.

Section IV. Impeachment

Civil officers may be removed by impeachment. The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Section I. United States Courts

The judicial power is vested in the federal courts. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

The Supreme Court cannot be abolished by act of Congress.

The inferior courts rest upon an act of Congress alone, and may be abolished by Congress.

Section II. Jurisdiction of the United States Courts

The jurisdiction of the courts is prescribed. Paragraph 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

The lack of a tribunal to settle disputes between two or more states under the Articles of Confederation tended to mould sentiment in favor of a new Constitution.

In certain cases the Supreme Court has original jurisdiction. Paragraph 2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers

and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

Original jurisdiction means that a case must commence in the Supreme Court; appellate, that the case must commence in an inferior federal court, or a state court, whence it may be appealed to the Supreme Court. The Dred Scott case began in the Missouri courts. Later it was taken to the inferior federal courts, and then appealed to the Supreme Court.

Trial for crime is by jury. Paragraph 3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section III. Treason

Treason is defined. Paragraph 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The most famous trial for treason against the United States was that of Aaron Burr. Chief Justice Marshall ruled that a person could not be convicted of treason unless he was present when the overt act was committed. This brought about Burr's acquittal.

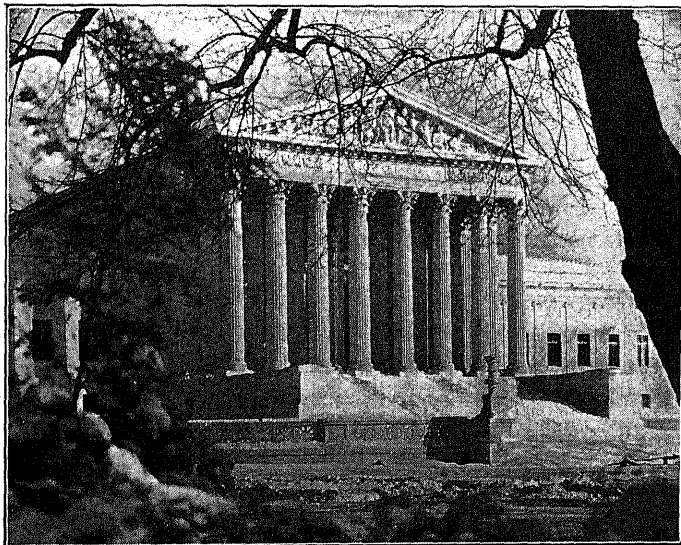
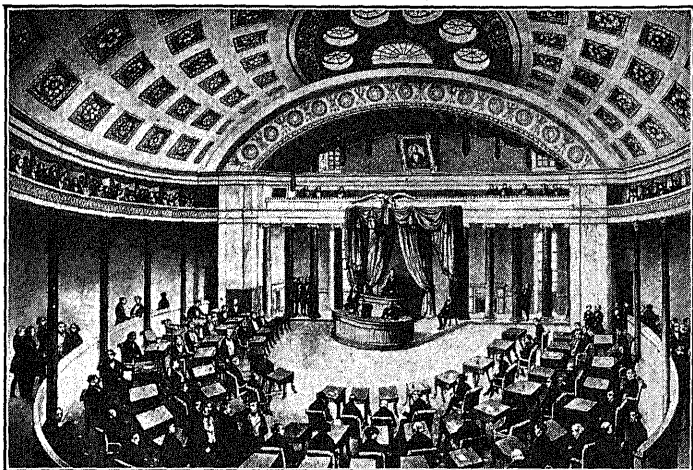
Congress may fix the punishment for treason. Paragraph 2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

RELATIONS OF THE STATES

Section I. Public Acts

Each State must respect the acts of the others. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general



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UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

The Old Senate Chamber (*top*) its home since 1859. (*Bottom*) The new home of the Court, opposite the Capitol, Washington, D. C.

laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section II. Duties of States to States

Citizenship in one State is valid in all. Paragraph 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Fugitives from justice from one State to another must be surrendered. Paragraph 2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

Slaves and apprentices must be returned. Paragraph 3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

“Persons held to service or labor” meant slaves and apprentices. A slave escaping from the South to a free state did not thereby secure a legal right to freedom. Despite this provision, the authorities in many of the free states were so lax in arresting and returning run-away slaves, that Congress passed an act delegating this task to federal officers.

Section III. New States and Territories

Congress may admit new States. Paragraph 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new States shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The admission of West Virginia requires especial explanation. When Virginia seceded from the Union, some of the people from the western section of the state, declaring that this action had deprived Virginia of a legal government, set up a new government for the state, which was later recognized by President Lincoln and Congress. This government then consented to the separation of the northwestern counties from Virginia, and their formation into the state of West Virginia.

Congress may regulate federal territory. Paragraph 2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

Section IV. Protection to the States

Congress guarantees to each State a republican government. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

This section, designed to protect republican institutions in the states, was interpreted by Congress as authorizing the Reconstruction Act of 1867. The acts of secession in the Southern states, it was claimed, deprived those states of legal governments. Therefore new governments were set up in the conquered states by President Lincoln and President Johnson. But Congress swept them aside to make room for governments of its own creation, upon the grounds that Congress alone must guarantee "the republican form of government."

ARTICLE V

The Process of Amendment

A method for amending the Constitution is prescribed. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

The President has no voice in determining the necessity for an amendment.

ARTICLE VI

General Provisions

The debts of the Confederation are taken over. Paragraph 1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

The Constitution and federal laws are the supreme law of the land. Paragraph 2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Acts of Congress, state constitutions, and state laws must give way, if in conflict with the federal Constitution; state constitutions and state laws must give way if in conflict with federal laws.

Officers are bound by oath to support the Constitution. Paragraph 3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

For many purposes state officers are used as agents for the federal government. During the World War the Draft Act was enforced chiefly by state officers.

ARTICLE VII

Ratification of the Constitution

The Constitution is in force when nine States ratify. The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington, President and Deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

Connecticut—William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

New York—Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey—William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania—Benjamin Franklin, Thos. Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

Delaware—George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

Maryland—James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

Virginia—John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina—Wm. Blount, Rich'd Dobbs Spaight, Hu. Williamson.

South Carolina—John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

Georgia—William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, Secretary.

It is to be noted that the Constitution was to be ratified by the states. There was no intention to establish the Constitution in any state which failed to ratify. The ratification or rejection of each state was to be determined by a convention chosen for the purpose by the people of that state, and not by the legislatures. In this sense the Constitution is based on the votes of the people.

Amendments to the Constitution

A bill of rights is added to the Constitution. *The first ten amendments constitute a bill of rights. When the work of the Philadelphia Convention was made known to the public, the Anti-Federalists at once pointed to its failure to safeguard personal liberty. Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, and other leaders were deeply concerned by this defect, and many persons thought that another convention should be called to guarantee the habeas corpus, jury trial, and freedom from search and seizure. In the end the Constitution was ratified unchanged, but with the understanding that a bill of rights should be added as soon as the government was put in operation.*

ARTICLE I

Religious and Political Freedom

The rights of free religion, speech, meeting, and petition are guaranteed. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

The Constitution does not forbid the states to maintain "establishments of religion." Massachusetts had an established religion for forty years after the adoption of the Constitution.

The Alien and Sedition Acts were denounced by the Democratic-Republicans as a breach of the clause forbidding Congress to abridge freedom of speech.

This clause does not allow freedom of speech without consideration of the effect. A person may be held accountable for malicious intent in speech.

ARTICLE II

Right to Bear Arms

The people may bear arms. A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

(See Article I, Section VIII, Paragraphs 15 and 16.)

ARTICLE III

Quartering Soldiers

Soldiers must not be quartered on the people. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

Searches and Seizures

Unreasonable searches are forbidden. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against un-

reasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

Rights in Criminal Prosecution

Jury trial is guaranteed. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

During the Civil War many persons in the North, accused of aiding and abetting the Confederacy, were tried by military courts, without presentment by grand jury.

In the World War Congress took vast amounts of private property for public use. In each case "just compensation" was made so far as practicable.

ARTICLE VI

Protection in Criminal Trials

The right of "habeas corpus" is confirmed. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

This Article confirms the right of habeas corpus. (See Article I, Section IX, Paragraph 2.)

ARTICLE VII

Right of Trial by Jury

The rules of common law are recognized. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Bail and Punishments

Excessive bail is forbidden. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

Reserved Rights

The people retain their rights even though not here enumerated. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

Reserved Powers

Powers not delegated to the Federal Government are reserved to the States. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

The members of the convention assumed that the powers not granted to the United States nor prohibited to the states were reserved to the states. The matter was put beyond doubt by this amendment.

ARTICLE XI

Suit against States

The federal courts have no jurisdiction in suits by citizens against a State. The judicial power of the United States shall

not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

Chisholm, a citizen of South Carolina, brought suit in the Supreme Court against the state of Georgia for the payment of a debt. Georgia refused to answer the summons to trial, but the court held, in February, 1793, that the Constitution gave Chisholm the right to sue. Thereupon, both parties in Congress united in proposing the Eleventh Amendment, which was promulgated on January 8, 1798.

ARTICLE XII

Election of President and Vice-President

The procedure of the Presidential electors is changed. Paragraph 1. The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The method of choosing the Vice-President is changed. Paragraph 2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

This article supersedes Article II, Section I, Paragraph 3, of the Constitution. The tie between Jefferson and Burr in the election of 1800 showed the defect of the original provision, so the Twelfth Amendment was passed, requiring each elector to cast one vote for President, and one vote for Vice-President. This amendment was proclaimed on December 12, 1803.

Amendment XX changed "before the fourth of March next following" in this article to "noon on the 20th day of January."

ARTICLE XIII

Slavery Abolished

Slavery is prohibited. Section I. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section II. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Proclaimed on December 18, 1865. It put an end to slavery in Kentucky and Delaware, and made the restoration of the institution in all parts of the Union unconstitutional. Slavery had already been abolished in other states, either by state action, or by the emancipation proclamation.

ARTICLE XIV

Protection of Freedmen

Civil rights are protected. Section I. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privi-

leges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

When a State limits the franchise, its representation shall be reduced. Section II. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Certain persons who have been in rebellion are declared ineligible for federal office. Section III. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Debts incurred in aid of rebellion are declared void. Section IV. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section V. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

This amendment was proclaimed on July 23, 1868. It was designed to nullify the Black Codes, to destroy the leadership of the aristocracy

in the South, and to reduce the Southern representation in Congress.

This clause extends to the states a restriction already placed on Congress in Amendment V. Intended in part for the protection of the negro, it resulted largely in increased power of the federal judiciary over the states, as state laws regulating corporations and their actions were declared in conflict with this clause.

ARTICLE XV

Negro Suffrage

An amendment is passed to protect the negroes against disfranchisement. Section I. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section II. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XV was proclaimed on March 30, 1870. Designed to protect the right of the negro to vote, it has been practically nullified in most of the Southern states. The vote is not denied specifically because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," but upon some other grounds.

ARTICLE XVI

Income Tax

Congress is granted the right to levy income taxes. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Proclaimed on February 25, 1913. In 1895 the supreme court ruled that an income tax was a direct tax, and so at variance with Article I, Section II, Paragraph 3. This made it necessary for the federal government to abandon this type of tax, until specifically granted the power to impose it by the amendment.

ARTICLE XVII

Direct Election of Senators

Senators are elected by popular vote. Paragraph 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each

State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

Paragraph 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

Paragraph 3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Proclaimed on May 31, 1913. This amendment supersedes Article I, Section III, Paragraph 1. It was designed to free the elections from the dictation of bosses and lobbyists. The Senate itself was loath to consent to the change, but was forced to yield by the action of many of the states in providing for the popular nomination of Senators by direct primaries. The reform did not lead to an early change in the personnel of the Senate, and has by no means eliminated the political boss from that body.

ARTICLE XVIII

National Prohibition

The sale or manufacture of intoxicating liquors is forbidden.

Section I. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section II. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section III. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress.

This amendment was put into operation in 1920 and was repealed in 1933 by Amendment XXI.

ARTICLE XIX

Woman Suffrage

Women are guaranteed the right to vote. Section I. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section II. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

Article XIX was ratified in 1920.

ARTICLE XX

Presidential and Congressional Terms

Presidential and Congressional terms of office begin in January.

Section I. The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the twentieth day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the third day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section II. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the third day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section III. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

Section IV. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section V. Sections I and II shall take effect upon the fifteenth day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section VI. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

Article XX was ratified in 1933. It supersedes a clause in Amendment XII and also Article I, Section IV, Paragraph 2.. Formerly a defeated Congressman or Senator served until March 4 following the election in November. Such defeated Congressmen were called "lame ducks." Since the Twentieth Amendment does away with the "lame ducks" it is often referred to as the "lame duck" amendment.

ARTICLE XXI

Repeal of National Prohibition

The Eighteenth Amendment is repealed. Section I. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section II. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section III. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by convention in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Article XXI was ratified in 1933.

II. BOOKS TO READ

I. SECONDARY MATERIAL: Bassett, *Short History of the United States*, ch. 2; Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*; Beck, *The Constitution of the United States*; Channing, *History of the United States*, III, 494-524; Corwin, *The Constitution and What It Means To-day*; Farrand, *Fathers of the Constitution*; Farrand, *Framing of the Constitution*; Fiske, *The Critical Period*; McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution*; Munro, *The Government of the United States*; Horton, *The Constitution of the United States*; Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History*.

2. SOURCE MATERIAL: Bogart and Thompson, *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, ch. 6; Elliott, *Debates on the Federal Con-*

stitution; Ewing and Dangerfield, *Documentary Source Book in American Government and Politics*, 28-56; Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*; Harding, *Select Orations*, 51-121; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, 198-255; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, no. 51; Madison, *Notes*; Pease and Roberts, *Selected Readings*, nos. 60-79; *The Federalist*.
 3. ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL: Elliott, *Biographical Story of the Constitution*; Ford, *The True George Washington*; Hunt, *James Madison*; Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton*; Morse, *Life of Franklin*; Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, 270-272.

III. QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How did the people, voting by states, create the Constitution? 2. How are representatives elected? 3. Upon what is representation in the House based? 4. How does the Senate represent the states? 5. How does the Senate act as a court of impeachment? 6. When does Congress assemble? 7. Why must money bills originate in the House? 8. What power has the President to prevent legislation? 9. Name the chief powers and duties of Congress. 10. What powers are denied to Congress? 11. What powers are denied to the states? 12. How is the President chosen? 13. Name the principal powers and duties of the President. 14. Where is the judicial power vested? 15. What power and duties has the Supreme Court? 16. What is treason? 17. How may the Constitution be amended? 18. How is the Constitution the supreme law of the land? 19. Why are the first ten amendments a bill of rights? 20. How many times has the Constitution been amended? 21. Give the substance of the different amendments to the Constitution.

IV. EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES

1. IMPORTANT POINTS TO KNOW: The various compromises of the Constitutional Convention, the powers given to the three branches of the government, the struggle for ratification, the nature of our Federal Constitution.
2. PROJECT: Dramatize some stirring scene in the Constitutional Convention.
3. PROBLEM: Why did the framers of our Constitution make so many compromises?
4. DEBATE SUBJECT: RESOLVED: That the parliamentary form of government of Great Britain is more democratic than the presidential form of government of the United States.
5. ESSAY SUBJECT: The Supreme Court decision in 1935 in the gold clause case.
6. IMAGINARY LETTER: Imagine that you lived in Massachusetts at the time of the struggle over the ratification of the Constitution. You were

strongly opposed to ratification. Write a letter to a friend in Virginia urging him to come out against the Constitution.

7. DIARY: You were a member of the Constitutional Convention from Pennsylvania. You kept a diary of many of the things said and done by the different delegates. Read portions of your diary to your class.

8. PERSONS TO IDENTIFY: Alexander Hamilton, Rufus King, James Madison, James Wilson, Roger Sherman, William Paterson, George Mason, Luther Martin, Elbridge Gerry.

9. DATES TO IDENTIFY: Opening and closing dates of the Constitutional Convention.

10. TERMS TO UNDERSTAND: Electors, "three-fifths" of all other persons, "pro tempore," writ of habeas corpus, ex-post-facto laws, bill of attainder, electoral votes, affirmation, impeachment, appellate jurisdiction, "persons held to service or labor," republican form of government, bill of rights, reserved powers, "lame duck."

11. MAP WORK: *a.* Draw a large outline map of the thirteen states. Write in each state the names of its delegates to the Constitutional Convention. *b.* In a map talk give the distribution of votes on the ratification of the Constitution and explain the reasons the various states voted as they did.

12. GRAPH WORK: Show graphically the views of those who favored the ratification of the Constitution and of those who opposed it.

V. FLOOR TALKS

1. THE COMPROMISES OF THE CONSTITUTION: Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 242-247; Channing, *History of the United States*, III, 494-516; Farrand, *Framing of the Constitution*, 68-233; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, 198-233; McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution*, 201-277.

2. THE STRUGGLE FOR RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION: Beck, *The Constitution of the United States*, ch. 15; Farrand, *The Fathers of the Constitution*, ch. 8; Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*, ch. 7; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, I, ch. 5; Schuyler, *The Constitution of the United States*, 128-168.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and press-

ing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended Legislation;

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury.

A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved, and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Josiah Bartlett,
William Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND.

Stephen Hopkins,
William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT.

Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
William Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

DELAWARE.

Caesar Rodney,
George Read,
Thomas M'Kean.

MARYLAND.

Samuel Chase,
William Paca,
Thomas Stone,
Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

NEW YORK.

William Floyd,
Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY.

Richard Stockton,
John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abraham Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Robert Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin,
John Morton,

George Clymer,
James Smith,
George Taylor,
James Wilson,
George Ross.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Edward Rutledge,
Thomas Heyward, Jr.,
Thomas Lynch, Jr.,
Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA.

Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
George Walton.

VIRGINIA.

George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, Jr.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

PRONUNCIATION OF DIFFICULT PROPER NAMES

Agassiz (ăg'ă-sê)	Duane (dũ-ăn')
Aguinaldo, Emilio (ă-gê-năl'dô, ă-mêl'yô)	Duquesne (doo-kăn')
Aix-la-Chapelle (êks-lă-shă-pêl')	
Alamo (ă'lă-mô)	Erikson, Leif (êr'ik-sũn, lêf)
Algeciras ăl-jê-sê'răs	Estaing, d' (dês-tăn')
Ampudia (ăm-pôo'dê-ă)	
André (ăn'dră)	Fourier (fôo-rê-ă')
Antigua (ăn-tê'gwă)	Freneau (frê-nô')
Appomattox (ăp-ô-măt'ũks)	Frontenac (frôn-tê-năk')
Arbutnot (ăr-bũth'nôt)	
Aztecs (ăz'têks)	
	Gallatin (găl'ă-tĩn)
Barré (bă-ră')	<i>Gaspee</i> (găs-pă')
Beauregard (bô'rê-gărd)	Genêt (zhê-nă')
Belleau (bê-lô')	Goethals (gô'thălz)
<i>Bon Homme Richard</i> (bôn ôm rê-shăr')	Gomez (gô'măs)
Bourbon (bôor'bũn)	Gorgas (gôr'găs)
Bowies (bôo'is)	Gough (gôf)
Brandeis (brăn'dis)	Grasse, de (dê-grăs')
Buena Vista (bũ'nă vīs'tă)	Guadeloupe (gô-dê-lôop')
Burgesses (bũr'jês-êz)	Guadalupe Hidalgo (guă-dă-lôop' hĩ-dăl'gô)
Burgoyne (bũr-goin')	<i>Guerrière</i> (găr-yăr')
	Guiteau (gê-tô')
Cahokia (kă-hô'kĩ-ă)	
Canovas (kă'nô-văs)	Hay-Pauncefote (pôn's'fôot)
Carranza (kăr-răn'să)	Herriot (ê-rê-ô')
Castlereagh (kăs'l-ră)	<i>Houqua</i> (hoo kwă')
Cathay (kă-thă')	Huerta (wăr'ta)
Celebes (sêl'ê-bêz)	Huguenots (hũ'gê-nôts)
Cerro Gordo (sêr'ô gôr'dô)	
Cervera (thêr-vă'ră)	Incas (ĩng'kăs)
Chapultepec (chă-pôol-tă-pêk')	Iroquois (ĩr-ô-kwoi')
<i>Chargé d'affaires</i> (shăr-zhă' dă făr')	
Château-Thierry (shă-tô'tyê-rê')	Jacobin (jăk'ô-bĩn)
Chattahoochee (chăt-ă-hôô'chê)	
Chevalier Hulseman (shăy-văl'yă hōōls' măn)	<i>Kearsarge</i> (kêr'sărj)
Cheyenne (shĩ-ên')	Kiauchow (ki-ou'chou')!
Choate (chôt)	Kossuth (kô-sôoth')
Churubusco (chôo-rôo-bôos'kô)	
Clemenceau (klă-măn-sô')	Las Guasimas (lăs guă-sê'măs)
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